



ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
**Victimology and
Crime Prevention**



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Bonnie S. Fisher • Steven P. Lab

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Victimology and
Crime Prevention

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For information:



SAGE Publications, Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320
E-mail: order@sagepub.com

SAGE Publications Ltd.
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London, EC1Y 1SP
United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
India

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of victimology and crime prevention/edited by Bonnie S. Fisher, Steven P. Lab.
v. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4129-6047-2 (cloth)

1. Victims of crimes—United States—Encyclopedias. 2. Crime prevention—United States—Encyclopedias. 3. Victims of crimes—Encyclopedias. 4. Crime prevention—Encyclopedias. I. Fisher, Bonnie, 1959- II. Lab, Steven P.

HV6250.3.U5E55 2010

362.880973'03—dc22

2009031780

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

10 11 12 13 14 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

<i>Publisher:</i>	Rolf A. Janke
<i>Assistant to the Publisher:</i>	Michele Thompson
<i>Acquisitions Editor:</i>	Jim Brace-Thompson
<i>Developmental Editor:</i>	Carole Maurer
<i>Reference Systems Manager:</i>	Leticia Gutierrez
<i>Reference Systems Coordinator:</i>	Laura Notton
<i>Production Editor:</i>	Tracy Buyan
<i>Copy Editors:</i>	Jamie Robinson, Sheree Van Vreede
<i>Typesetter:</i>	C&M Digital (P) Ltd.
<i>Proofreaders:</i>	Rae-Ann Goodwin, Sandy Zilka Livingston
<i>Indexer:</i>	Mary Fran Prottzman
<i>Cover Designer:</i>	Gail Buschman
<i>Marketing Manager:</i>	Amberlyn McKay

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Fisher has been the principal investigator on research examining issues concerning the victimization of college students, the sexual and stalking victimization of college women, violence against college women, and responses by colleges and universities to a report of a sexual assault. She was the principal investigator on research to examine workplace violence issues. She was the co-principal investigator on research to examine university student victimization in the East Midlands, United

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Lab is the author of five books and 45 articles and book chapters and the editor of two books. He has made more than 80 presentations in the United States and internationally. In addition, he has been an instructor at the NIJ summer topics workshops at the University of Michigan, where he taught “Violence in Junior and Senior High Schools: Limited Knowledge and the Need for More Education.” Lab also has been a consultant for the Arizona Governor’s Committee on the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders.

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Introduction

The modern interest in victimology and crime prevention in the United States can be traced to the turbulence of the 1960s, when crime and social unrest were escalating across the nation. The public's interest in the needs of women, children, the poor, and victims was an orchestrated national movement that voiced their concerns and fueled the federal government's response to their demands. The work of the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, for example, heavily emphasized both crime victims and crime prevention through the development of educational programs, local crime initiatives, and research, coupled with the provision of funds for state and local law enforcement.

The last 40 years have seen exponential growth of interest in both the needs of victims of crime and how society, including governments, businesses, schools, and individuals, can effectively prevent crime. When looking at the history of victimology and crime prevention, it is fascinating to see them emerge in importance at almost the same time and experience parallel growth in terms of both academic interest and practical application. While it would be easy to see this covariation as pure chance, it is probably more correct to acknowledge the fact that these sometimes seemingly different areas are really complements of one another. Crime prevention seeks to keep individuals and their property from ever being harmed by a criminal act in the first place. Victimology estimates the extent of those harmed by a criminal act and examines the characteristics associated with being victimized, with emphasis on identifying correlates and addressing the victims' health needs and legal rights. In essence, victimology tends to focus (although not exclusively) on harm to individuals and their well-being after the criminal incident has occurred, while crime prevention tends to focus

(again, not exclusively) on preventing harm from ever occurring or recurring. The victimology–crime prevention nexus provides the foundation for a comprehensive and long-lasting approach to addressing the public's risk of being victimized as well as aiding individuals in the event they are targeted by a criminal act.

The Need for This Encyclopedia

Unfortunately, a great deal of the growth in both victimology and crime prevention has taken place under the larger rubrics of criminology, criminal justice, sociology, economics, and any number of disciplines (including public health) that have had greater name recognition in both the academic and practice realms. In a sense, victimology and crime prevention have languished as subfields within more established disciplines such as criminology or criminal justice, and they have had to fight for attention and resources and to set themselves off as separate disciplines. The literature that makes up these two areas could even be considered a “fugitive” literature looking for a place to fit in and prosper intellectually. Indeed, a search for information on victims or prevention activity often leads to journals and books that only dabble in these topics, or to government or foundation documents that receive little promotion and publication. As such, comprehensive information about the history and state of knowledge in victimology or crime prevention is often hard to find in a single publication or document.

Research on victimology appears in a wide array of venues. Much of the early work in the 1950s and 1960s found an intellectual home in sociological forums. This work generally targeted specific types of victimization, including rape and sexual assault, spouse abuse, child abuse, and

abuse of the elderly. These same topics, however, appear in other outlets targeting different audiences. Indeed, the problem of child abuse was first outlined in an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1962. Today, much information about the psychological and physical health of victims is found in the many medical, nursing, and public health forums. These publications focus on another component important to understanding the impact of victimization and how to address victims' short-term and long-term emotional and health needs. Similarly, victim issues appear in criminological journals, law reviews, economics publications, psychological forums, and many other interdisciplinary forums, including those with a feminist and/or critical perspective. It was not until the advent of *Victimology* in 1976 that there was a single peer-reviewed professional journal devoted to victims. Emilio Viano founded the journal to signify victimology's intellectual autonomy from the more established fields of criminology and criminal justice. Although *Victimology* was an important new outlet for information, few professionals were aware of the journal. It struggled for years to publish a regular schedule of victim-focused issues and eventually produced its last issue in 1985.

These early efforts contributed to the expanding number of forums for victim topics that exist today. Among these are *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *Journal of Elder Abuse and Neglect*, *Journal of Family Violence*, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, and *Violence and Victims*. More specialized victim journals, such as *Violence Against Women*, focusing on issues central to female victims/survivors, have been successfully launched. Some of these journals are published monthly or bimonthly, yet another indicator of the increasing interest in victims and the amount of victimology research that is being generated worldwide. With the proliferation of the victims' advocacy groups and researchers using the Internet to provide and access victimological information, schedule international Web casts to discuss and exchange information, and provide a medium to engage in comparative cross-national research, there are global victim-focused activities growing by leaps and bounds daily.

The great growth in the number and breadth of victimological forums has had two (possibly counterbalancing) consequences. On the one

hand, there is a large body of scholarship and general information that is now easily accessible to those interested in a wide range of victim issues. On the other hand, the sheer volume of information and the diversity in where it is found makes it very difficult to keep updated on all the information that is available. Even texts that focus on "victimology" and not any specific area of victimology can only cover a small fraction of the widely available information, and thus any such texts are limited only by the author's efforts and interests.

Crime prevention has followed a parallel path during the past 40 years. In light of the skyrocketing crime rates and social unrest during the 1960s, the public's interest in crime gave rise to these changing times as they demanded that the federal government take actions to prevent crime. One of the first areas of focus was in designing the physical environment in such a way to prevent opportunities for crime to occur. This interest manifested itself in terms of both academic interest, as evident in the publication of Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961 and C. Ray Jeffery's *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* in 1971, and the funding of several community prevention programs by entities such as Westinghouse Electric and federal agencies, including the U.S. Department of Justice. Most of the reports and information generated from the projects were seen by only a limited audience, particularly within the academic community. The results of these projects led to the development of many different crime prevention efforts, among which were Neighborhood Watch, Take A Bite Out Of Crime, and citizen patrols. One of the biggest shifts toward prevention came with the introduction of "situational crime prevention" in 1983 and the launching of prevention as a key component of the work of the British Home Office. Since those efforts, crime prevention has seen a tremendous growth of interest by both academics and practitioners.

At the same time that these crime prevention efforts were taking place, research and information on crime prevention struggled to find an academic and institutional home. Unfortunately, much work was found only in government reports that were hard to access (especially in the pre-Internet days). The published work was spread throughout a wide range of disciplinary forums, including

criminology/criminal justice, geography, architecture, business, sociology, and political science. However, there were no journals devoted to crime prevention until the advent of *Crime Prevention and Community Safety* in 1999. The closest outlet to an ongoing publication in the area was the Crime Prevention Studies series that began in 1993. Each book in this series focuses on a special crime prevention topic, with the primary emphasis being on situational prevention approaches. Even today, there continues to be a limited number of publication outlets specifically devoted to crime prevention issues.

Crime prevention also has found a home in organizations and agencies around the world. In the United States, the National Crime Prevention Council was founded in 1982 and has kept crime prevention in the public eye through many efforts, most notably its public service announcements about crime and prevention. The International Center for the Prevention of Crime was founded in 1994 as a nongovernmental organization offering both research and advocacy for prevention activities around the world. The European Union created the European Crime Prevention Network in 2001, and the United Nations Center for International Crime Prevention is a vital link between countries for addressing cross-national crime problems. In the academic realm, the most notable event was the establishment of the Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science at University College London in 2001. While these organizations and institutions are all leaders in crime prevention, it is notable that most are relatively young and still establishing their niche in the field.

As is clear from the above description, there is little doubt that the dispersed information on and knowledge of both victimology and crime prevention need to be brought together into a comprehensive volume. This need is even more pronounced when we consider the intersections of the two disciplines. The fact that prevention is a major goal of those who work with victims and that knowledge and study of victims and their victimization are among the keys to planning crime prevention activities means that there is a great deal to be gained by studying each area with a knowledge of the other. There is a clear synergy that exists when we bring these two apparently different disciplines together into a single publication.

This encyclopedia builds that synergy. The two-volume set moves victimology and crime prevention one step further in their development and recognition as scholarly fields whose research informs practice and whose practice informs research.

Scope and Focus of the Encyclopedia

In developing this encyclopedia, it became evident that we had to limit the topics covered to those that constitute the fields of victimology and crime prevention. Discussions of victims can include victims of natural disasters, wars, diseases, and other events that are far afield from the criminal act. While these topics are certainly worthy of discussion, they simply expand the purview of victimology beyond the word count we have available. As such, in this work, “victimology” is mainly limited to issues related to actions that fall under the criminal law. Similarly, discussion of crime prevention can include a wide range of approaches, including prenatal care, investigations of biological determinants of behavior, changing the capitalistic economic structure of countries, and guaranteeing quality education programming. All of these topics have relevance to preventing crime and thus influencing crime rates, but they are not central to most crime prevention efforts and do not hold the promise that other approaches hold for preventing individuals or their property from being harmed by a criminal act. Many of these more macro-level approaches to addressing crime rates do not dovetail with discussions of individuals’ victimization risks, prevention of victimization, and meeting the needs of those who have been victimized.

How the Encyclopedia Was Created

Putting together an encyclopedia requires the efforts of a large number of people at each step of the process. It is the input of those individuals that makes this work comprehensive. The encyclopedia was developed in several stages.

Stage 1—The editors identified eight individuals who are knowledgeable in various subareas of victimology and crime prevention to serve on the editorial board. Beyond their knowledge of the field, these individuals work at different institutions

in different countries and with a diversity of experiences and contacts.

Stage 2—The editorial board was presented with an initial list of roughly 100 topics, which were developed by the editors as a means of jump-starting the discussion of what could or should be included. The editors and editorial board expanded the initial list to more than 400 potential topics, which had to be cut to 350 to 375 topics to meet word count limitations. The decisions on which topics to keep and which ones to cut were discussed by the board members, but the final determination of the list of entry titles, or “headwords,” was made by the editors.

Stage 3—Perhaps the most important step in developing this work was in identifying authors with the expertise to write on the topics and securing their participation. This was a daunting task, considering there are entries for 370 topics in this encyclopedia. The first step in this process was to solicit the efforts of well-respected professionals in victimology and crime prevention for the lengthy “anchor essays.” We were successful in getting some of the leading scholars in the field to write these entries. The second step was to personally invite qualified contributors—academics, researchers, advocates, and service providers—from a range of disciplines to write entries for the other topics. This effort required the input of the all the editorial board members as well as other noted experts in both victimology and crime prevention.

Stage 4—Authors were given general guidance in the writing of their entries; we asked them to discuss the core concepts and issues related to the topic. Respecting their expertise and their willingness to share it worldwide, we mostly left them each to include the information they felt was most important in order to provide the reader with an educated overview of the topic and supplemental reference materials that would provide guidance for further inquiry.

Stage 5—The editors reviewed all the entries as they were submitted and suggested revisions where they appeared appropriate.

Stage 6—The editors and their editorial team helped cross-reference entries, organized the Reader’s Guide, constructed the appendices, and finalized the work.

How to Use This Encyclopedia

There is no one way to use a work such as this, especially given its voluminous collection of headwords, that is meaningful within victimology and crime prevention. Readers will consult this work for a wide range of purposes, and as such how they use it will vary by their individual interests and needs. We can only give suggestions that may be helpful, and those suggestions are actually incorporated into the organization of the encyclopedia.

The Reader’s Guide provides guidance to the organization of the overarching broader topical headings and subentries. We have grouped the topics into 28 substantive broad headings that the reader will find helpful in seeing the main themes in victimology and crime prevention. Many of the entries appear under more than one topical heading, which we hope will suggest new avenues for discussion and investigation by the reader.

There are two types of contributions: anchor essays and headword entries. The anchor essays, which are designated as such in the List of Entries, provide a starting point for investigating the more salient victimology and crime prevention topics among the staple concepts in the two fields. Each provides an approximately 5,000-word discussion with necessary broad strokes and illustrates the connections between several issues and topics that cannot and will not be found in most of the individual entries with fewer words. A reading of these anchor essays will give readers insight that can assist in picking other specific topical entries that are appropriate for their interests; these essays also include Further Readings for readers to use to more fully explore the topic.

The headword entries provide the reader with information that describes the essence of what researchers and practitioners know about the topic. Each 1,000- to 3,000-word discussion includes the provision of definitions and core concepts and presentation of relevant research findings and practical information. Further Readings are also provided in each entry so the reader can look into the topic in more detail.

The appendix provides a wealth of information to supplement the individual anchor essays and headword entries and to lead the reader to other sources of victimology and crime prevention information. The materials on laws, legal issues, and agencies/organizations found in the appendix offer much information that will be useful to any reader who wants to further pursue any of the topics covered in the anchor essays or headword entries.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to the entire SAGE staff, in particular, Rolf Janke, for publishing this encyclopedia. We are especially thankful to Jim Brace-Thompson

and Carole Maurer for their continued encouragement and feedback throughout the development of this project. Their professionalism and sense of humor carried us from stage to stage. Our production manager, Tracy Buyan, kept us moving forward to meet deadlines. Our sincere gratitude is extended to those who edited and proofread each and every entry from the first letter to the last letter, each resource in the Appendix, and the milestones in the Chronology. Jamie Robinson, Sheree Van Vreede, Rae-Ann Goodwin, and Sandy Zilka Livingston did a superb job of making the entries consistent and accurate.

Bonnie S. Fisher and Steven P. Lab



ABUSE, RITUAL CHILD

Ritual child abuse is reoccurring sexual and/or physical abuse that follows a particular pattern. The victims of ritual child sexual and physical abuse come from every culture, and their repeated abuse can cause long-term mental health and substance abuse problems. For victims of sexual and physical abuse, the cycle of violence is extremely similar. While our society has recently begun to discuss this type of crime in a more open and educated manner, this victimization continues to occur on a regular basis.

Definitions

The criminal code of every state in the United States has a definition for child abuse. These definitions vary from state to state, but their essence is the same. Those individuals, adults or juveniles, who exert power and control over children for the purpose of sexual gratification, physical abuse, or emotional abuse are in violation of state law.

- *Sexual child abuse* is defined as any intentional touching of the victim's breasts, buttocks, anus, vagina, or the penis for sexual gratification and is illegal.
- *Physical child abuse* is defined differently by different states. Some require there to have been a substantial child abuse before convicting an individual of physical abuse. In other states, very little abuse is necessary for an individual to

receive a felony conviction. This entry defines physical abuse as any abuse where a mark is left on the child victim that was not the result of an accident or corporal punishment (which is still legal in many states).

- *Ritual child abuse* has been defined by experts as abuse as a reoccurring criminal act that follows a particular pattern. Perpetrators develop a pattern of attack and rarely deviate from this style of abuse.

Victims

It is important to understand that victims of ritual child abuse come from all parts of society. This type of abuse is not found only in the poorest areas of society; these acts are perpetrated in every class, race, creed, and culture.

If asked whether they are more afraid of a stranger or a relative harming their child, most people would say a stranger. However, recent research has shown that a person known to the victim is more likely to be the perpetrator of child abuse than a stranger. Lawrence Greenfeld and his colleagues reported in 1997 that 65% of child victims were victimized by people known to them. They also noted that federal data on rapists show that 99 out of 100 are male, 6 out of 10 are White, and their average age is the early 30s.

In addition, gender is related to child abuse: Research findings have shown that 91% of victims were female. And youth is also a factor, in that 89% of those victims were 6 years old or younger when they were abused for the first time. Since

male victims are less likely than female victims to report abuse, it is more difficult for researchers to accurately determine the number of male victims of such abuse. It is estimated that 16% of men have experience some form of childhood abuse. Many times males do not disclose abuse for fear the abuse may cause their peers and family members to perceive them as weak.

Indicators of Ritual Child Abuse

Sexual and emotional child abuse victims rarely show any type of outward injury to indicate that they were abused. According to Curt Bartol and Anne Bartol, recent reports of rape victims show that 70% did not receive any injuries during the attack, 24% received minor physical injuries, and 4% received serious physical injuries. Children who seem to have a sudden attitude change, become scared easily, are fearful around adults, and seem depressed may need to be assessed for possible sexual or emotional child abuse.

Physical child abuse victims are more likely to have outward signs of injuries. The suspicious person would look for bruising, burns, fractures, and lacerations. Some other indicators of all three types of abuse include failing to thrive, bed-wetting, engaging in risky sexual behavior, dressing in a provocative manner, sudden weight loss or gain, and suicidal tendencies.

Suicide

Child abuse victimization has been shown to be a cause of suicidal thoughts and acts. In 2004, Mette Ystgaard and colleagues found that 58% of patients admitted to hospitals for suicide attempts disclosed that they were victims of some form of child abuse. Furthermore, the researchers discovered that victims who were repeatedly victimized, sexually or physically, were more likely to report multiple suicide attempts.

Family Environment

Family environment is another important factor in childhood victimization. Research shows that those who resided in a home without their biological father were more likely to experience some form of victimization. For a long time it was believed that fathers who lacked careers and

income were more likely to inflict abuse on their children than fathers who had stable jobs and income. One 2008 study revealed that abuse occurred regardless of the father's job status.

Phases of Ritual Child Sexual Abuse

Generally there are several stages that a victim and perpetrator traverse during ritual child abuse. For the purposes of this entry, these stages will be divided into grooming, abuse, and reflection.

The Grooming Phase

During the grooming phase the perpetrator takes the time to court the child victim. The perpetrator will normally lavish gifts and attention on the child. The perpetrator will purposefully ignore other children while in the company of the victim. The victim interprets this as a positive action and may even begin to feel a sense of love and trust for the adult. The adult will create situations that show the victim's parents that he can be trusted with the child. This cycle will continue until the perpetrator feels that both the child's parents and the victim have a high level of trust for him. At this point, the perpetrator will advance to the abuse phase.

The Abuse Phase

The perpetrator does not want to startle the child by moving too quickly into the abuse. The perpetrator has spent time, money, and patience to develop the relationship. It would be wasteful to enter into a sexual arrangement too quickly. The perpetrator may start by pretending to accidentally touch the victim in a nonsexual area. This action will be repeated on several occasions until the victim no longer hesitates at the perpetrator's touch.

The perpetrator will then progress to touching or being touched by the child in a sexual manner. Perpetrators may receive this gratification in the form of a kiss, a touch, object insertion, sodomy, fellatio, cunnilingus, or sexual intercourse. However, the perpetrator may direct the victim to perform sexual acts on him or act out sexually themed games.

The victim may be confused at first, and the perpetrator may inform the child that sexual touching between people is normal. In order to reassure the child, the perpetrator may show the

victim pornographic images of children and adults. The perpetrator may further reassure the child by explaining sexual activity in graphic detail.

The Reflection Phase

In this phase the victim becomes aware that the current sexual relationship is not healthy. Most victims realize that their trust and bodies have been violated, and signs of abuse may appear. This is the time when the victim makes a decision whether or not to disclose the abuse. If a disclosure is made, the perpetrator will almost always feign ignorance of the situation at first. The perpetrator may make statements like, “You know me, I wouldn’t do that,” “I love the child,” or “That’s not me—I’m a married man.”

Phases of Ritual Child Physical Abuse

Child physical abuse and sexual abuse have many similarities. The main difference is that physical child abuse produces easily noticed physical effects such as broken bones, scarring, burning, and others.

The Initial Phase

During this phase of the abuse, the child is the target of the perpetrator’s rage. No matter what the child does, the perpetrator, normally a parent or guardian, lashes out at the child verbally and may strike the child. During this phase, the child will attempt to placate the perpetrator to slow the attacks. The child is attempting to avoid being hurt and will do almost anything to not progress to the next phase.

The Attack Phase

When the perpetrator progresses to this phase, he or she no longer wants to discuss the reason for this anger. The attack phase may come in the form of a blitz, where the perpetrator strikes at the child wildly, inflicting a great deal of pain and damage. The attacks can be particularly brutal if the perpetrator is under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of the attack.

During this phase, the victim is usually in fear of his or her life; nevertheless, because this is a parent or guardian, the victim will allow the abuse to continue. In many cases, just as with the child

sexual abuse victim, the physical abuse victim believes that this is a normal part of childhood.

The Apologetic Phase

Once the attack has ceased, the perpetrator realizes what has just transpired and provides a multitude of reasons for the abuse. The perpetrator will apologize and request that the victim not contact the authorities. Soon after this phase ends, the cycle continues again with the initial phase.

Long-Term Effects

Almost 90% of victimization occurs when the child is under the age of 6. Because abuse starts at a young age, victims require long-term treatment. Furthermore, victims are less likely to form strong social bonds and have healthy intimate relationships, may suffer from flashbacks and/or substance abuse, and may require a lifetime of mental health care.

Psychological Problems and Substance Abuse

Victims of abuse in childhood require some form of mental or physical assistance throughout their lives. A 2008 study found that women who were not abused as children spent an average of \$2,413 per year on therapy, whereas sexually abused women spent approximately \$2,795 per year and physically abused women spent approximately \$2,915 per year. Finally, women who suffered both types of child abuse spent approximately \$3,203 per year. Furthermore, those victimized as children were more likely to surround themselves with individuals who had been diagnosed with depression and suicidal tendencies.

There is a causal link between childhood victimization and substance abuse. Young adults ages 19 to 23 who had experienced some form of childhood abuse were 14.3% more likely to inject illegal substances into their bodies than were their counterparts in the general population.

Criminal Conduct

Victims of both sexual and physical abuse show an increased risk of being arrested in the future compared to children who were not victimized. A study of more than 1,000 children and young adults estimated that 30% of childhood abuse victims

would later have a criminal record or be an adjudicated delinquent.

Jordan Satinsky

See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of; Safety Planning for Abused Children

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ABUSE, SIBLING

Although many advances have been made regarding the study of abuse over the last three decades, research related to intrafamilial violence conducted by social science researchers has largely ignored the experience of sibling abuse. The lack of attention prohibits any one definition of sibling abuse from being accepted. Sibling abuse is complex, understudied, and not always easily identifiable beyond the confines of what is considered sibling rivalry.

Three facets to consider when defining sibling abuse are *perception*, *intent*, and *severity*. Perception refers to how each sibling frames the interaction. For example, if one sibling involved in a sibling dyad views the behavior as abusive, regardless of his or her role as survivor or perpetrator, a dynamic beyond the scope of “normal” sibling rivalry is likely present. Intent involves what a sibling hoped to accomplish through an action or behavior. When sibling abuse is present, the intent of the perpetrating brother or sister is primarily to cause harm rather than to gain access to limited family resources such as space, time, and/or affection. Severity is related to the duration and intensity of the abusive sibling behavior. As severity increases there is greater probability that the sibling relationship is abusive. Perception, intent, and severity exist within three primary categories of sibling abuse: *psychological*, *physical*, and *sexual*.

Psychological sibling abuse is the category of abuse in the sibling relationship that is the most difficult to define. In large part, the difficulty exists because it is often challenging to identify where sibling rivalry ends and psychological abuse begins, contributing to the phenomenon in which parents and guardians ignore or dismiss abusive actions. Some examples of psychological sibling abuse include words and actions expressing degradation and/or contempt, such as harming pets, excessive mocking, threatening, intimidating, aggravating, and destroying a sibling's belongings. These actions

have a negative impact on the sense of well-being (security, self-esteem, hopefulness, interpersonal functioning) of a sibling.

Physical abuse inflicted by a sibling is more easily defined and recognized than psychological sibling abuse. Physical sibling abuse exists when one member of a sibling dyad knowingly and intentionally causes physical harm to the other sibling. Examples of this abuse include aggressive shoving, hitting, slapping, kicking, biting, pinching, scratching, and hair pulling. As severity intensifies, the sibling perpetrator may begin to use objects and weapons such as coat hangers, hairbrushes, belts, sticks, knives, guns and rifles, broken glass, razor blades, and scissors to intensify the potential for injury.

Sexual abuse among siblings is the most veiled type of sibling abuse, yet it is likely this form of incest occurs more frequently than any other type. The accessibility of siblings to each other, combined with the complication that in most cases of sibling incest no generational boundary is being crossed, supports an environment in which sexual abuse can exist for years without being detected. Sibling sexual abuse is defined as behavior of a sexual nature that is not provoked by developmentally appropriate curiosity, not suitable based on age, and not temporary. Examples of sibling sexual abuse include inappropriate fondling, touching, sexual contact, indecent exposure, forced exposure to pornography, oral sex, anal sex, digital penetration, and intercourse.

Prevalence

In spite of the lack of empirical research to date on sibling abuse, an examination of family surveys and interviews that have been conducted over the past two decades supports the likelihood that sibling abuse occurs more often than any other form of family violence. It is possible that as many as 6 out of every 10 children in the United States have experienced some type of sibling abuse. Of these children, it can be estimated that as many as 30% of reported sibling abuse cases involve severe actions, including the use of (or threat to use) weapons such as knives and guns.

The nature of the sibling relationship lends itself to the high prevalence of sibling abuse. Siblings tend to be closer in age and interact with each other more than with their peers or other family

members. Often, siblings share living spaces and spend time together without others present. In addition, wide societal acceptance that all negative interaction among siblings is normal rivalry enforces a situation in which abusive sibling interactions are easily hidden or dismissed.

Consequences

Given the duration and intensity of sibling abuse, the consequences are often lasting and uniquely severe. Developmental disruptions might occur, which may lead to difficulty with peer relationships and a distorted sense of self as the siblings enter adulthood. Both survivors and perpetrators of sibling abuse are likely to experience psychological distress, which may include anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, self-injury, depression, and suicidal ideation. As the majority of mental health professionals are not trained to screen for sibling abuse, the most effective treatments are often not available to this population; thus psychological distress related to the abuse could be sustained for a lifetime.

Interventions

Treating sibling abuse requires treating the entire family system. Integrating family, individual, and group methods of therapy is effective in helping the survivor understand the interaction between the abusive behavior and family life. The survivor should be given the opportunity to experience feelings related to the abuse at his or her own pace and provided an opportunity to confront the perpetrating sibling, if so desired. The perpetrator can benefit from groups that focus on taking responsibility and confronting denial. Mental health professionals can promote education about sibling abuse through the development of structured parent education programs, as well as by encouraging collaborative work with law enforcement and educators regarding the facts about abusive sibling behavior.

Mandy Morrill-Richards

See also Age and Victimization; Early Victimization Theories; Family Violence; Incest; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Mental Illness and Victimization; Youth Violence, Interventions for

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ABUSE, SPOUSE

The term *spouse abuse* is commonly used to refer to aggressive, violent, and/or controlling behaviors that take place within an intimate relationship. Spouse abuse is a high-frequency crime resulting in victims of both genders and all social classes, races and ethnicities, and educational backgrounds. To adequately address this problem, preventive methods at societal and community levels as well as more traditional intervention approaches are required. This entry examines the definitions, terminology, and prevalence of spouse abuse. It then discusses the etiology of such abuse, focusing on gender-inclusive theory and theories about perpetrators. Finally, it describes some issues related to the treatment and prevention of the problem.

Definitions

It is almost impossible to provide a single definition of spouse abuse that would be accepted by professionals from all theoretical perspectives. Many definitions have been developed for different settings (e.g., legal, medical, welfare, educational). Most of these definitions share some reference to physical, psychological, and sexual damage to the victim, emphasizing that abuse can take more than one form. In addition to physical, sexual, and

psychological aggression or abuse, controlling behaviors are also considered in some definitions. Controlling behaviors are often subtle and include acts such as sulking, withholding affection, jealous and possessive behaviors, and financial control. The term *controlling behaviors* may be preferable to *psychological aggression* when describing the perpetrator's motivation for these behaviors rather than the impact of the behaviors on the victim. Studies have shown the importance of incorporating such behaviors into research definitions. For instance, it has been demonstrated that unlike physical aggression, controlling behaviors do not diminish over time. Longitudinal research also shows that these behaviors may be a precursor to physical aggression, as controlling behaviors and physical aggression have been found to co-occur within relationships. Furthermore, some women have reported the effects of controlling behaviors to be more damaging than those resulting from physical aggression.

Terminology

In addition to using various definitions, the literature uses many terms to label this form of violence, some of which reflect the true nature of the problem better than others. The most widely used term to describe violence between intimate partners is *domestic violence*. However, this term lacks specificity, as it can be used to describe all forms of violent and/or potentially abusive behavior carried out within the family unit. In addition, feminist scholars have been successful in largely defining the term *domestic violence*, resulting in it being virtually synonymous with male assault of female partners. Many researchers following this perspective have viewed and termed acts of male physical aggression as *battering* or *woman abuse*; however, such terms have been criticized for being unnecessarily narrow, as they concern only behaviors toward female victims.

Finally, distinct terms have been suggested to coin the different severity of acts. Aggression can refer to acts that are less likely to result in injury (e.g., slapping) while violence can be used to highlight acts more likely to result in injury (e.g., choking and stabbing). However, the academic literature has largely adopted the terms *partner violence* and

intimate partner violence, whereas the clinical literature continues to use the term *domestic violence*, therefore consensus between the two domains is currently lacking. For the purpose of consistency in terminology within this encyclopedia, the problem of violence within intimate relationships will be referred to as spouse abuse in this entry.

Many researchers following this perspective have viewed and termed acts of male physical aggression *battering* or *woman abuse*. Such terms have been criticized for not being inclusive, as they concern only behaviors toward female victims. In addition, the adjective *battering* has been criticized for its connotation of severe chronic violence, which some evidence from community samples suggests may constitute a minority of all cases.

This entry uses the term *spouse abuse* for the violence in intimate relationships, while acknowledging that the use of the term *spouse* suggests that this problem only occurs in marital relationships, whereas in actuality it also occurs in cohabiting and dating relationships in both heterosexual and same-sex couples. Further, the use of the term *abuse*, which implies that a behavioral act is both inherently unwelcome and morally unjustified, may not be as straightforward as it seems. Since all behaviors occur within a relationship context, it may not be possible to deduce the motivations, consequences, legality, or morality of actions without first exploring the contextual basis for them. Finally, terms suggested for the different severity of acts include *aggression* for acts less likely to result in injury (e.g., slapping) and *violence* for acts more likely to result in injury (e.g., choking).

Prevalence and Incidence

Prevalence and incidence rates differ markedly for women and men. However, since researchers often vary in the definitions and terminology they use to classify spouse abuse, in addition to the methodology they employ in surveys that determine rates, it is difficult to compare rates across studies, countries, and time. For example, when large-scale community studies focus on the victimization (and not perpetration) of individuals in relationships, rates of victimization are disproportionately higher for women than for men. However, some large-scale community studies that have asked men and women about their victimization

and perpetration of different acts during times of conflict in their relationship have revealed approximately equal rates. While the former have been criticized for not ascertaining both sides of the story, those studies are typically criticized for not viewing perpetration in context and not considering that women are often only violent in self-defense.

Based on the findings of various large-scale self-report community studies, it seems likely that an estimate between 20% and 30% for the lifetime incidence of U.S. women experiencing any violence from a partner is a sensible approximation. Countries where women hold far less sociopolitical power than men have higher rates. The range reported for men's experiences of such violence in the United States differs widely due to differences in study methodology. Agreed-upon terms and definitions and consistency in methodological approach would allow researchers to produce comparable studies and resultant prevalence and incidence rates.

Etiology

While there is general agreement that both men and women have the potential to be victims of spouse abuse, the rates at which they are found to be victimized greatly differ, as the findings are influenced by the theoretical perspective that has informed the research methodology.

Different theoretical perspectives have been proposed to account for the etiology of spouse abuse, including feminist, sociology, psychology, and criminology theories, each of which emerged from a different methodological tradition. These perspectives are described in the entry on family and domestic violence theories. Here the focus is on feminist theory and the gender-inclusive theory that was created in response to it.

The feminist perspective has been very influential in explicating the etiology of spouse abuse and putting violence against women on the political agenda in Western societies. The central feature of this theory is that men's aggression against women is used as a form of control that stems from patriarchal attitudes and, consequently, cessation of aggression and violence rests with changing or removing these attitudes. Thus intervention programs designed from this perspective tend to focus

on the societal rather than individual context of the abuse and to address the psychological and emotional problems of offenders and victims at the group level.

From the feminist perspective, women's aggression and violence is viewed as a matter of self-defense, and spouse abuse is considered a male-perpetrated crime. Therefore the ability of the feminist perspective to provide an understanding of all spouse abuse situations has been questioned by some researchers. Further, researchers following the feminist perspective have investigated spouse abuse using selected samples, interviewing women in shelters or emergency departments about their victimization by their male partners and other associated issues. This research has been criticized for not using standardized tools to measure the rates of different behavioral acts carried out by both members of a couple within large representative community samples.

Some researchers have adopted and promoted an approach to the understanding and study of spouse abuse that considers the possibility that both genders can be perpetrators and/or victims of such abuse. This gender-inclusive research has most frequently measured spouse abuse using a self-report tool named the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which was developed by Murray Straus in the late 1970s, or a variant of it. The development of the CTS opened the door to large-scale data collection and quantitative analysis from which prevalence and incidence figures have been calculated in various countries. The CTS asks respondents to report on the use of a number of behaviors. The use of predetermined, clearly defined behavioral categories yields results that can be compared across people and samples. It has four subscales that enable it to distinguish between rational tactics such as reasoning, verbally and symbolically aggressive acts such as shouting, and physical force such as pushing and kicking. Without this format many less severe acts of physical aggression, such as slapping and pushing, would not be identified as aggressive. Some researchers question the value of describing less severe acts of violence that may not be used out of a need to control a partner as spouse abuse. However, other researchers, such as Straus, have repeatedly demonstrated the frequent and reciprocal use of such acts in addition to more severe acts between intimate partners and the

negative consequences they produce for those involved and society at large.

The CTS was developed for use in the U.S. National Family Violence Surveys conducted by Straus and his colleagues in 1975 and 1985. These surveys found prevalence rates of approximately 12% of men and women experiencing partner violence within a 12-month period, which was higher than previous estimates based on crime surveys. These surveys also found symmetry in the use of physical aggression by men and women against their partners—a controversial finding. However, this research does acknowledge that patriarchy plays a more significant role in spouse abuse in societies where violence against female partners is perceived as a man's right. Since 1985 many studies, including large meta-analytic reviews, have been published that measure men's and women's use of physical aggression in Western countries. This work demonstrates that on average women experience higher rates of injury than men, yet their use of aggression in intimate relationships may be comparable to that of men. Furthermore, it has been shown that while men and women do use qualitatively different aggressive acts against their partner (e.g., men are more likely to choke/strangle and women to hit with an object), they engage in acts deemed to be severe and engage in threats with or use of a knife or gun at similar rates.

In summary, the type of theoretical perspective and methodology employed in research can greatly affect our understanding of both genders' experiences of victimization and perpetration. It is therefore necessary to review the methodological quality of research studies from which conclusions have been drawn, as well as research from different perspectives. When all the research is combined, the picture is one of various types of spouse abuse, which vary by the severity, frequency, and controlling nature of violence used and experienced, in addition to its reciprocity.

Theories About Perpetrators

A common and robust finding in the literature is that men who are violent with their female partners are a heterogeneous group. Thus many researchers have attempted to develop typologies of abusive men. The majority of research to date has examined male perpetrators of spouse abuse,

and little work exists that investigates female perpetrators. However, longitudinal research investigating the childhood correlates of spouse abuse in men and women suggests that women and men have similar developmental risk profiles.

In the last two decades, Amy Holtzworth-Munroe and her colleagues pioneered work on typologies of male offenders. From a review of the literature, they constructed a hypothetical typology to discriminate between subtypes of abusive men living in the community. Three types of male perpetrators were classified using three descriptive dimensions: severity of violence, generality of violence, and psychopathology/personality disorder of the perpetrator. They then provided each type with a name that reflects the nature of the violence: family only (FO), generally violent/antisocial (GVA), and dysphoric/borderline (DB). These types were each proposed to account for the percentage of these abusive men residing in the community, which were 50%, 25%, and 25%, respectively.

The FO offender is hypothesized to most closely resemble those in nonviolent comparison groups, as this offender has low levels of criminality and substance abuse and infrequently uses violence. This type therefore may be limited to family members and those whose offending is of low severity. The FO offender's violence is assumed to result from a combination of low-level risk factors, such as poor communication skills with a partner, mild impulsivity, and dependency on the partner. The GVA subtype is hypothesized to have low levels of psychological distress and depression, moderate levels of anger, and a dismissive attachment style. This offender is thought to display the highest levels of impulsivity, antisocial personality, substance abuse, and criminality, using moderate to severe levels of violence both within and outside of the family unit. The DB subtype is theorized to be the most psychologically distressed and emotionally volatile, evidencing characteristics of borderline personality and high levels of dependency on and preoccupation with an intimate partner, and reacting with anger when feeling rejected, abandoned, or slighted. This type is also most likely to display high levels of depression and anger and low to moderate levels of criminality and substance abuse. Violent acts are hypothesized to be of moderate to high severity and limited mainly to family members. Empirical tests of this typology by the authors

and other researchers have proved fruitful, demonstrating the existence of each of the three types in addition to a fourth type that falls in between the GVA and FO groups on several measures.

The potential for classification systems of perpetrators to play an integral role in the development of treatment programs remains a debated point. Some researchers have suggested that a one-type-fits-all approach is appropriate for all subgroups of perpetrators, while others have shown that the efficacy of programs increases when the intervention type is matched to the offender type.

In addition to typologies of male perpetrators, some researchers have focused on classifying the couple involved in a violent relationship, examining what the members of the couple may individually contribute to the abuse while trying not to place blame on the victim. This approach to understanding spouse abuse attempts to synthesize a vast array of research and literature into a conceptually manageable account for professionals working with victims, perpetrators, or couples whose patterns of spouse abuse can be described by these categories. Michael Johnson's work has been influential, as he classified men and women in couples based on each member's use of controlling behaviors and aggression and provided labels for the various types. "Situational couple violence" (originally called "common couple violence") refers to couples where one or both partners are physically aggressive in their relationship, but not controlling. For example, the aggression may be used as an attempt to communicate strong emotions rather than to control the other's thoughts and behavior.

In the couple where perpetrators are labeled "intimate terrorists," because they use aggression and violence in a bid to control their partner, victims use either no aggression or noncontrolling aggression and are referred to as the "violent resistant" partners. Couples are given the "mutual violence control" label when they aggress against one another in a bid for control. Other researchers are now examining the different interaction and attachment styles of partners as potential contributors to spouse abuse. It is evident from such work that the classification of one person in the couple as victim and the other as perpetrator may provide an incomplete view of some spouse abuse situations.

Family Context

Research has provided empirical support for the co-occurrence of spouse abuse and child maltreatment, with estimates varying widely depending on the nature of the sample investigated. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the spouse abuse literature, aggression by men and women in the same family is particularly common. If the safety and custody of a child is of issue, it is necessary to carry out family assessments to establish all the types of violence taking place within the family and which parent is at risk of harming the child, as well as establishing who has a positive relationship with the child. Assessments should be guided by evidence-based research rather than based on stereotypical expectations of who is likely to be violent. In addition, examining spouse abuse within the context of the family as a whole is important if cycles of aversive family interactions are to cease. Etiological, intervention, and prevention models will be improved by considering all forms of possible maltreatment in the family together rather than in isolation.

Conclusion

Growing awareness of spouse abuse over several decades has led to a number of approaches to prevention, assessment, and treatment and focused on a broad population. Thus messages to the public that attempt to prevent or intervene in spouse abuse might take a perspective that includes all genders, ages, races/ethnicities, and social groups within the target population. The controversy in the literature makes it clear that understanding the complete picture of spouse abuse and its related problems is essential to stopping such abuse.

Louise Dixon and Nicola Graham-Kevan

See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Dating Violence; Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence, Same-Sex; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of; Women's Use of Aggression

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ADULT PROTECTIVE SERVICES

The Adult Protective Services (APS) system is designed to investigate cases of abuse and neglect and protect the well-being of older adults, individuals with disabilities, and others who are at risk for mistreatment and neglect. APS agencies are charged with investigating cases of abuse of individuals 18 and over and are analogous to agencies responsible for the investigation of child abuse. While APS systems support the entire adult population, the majority of cases involve various forms of *elder abuse* and *abuse of individuals with disabilities*. APS staff are often the first responders to reports of suspected abuse or neglect. Adult Protective Services can be described as investigation, provision of care and services, and evaluation of interventions. However, while this provides a general picture of APS, a more complete understanding involves the examination of the policies surrounding the development and implementation of APS, the general operations of the APS system, differences among APS systems, and best practice concepts for APS.

Development and Funding of Adult Protective Services

APS is supported by a number of different policies at both the federal and state levels. Title XX of the Social Security Act in 1973 created Social Services Block Grants to provide federal funding to states with the goals of providing services to protect against abuse and promote independence for older adults and individuals with disabilities. Title II and Title XII of the Older Americans Act (OAA) designate a federal-level position within the Administration on Aging to be responsible for elder abuse and neglect programs and for the creation of the National Center on Elder Abuse to act as a clearinghouse of information and best practice interventions.

How Adult Protective Services Systems Work

APS systems work through a series of steps to investigate and respond to suspected abuse, including receiving a report of suspected abuse, investigation of reports, provision of support, and monitoring of the individual and interventions. Reports of abuse can be initiated by victims, family members, professional staff, long-term-care ombudsmen, or other concerned parties through state or local APS offices or through abuse hotline services. In the case of immediate danger and emergencies, APS staff redirect the case to law enforcement and emergency medical services. If the suspected abuse is within a covered population and the risk is not immediate, then cases enter the APS system and are assigned to staff for a timely investigation. APS staff then make contact with the victim and assess issues of competency, risk of harm, and the victim's desire for intervention. APS staff develop a comprehensive service plan based on the assessment of risk, current needs, and remaining abilities and strengths of the individuals. The coordination or provision of services by APS staff may include general medical and mental health care services, legal services including investigation or financial management issues, community-based services such as nutrition or transportation, and home-based services such as home health care or home modification programs. The final step in the APS system involves the monitoring of services, evaluation of the impact of

services, and adjustment of services as needed to eliminate risk, provide protection, and enhance the well-being of at-risk adults.

Differences Within Adult Protective Services Systems

While federal policies form the foundation of APS, the operations and funding of services vary widely from state to state. The provision of services varies on issues such as eligibility, types of abuse covered, classification of abuse, and the nature of reporting and investigation. While most state APS systems provide protection to all vulnerable adults, some states provide APS coverage separately for individuals who are under or over 60 years of age or have particular types of disability. State APS programs also differ in the types of abuse or neglect that are covered and investigated by APS. APS programs also differ in reporting and investigation requirements, such as whether reporting requirements are voluntary or mandatory and at what point in the investigative process referrals to law enforcement are required.

Best Practice Concepts in Adult Protective Services

The provision of APS should be consistent with best practice guidelines such as the best interests of the individual, informed and involved decision making, the maximization of independence, and an individualized approach. The goal of safety and protection for vulnerable individuals must be balanced with the goal of supporting the individual in exercising personal agency and self-determination. Adults retain their decision-making capacity unless deemed incapable through court action. The APS system must guarantee informed consent for decision making, support the involvement of clients in decision making, capitalize on the strengths of the individual, and use the least restrictive support programs to maximize the independence of clients. Finally, the APS system and programs must recognize that services should be designed with an appreciation of the social, cultural, and historical variability among individuals. With these best practice concepts in mind, APS will continue to defend vulnerable

adults from abuse and neglect and offer them respectful support.

Charles Stelle

See also Age and Victimization; Disabilities, Victimization of Individuals With; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses

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Web Sites

- American Bar Association Commission on Law and Aging: <http://www.abanet.org/aging>
- National Adult Protective Services Association: <http://www.apsnetwork.org>
- National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov>

AGE AND VICTIMIZATION

Victimization is not randomly distributed across age groups. Research has identified several correlates to criminal victimization, one of the strongest predictors being age. Much of what is known about the relationship between age and victimization comes from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. Together, the data from these

sources broaden our understanding of crime in the United States. Establishing differences in victimization risk by age is important, as it prompts the development and enhancement of focused policy designed to reduce victimization. This entry focuses on age and victimization in the context of homicide, nonfatal violent, and property crimes. It then concludes with a discussion of the direction of future studies of age and victimization.

Age and Homicide

A general pattern exists with respect to age and homicide. Data collected from state and local law enforcement agencies and published through the FBI's UCR Program indicate that the lowest homicide rates are of children under age 14. James Alan Fox and Marianne W. Zawitz report that from age 15, homicide risk increases as age increases for almost a decade, with the highest homicide risk being of young adults ages 18 to 24. Beginning at age 25, in general, there is an inverse relationship between age and victimization risk. That is to say, the risk of homicide declines as age increases.

Rates of homicide have changed over time across age groups. Homicide rates of teens and young adults increased significantly in the late 1980s, while homicide rates for older groups were falling. Over the past decade, there has been a precipitous decline in homicide rates of younger adults, while homicide rates of older adults (ages 35–49 and 50 and older) have remained unchanged. In 2007, the average age of homicide victims was about 32 years old.

Age and Nonfatal Violent Victimization

There is an inverse relationship between age and nonfatal violent victimization (i.e., rape, robbery, sexual assault, and assault). In general, older persons are victims of nonfatal violence at lower rates than younger persons. For example, according to Patsy Klaus and Callie Marie Rennison, those age 12 to 17 had the highest rates of nonfatal violence from 1976 through the early 2000s, and those age 50 and older had the lowest rates.

Since the early 1990s, rates of nonfatal violence involving younger victims declined more dramatically than did rates of older victims. For example, according to Michael Rand, from 1994 through

2007, the violent crime rate for victims ages 12 to 15 and 16 to 19 declined 63% and 60%, respectively; for victims ages 20 to 24, the decline in the violent crime rate was more than 65% during this time period. In contrast, the decline in the rate of violence of victims ages 50 to 64 was only about 34%.

Age and Property Victimization

As measured by the NCVS, the lowest rates of overall property crime (i.e., household burglary, motor vehicle theft, and theft) are those of persons age 65 or older. According to Klaus, from 1993 to 2002, households headed by persons age 65 or older experienced property crimes at a rate about one fourth of that for households headed by persons under 25. Nonetheless, more than 9 in 10 crimes committed against the elderly (i.e., victims 65 or older) are property crimes, compared to about 4 in 10 crimes committed against victims ages 12 to 24. This pattern is unique to property crime risk and is not evident when violent crime risk is considered. Regardless of the age considered, property crime victimization rates have declined significantly over the past several years. For example, from 1996 through 2007, the decline in the property crime rate among victims ages 50 to 64 and 65-plus was about 46% and 30%, respectively.

Future Directions

In 1986, David Farrington published findings from a limited study of the relationship between age and crime. He focused on improving our understanding of the relationship between age and offending but not age and victimization, because the study of age and victimization, according to Farrington, was fairly undeveloped. Since the release of Farrington's work, our understanding of age and victimization has received considerable attention from the scientific community. Distinct patterns associated with age and victimization have been repeatedly observed and found to have some similarities with those identified by Farrington and others who have examined age and offending. Some of the most notable examples of the relationship between age and property crime, violent crime, and homicide have been presented in this entry. And while these illustrative examples are noteworthy, they represent a small fraction of the

information related to age and victimization that has been produced by the research community. Scientists continue to study the age-victimization relationship, addressing important questions related to the temporal stability of the age-victimization distribution, variation in the relationship across gender and race, and how disentangling period and cohort effects from the data enables researchers to better understand these effects as well as the relationship between age and victimization. In short, while information generated from national-level data produced from the NCVS and UCR Program has furthered our understanding of the relationship between age and victimization over the past three decades, work continues in this area aimed at further evolving our understanding the role age plays in victimization.

Timothy C. Hart

See also Correlates of Victimization; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Sex and Victimization; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

Alternative schools are often considered school-based delinquency prevention programs because they remove disruptive students from traditional public schools and place them in a smaller and more supportive environment. Alternative education programs

for poor school achievers are based on a significant amount of research demonstrating that school performance is causally linked to delinquent behavior. This entry defines alternative schools, provides a brief overview of their historical roots, and summarizes research on the effectiveness of alternative schools in reducing delinquency.

Definition

Although there is no one standard model for alternative schools for delinquents, the underlying belief is that these programs should provide a more positive learning environment than traditional schools through low student-to-teacher ratios, individualized and self-paced instruction, noncompetitive performance assessments, and less structured classrooms. The alternative school concept is largely based on the idea that a self-paced curriculum allows students to work independently, and an informal classroom structure affords staff more time for individualized instruction. In addition, alternative school students are believed to be under less pressure to perform at the same level as other students, since success is measured by individual achievements rather than by comparing individual progress to that of the entire class.

In theory, students feel more comfortable in this environment and are more motivated to attend this type of school. Students attending alternative schools are believed to have higher self-esteem, higher academic performance, and decreased delinquent behaviors than they did when attending traditional schools.

Alternative education programs are difficult to define because there are many types of alternative schools. In general, alternative schools can be described as specialized educational programs that take place outside the mainstream school system. An alternative school can be defined as any school that provides alternative learning experiences beyond those provided by the traditional schools within its community and that is available to every family at no cost. This basic definition includes three criteria.

First, for a school program to be defined as an alternative, it must have a separate administrative unit with its own personnel and not be a special class or series of classes in the traditional school. Being apart from the traditional school, the alternative

school can provide a more supportive and accepting environment where students feel they have more control over their lives. Also, the students will be able to avoid the negative stigmatization that may have been placed on them in their traditional school for being disruptive or low academic achievers.

Second, it is important for alternative schools to be voluntary and available to every student in the school district. These schools should not be based on assignment or strict enrollment criteria. Allowing for choice and making attendance at the alternative schools voluntary (1) makes the school responsive to the diversity of students, (2) maintains responsiveness to the needs of minority groups, (3) enhances student interest and commitment to education, and (4) restores public confidence in the schools.

Third, community participation and responsiveness are important in the development and maintenance of the alternative school. The philosophy behind the alternative education movement lies in the establishment of unique and individual programs developed for a specific local population. The primary source of support for an alternative school should be parents and students.

Beginnings

The concept of alternative education originated in the mid-1960s and grew out of a general distaste for the oppressive nature and unresponsiveness of traditional education models. The modern concept of alternative education was developed from a belief that the traditional model of education had failed to adjust to societal changes and the diverse characteristics of students. The argument followed that public schools failed to adapt to the increasing diversity of various cultures and communities. The public school system was viewed as flawed because it designated some students to fail.

Early alternative schools recruited students who were high academic achievers; however, alternative schools attracted students who had traditionally been low academic achievers. These students generally had poor attitudes toward school, needed a greater amount of staff support, and wanted more self-paced and independent instruction. It was believed that alternative schools were more desirable to low academic achievers because the curriculum and structure allowed for more independence

with increased staff support, which improved poor attitudes toward school.

The number of alternative schools was expected to grow as the alternative education movement progressed through the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention promoted these programs in the early 1980s through its Delinquency Prevention through Alternative Education Initiative. However, the expected growth did not materialize and support for these programs sharply eroded due to a series of disappointing results from early evaluations of several programs.

Research

Early evaluations of alternative schools commonly found these programs did not produce positive changes in participants. The poor findings were attributed to school officials' improper use of alternative schools. That is, alternative schools tended to be used as a way to punish problem students, were commonly viewed as a place to banish misbehaving students to get them out of traditional schools, and rarely provided appropriate academic and behavioral programming.

In addition, alternative schools for delinquent youth were thought to be "too little, too late" and were typically not given adequate resources or staff to handle youth with serious behavioral problems and deficient academic skills. Little attention was given to selecting a target population of students that might best benefit from alternative education. Many school officials appeared to be more concerned with getting difficult students out of traditional schools than with thoughtfully selecting appropriate students for alternative schools.

Evaluation research on alternative schools for delinquents is sparse, but a review of alternative school research by Stephen Cox found that some alternative schools were able to produce positive effects on school performance, school attitude, and self-esteem. However, alternative schools did not significantly change participants' delinquent behavior.

Stephen M. Cox

See also Juvenile Offending and Victimization; School-Based Theories of Delinquency; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; Seattle Social Development Project

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AMBER ALERT

The AMBER (America's Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response) Alert system is a nationwide collaborative of public agencies and media outlets created to rapidly inform and recruit the public for assistance in rescuing missing children. When a child is reported missing or abducted and is believed to be in serious danger, law enforcement officials can publicize an AMBER Alert via television, radio, the Internet, and cell phone text messages. The system has produced a number of sensational successes and has been credited with saving hundreds of children's lives owing to tips from attentive citizens or because abductors were induced to return their captives after seeing the alerts.

The system was developed in Texas in response to the abduction and murder of 9-year-old Amber Hagerman in 1996. The abduction was observed and immediately reported, and police promptly searched for her, but Amber was found brutally murdered 4 days later. The tragedy inspired the idea of a public alert system in which law enforcement officials could use media outlets to enable more rapid reaction and enlistment of citizen look-outs in future child abduction cases. The result was Plan Amber, which became a model for programs in other states that were eventually consolidated into a national network as part of the 2003 federal PROTECT Act. The system is now overseen by the U.S. Department of Justice in conjunction with the

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

Despite the excellent intentions behind the AMBER Alert system and the claims of extraordinary success by its advocates, the available evidence suggests a more sobering picture. Although the vast majority of the cases in which AMBER Alerts are issued end with the safe recovery of the child, this is misleading for a number of reasons. First, many AMBER Alerts are issued in cases that turn out to be misunderstandings or even hoaxes. Furthermore, even in genuine kidnappings, most of the cases end positively even if the AMBER Alert did not affect the outcome. Further still, even where an AMBER Alert did help police locate and recover the child, it turns out that the vast majority of these “successes” occur in far less menacing abduction scenarios than the one involving Amber Hagerman. Whereas Amber Hagerman’s abduction and murder were premeditated by a stranger, “successful” AMBER Alerts are far more likely to involve familial abductions, such as when a non-custodial parent illegally takes the child, or even unintended abductions that are incidental to other crimes (e.g., car thefts of vehicles with children in them). Finally, the evidence shows that in the most menacing situations involving strangers intending harm—the very kind of case that inspired AMBER Alert—the odds of success are very low.

Several factors limit AMBER Alert’s effectiveness. The first is response time; AMBER Alerts are only rarely issued at or near the moment of abduction, because verification that a crime has occurred and any useful details about it are not usually immediately available. But in the majority of child abduction–murder cases, the victim is dead within 3 hours of the abduction, so the AMBER Alerts are often hamstrung from the beginning. Another key limitation is the complex sequence of events required for a “success.” There must be relatively swift and detailed knowledge of an abduction and a quickly issued alert, followed by an informative citizen tip that leads to law enforcement response fast enough to make a difference in the outcome of the crime. Both of these obstacles are more easily overcome in less menacing abductions where the abductor (often a parent) has no sinister intent and there is sufficient time for the components required for a successful alert to occur. However, in cases involving a motivated

predator bent on a heinous crime, the window of opportunity, and thus the chance of success, is very small. A final and ironic obstacle to AMBER Alert success is the rarity of the crimes it is designed to prevent. Despite a socially constructed perception that child abduction–murder is pervasive, this crime type is fortunately quite rare, and thus there simply are not that many potential victims for AMBER Alert to save.

Even if the claims of AMBER Alert effectiveness do not withstand empirical and logical scrutiny, the system still has broad appeal as a crime control narrative in which members of society come together to rescue the most compelling victims. It has thus been called *crime control theater*, functioning not as a real solution to a pervasive crime, but as a socially constructed solution to a largely socially constructed crime. In this regard AMBER Alert could be important as an illustrative microcosm of how laws are created in response to moral panic over terrifying crimes such as child abduction–murder.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Fear of Crime; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Kidnapping; Missing, Exploited, and Murdered Children; Pedophilia

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ANTICIPATORY BENEFIT

The primary and direct benefits expected from crime-preventive initiatives are those that occur after initiative implementation and in connection with targeted areas, groups, times, crimes, and methods. Other secondary benefits have, however, also been identified and reported. One of these, termed an *anticipatory benefit*, accrues if there is a decline in crime *before* a crime-prevention initiative has been put in place. Another secondary benefit, termed *diffusion of benefits*, is a crime decline *following* the implementation of a crime-prevention measure, which occurs with nontargeted areas, groups, times, crimes, and methods. The main focus of researchers who have observed or commented on anticipatory benefits has been on the preinitiative activities associated with offender misperception, particularly those related to *publicity*. There are, however, a number of other reasons that a preinitiative crime drop can occur, as discussed below. The possible presence of anticipatory benefits is important for three main reasons. First, it may increase our understanding of the mechanisms associated with crime prevention. Second, it may indicate that another factor may be added to the main crime-prevention measures that will extend their reach to other times, places, targets, crimes, and methods of doing crime. Third, it may alert researchers and policy makers to the possibility that the research design used may not be properly assessing the effectiveness of the crime-prevention measures used. This last issue is discussed in more detail below.

Reasons that anticipatory benefits occur fall into one of four general categories: (1) those unrelated to the initiative itself, (2) those related to the selection of the site or group for the initiative, (3) those related to preparation for the initiative, and (4) those related to potential offenders' misperceptions that the initiative's measures were already in effect. First, preinitiative crime falls can be a statistical artifact of a time-series analysis or

due to unrelated factors such as seasonal effects. Second, sites or groups chosen for treatment may have crime rates artificially bolstered through overrecording, or they may be experiencing high crime rates that are unusual for the area or group, with the rates declining as the conditions producing the higher rates change. In some contexts this latter effect might be referred to as *selection bias*, but here it is best considered as an example of *regression to the mean*. Third, a lower level of crime can be produced before the initiative's official start-up date—if, for example, parts of it occur sooner, activities occurring in the preinitiative stage have preventive effects, or training makes officers better at reducing crime or more motivated to do so (prior to the start-up time). Fourth, potential offenders may refrain from crime if they perceive that equipment, systems, or practices are operational when they are not, or they do not remember details mentioned in media reports or publicity campaigns relating to the time, place, or manner of implementation. Details may also have been obscured purposely as part of the planned initiative. In this latter situation, ethical considerations might arise if, for example, potential victims rely on the presence of crime-prevention measures and are put at risk of harm that is greatly disproportionate to the good to be expected from the anticipatory benefit.

Researchers who noticed a preimplementation crime fall often have noted that the decline coincided with some publicity related to the impending crime-prevention initiative. Examples of this include publicity about a bike patrol at a suburban park-and-ride facility in the Vancouver area, Princess Anne announcing an initiative targeted at nonresidential burglary in Leicester in the United Kingdom, and British legislation being proposed for mandatory testing of blood-alcohol levels of drivers in advance of its becoming law. It is possible that researchers have focused on publicity because (1) crime drops resulting from preinitiative publicity may occur more often than others, (2) it may be easier to notice and report on preinitiative publicity than other types of phenomena, or (3) publicity may be seen as being more malleable than other causal factors and, therefore, more easily added to the mix of preventive measures. Misinterpretations among potential offenders about when, or whether, crime-prevention measures have

taken effect also have been attributed to other causes, however, such as preinitiative site surveys and the installation of closed-circuit television cameras.

Measuring crime levels at several periods prior to the implementation date is essential if any possible anticipatory benefits are to be identified and documented. This is also useful for determining if the measures have been effective, particularly in situations where anticipatory benefits may be fairly likely. For example, if there is only a single preinitiative measurement of crime in an area and this assessment is taken *after* preinitiative publicity that has led to a fall in crime, then the real extent of the initiative's effectiveness will not be measured. A simple experimental design (random controlled trial) will not be able to overcome this problem, unless it incorporates time-series points, since the factors leading to a preinitiative crime drop may affect both its treatment and control groups. Furthermore, a process evaluation, preferably one with a qualitative component, can help determine what triggered the preinitiative crime fall since it may uncover factors that are difficult to detect with traditional outcome evaluations.

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See also Closed-Circuit Television; Diffusion of Benefits; Displacement; Methodological Issues in Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention; Situational Crime Prevention

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ARSON/FIRESETTING

Arson is first and foremost a legal term. In a public health context, the same act is referred to as *firesetting*. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program defines arson as the willful or malicious burning (or attempted burning) of a dwelling or any other type of public or personal property. Some state jurisdictions require that the destroyed property be worth a minimum monetary value in order to be classified as arson. Others retain an element of common law and require that the damaged property belong to another, or that the real or personal property be destroyed with intent to defraud an insurer. Depending on the nature of the fire and the demonstrability of intent, willful and malicious burnings may be prosecuted under a number of state and federal statutes other than arson, including reckless endangerment, criminal damage, possession of incendiary devices, insurance fraud, Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO), and civil rights laws. Under the USA Patriot Act, arson can also be prosecuted as an act of domestic terrorism. Arson may result from recklessness as well as willful behavior. To be considered arson, the fire must have been set deliberately, but the resulting destruction need not have been intended or foreseen.

Arson is an understudied phenomenon. Numerous factors related to its reporting, investigation, and prosecution limit our knowledge of the crime and its victimology. In general, arson is characterized by the absence of clear victimological and offender profiles, reflecting the complex motivational and situational structure of the act, which is alternatively portrayed as a "victimless" property crime and as a violent interpersonal offense. Arson may be committed in service of any number of ends, including crime concealment, profit making, political activism, thrill seeking, and self-destruction. The victims of arson may be the arsonist himself or herself. While arsonists may choose where and how to set a fire, the spread and result of the initial act may be beyond their control. In this sense, arson can have unintended victims, such as the firefighters charged with putting out the blaze. For victims, arson may result in economic loss, long-term physical injury, psychological distress,

trauma, and death. Prevention efforts have been twofold: targeting offenders on the one hand, and manipulating the sociophysical environment on the other.

Statistics

Despite a steady drop in the number of intentionally set fires recorded by the U.S. Fire Administration since 1997, arson is still the leading cause of fires in the United States. Between 1998 and 2007, intentionally set structure fires resulted in an average of 350 deaths per year, not including the toll of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, according to the U.S. Fire Administration. In 2007, the rate of arson was 24.7 per 100,000 in the population. The average loss per offense was \$17,289. These figures do not include intangible costs, such as any social and psychological impact. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's report, *Crime in the United States 2007*, of the 64,332 offenses for which data were available, more than 42.9% involved fires in structures and almost 28% were fires in mobile property.

Measuring Arson

A number of factors contribute to the "dark figure" of arson. The term *dark figure* refers to the difference between the number of arsons known to the police and the real number of arsons committed. Establishing the origin of a fire is sometimes an impossible task. Victimization surveys conducted in the United Kingdom suggest that almost two thirds of arsons are reported to the police, which is a relatively high figure compared to report rates of other types of crime, but victims remain dependent on investigators to establish the cause of a blaze. When individuals destroy their own property, it may be in their interest to dissimulate the criminal origins of the fire. Small fires, such as fires set by children, are likely to go unreported. Federal statistics do not include fires labeled as suspicious or of unknown origin, therefore these figures are likely an underestimate of the true scope of arson. A scoping study conducted in the United Kingdom showed that, in a single year, the police recorded only about 41% of the malicious fires classified as such by the fire service, of which about 15% were solved.

Ecological Variables

Arson rates have been associated with various socioeconomic and physical variables, such as building abandonment, vacant housing, overall physical decay of urban structures, and the economic status of the local population. Structures that display signs of decay, vacancy, age, and abandonment are often targets for arsonists, and populations in the poorer census tracts experience significantly more deliberate or suspicious fires than populations in the richer tracts.

Offenders, Victims, and Targets

Children

It is not uncommon for young children to engage in fire-play and firesetting behavior. However, the vast majority of children who experiment with fire will stop engaging in the behavior once they have learned the dangers related to fire-setting. Nevertheless, a few may become recidivists. Fires lit by children tend to occur in the home. They are often spurred by curiosity or boredom and may also be a form of attention seeking. Simple match-play can result in uncontrollable destruction and injury to the child and others. In recent years, fire-play has been reported as a major cause of death among preschoolers, leading to thousands of injuries and hundreds of deaths each year in the United States.

Juveniles

Juvenile arson is associated with occasional vandalism or more general delinquency and is frequently a group activity. In the United Kingdom, a majority of offenders cautioned or found guilty of arson are between 10 and 14 years of age. The school and its immediate surroundings are often the site of the firesetting, and half the fires occur during school hours. The majority of school fires result in little or no damage, but some incidents can result in significant harm to property and/or individuals. In the United Kingdom, an estimated 20 schools experience an arson attack each week, and around 100,000 children are deprived of schooling as a consequence. Youth may also be involved in seasonal arsons, around celebratory dates such as New Year's Eve, July 4, and Halloween

in the United States and Guy Fawkes Night in England. Traditionally, these holidays involve fireworks and bonfires, as well as the consumption of alcohol, which contribute to the opportunity for malicious firesetting by lowering inhibitions and facilitating access to firesetting paraphernalia. In the United States, arson fires have been estimated to rise by nearly 10% above the national average on Halloween night and Devil's Night or Mischief Night (the night before Halloween).

The Mentally Impaired

Deliberate firesetting has been linked to mental disturbances and personality disorders, such as schizophrenia, intellectual retardation, suicidal ideation, and psychopathy. Arsonists are reportedly more likely to suffer from a mental disorder than other criminals, though the few studies available suffer from sampling problems. Pathological firesetting as a syndrome is called *pyromania*. Today there is growing doubt regarding the existence of pyromania as a distinct mental disorder. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) notes that pathological firesetting seems rare. Nevertheless, pyromania is still invoked to explain the deliberate setting of wildfires or the presence of arsonists among firefighters.

Criminals

Criminals may use arson to conceal evidence of another crime. For example, thieves and joy riders may set cars alight once they have stripped them of all saleable parts or have no more use of them. Arson can also be used to destroy forensic evidence in cases of burglary or murder.

Property Owners and Developers

Arson for profit entails people's destruction of their own property or business and is a form of insurance fraud. Car owners may set their old vehicles afire as a means of disposal. In some cases, landlords have used arson to chase away unwanted tenants and tenants have used it to obtain new housing. Arson may also be used to free up land for development in both urban and rural environments. This type of arson may be linked to organized criminal activity. Though insurers are the intended

target of many of these fires, arson for profit can result in significant collateral damage to lives, properties, communities, and local economies.

Political Activists

Arson can also be a means of violent political action. In 1995 and 1996, the United States experienced a rash of African American church arsons, thought to be motivated by racism. Population riots often result in the burning of property, especially cars parked on the streets. Arson and bombings have been used by radical individuals and organizations, such as antiabortionists, radical environmentalists, and animal rights activists, as well as by nationalist, separatist, anarchist, Marxist, and religious fundamentalist groups, among others. Some organizations target property with minimum threat to life, while others indiscriminately target individuals. A last form of political firesetting is self-immolation, which is a form of suicide by fire intended to attract widespread attention to a collective cause. Since its very public use by Buddhist monks in South Vietnam in the 1960s, self-immolation has entered the repertoire of political protest.

Acquaintances and Intimates

Arson can also be a form of interpersonal and intimate violence. It can be the outcome of a domestic or neighboring dispute, or a means of retaliating against a perceived grievance. Victims of revenge arsons tend to share a long history of conflict with the offender. Interpersonal firesetting may result from real or perceived sexual infidelity and lead to the destruction of the partner's personal effects or to direct injury. This type of fire is likely to be set in or around the home. Both men and women are victims of intimate arson.

Prevention

Education

Efforts to prevent the occurrence of firesetting behavior typically seek to educate children, parents, teachers, and other community actors. Educational programs are adapted to the child's developmental stage. They provide basic fire safety tips and familiarize children with the consequences of firesetting. In the United Kingdom,

the Arson Prevention Bureau administers Kids Zone, an interactive resource for teachers, parents, and other educators to engage children on the subject of hoax calls, fire-play, and deliberate firesetting. Lesson plans include role playing, discussions, and thought experiments, to get children thinking about the consequences of their actions and encourage them to resist peer pressure. In the United States, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) sponsors Arson Awareness Week to focus public attention on a different aspect of the problem each year, such as the risks presented by abandoned buildings or toy lighters.

Treatment

Treatment interventions are aimed at youth and adults who have already exhibited patterns of firesetting behavior. Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) is the most popular approach. Treatment is conducted with adult arsonists in psychiatric institutions and with juveniles and their families in a variety of settings. CBT allows offenders to recognize the circumstances leading to the firesetting and adopt alternative coping strategies. Other approaches involve anger management, self-esteem development, assertiveness training, and satiation and aversive techniques. Medication and confinement may be used as last resort. Today, treatment options are part of the traditional fire safety apparatus, though systematic evaluations of their effectiveness are still lacking. British fire and rescue services routinely refer young firesetters for psychological assessment and counseling.

Sociosituational Interventions

Other forms of intervention target the environment rather than the offenders by reducing opportunities for arson. The United States Fire Administration offers funding to community-based organizations to tackle arson at the local level, and many of these organizations' projects have been concerned with rehabilitating vacant buildings, keeping housing at near maximum occupancy, and ensuring that structures conform to fire safety standards. In Detroit, Halloween fires have been significantly reduced by increasing guardianship through the Angels' Night project. On the nights of October 29 through 31, 50,000 volunteers watch over Detroit's neighborhoods by

turning on their porch lights, "adopting" abandoned buildings, and patrolling the city streets to deter offenders and report suspicious activity. In the United Kingdom, leaflets and toolkits published by the Arson Prevention Bureau provide schools and businesses with arson vulnerability assessment checklists and practical prevention advice, such as ways to secure premises, limit access to flammable material, and reduce the scope of any fire damage.

Though the arson problem remains under-addressed, current efforts are aimed at integrating the prevention activities of various agencies and increasing the awareness of the public. In addition, public perception that arson is often a victimless crime must be challenged.

Noemie Bouhana

See also Economic Costs of Victimization; Hate and Bias Crime; Intimate Partner Violence; Offender-Based Programs; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; Terrorism/Terror Attack; Vandalism

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ASSAULT: SIMPLE AND AGGRAVATED

Violent victimizations have been decreasing in the United States since the mid-1990s; nevertheless,

violent victimization continues to be prevalent in American society. Assaults are the most common violent crimes committed in America, and although incidents of assault are not necessarily lethal, the potential for them to cause irreversible harm is always present. To describe the nature of assault, this entry explores the difference between assault and battery, the characteristics of simple and aggravated assault, and what groups are most likely to be victims of simple and aggravated assault in the United States.

Assault and Battery

The terms *assault* and *battery* are consistently used in conjunction with one another. Although the terms are often used interchangeably, they are, in reality, two separate offenses. While battery is the actual use of force against another person, assault is defined as attempted battery or intentionally frightening another person into believing a battery will occur. Since a battery cannot happen without the assault, the acts are merged together to hold the individual responsible for only one crime, the battery. It should be noted that some states (i.e., New York) allow for a charge of an attempted assault; however, most recognize that an “attempt to attempt a battery” is an absurd charge.

For an assault to occur, there must be specific elements present: intent, the act, the victim, and in some instances, the ability. For an act to be labeled an assault, the intent to commit a battery or to cause fear of bodily harm must be established. The battery itself does not have to be proven, but simply one person’s violation of another’s personal space. In addition, an act must take place that establishes an actor’s having intended and/or taken significant steps toward committing the battery. In the case of establishing fear, words alone are not enough to establish an attempted battery; physical gestures must be used in conjunction with the words to support the assumption that bodily harm is imminent. The victim does not need to be aware that the crime is about to occur for police to establish assault; however, in cases of establishing fear, the victim must be made aware of the possibility of bodily harm (i.e., a threat). Finally, the ability to commit an assault must be proven in many states.

Simple and Aggravated Assault

Although assault is legally defined as the attempt to commit battery, criminal justice agencies often combine the terms *assault* and *battery* into a single statute. Thus, the term *assault* has come to have a range of meanings, which vary from a threat of harm to a serious violent attack. According to the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, assault is the unlawful attack by one person on another. Assault is typically broken down into two types: simple and aggravated. Simple assault can be defined as an attack or attempted attack that causes minimal to no harm and does not include the use of a weapon. For instance, one person’s spitting in another person’s face may be considered assault; however, in most instances, assaults typically involve minor injuries such as bruising. Simple assaults are misdemeanor offenses. Cases that result in no bodily harm are typically classified as Class C misdemeanors, and conviction typically results in the payment of a fine. In the cases in which some form of bodily injury has occurred, simple assault is classified as a Class A or B misdemeanor for which conviction may result in jail time; however, such convictions typically result in probation and/or a payment of fines.

In contrast, the UCR Program defines aggravated assault as the unlawful attack of an individual with the intent to inflict severe or aggravated bodily injury. In most instances of aggravated assault, a weapon is used or hospitalization is required due to serious injury. Although both the UCR Program and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data characterize aggravated assault as an assault with a deadly weapon, the NCVS data only define an assault as aggravated if the act resulted in two or more days of hospitalization. Since aggravated assaults are committed with such violent intent, they are considered felonies, which may result in imprisonment upon conviction. Depending on the state and the circumstances surrounding the aggravated assault, an individual convicted of aggravated assault may receive a sentence ranging anywhere from 5 to 90 years. For instance, the guidelines established under Georgia state law allows for a sentence of 5 to 20 years in prison, depending on factors including but not limited to the intent of the assault, if there was a weapon used, and the person the act was

committed against (e.g., a police officer or a teacher).

On average, assaults represent the vast majority of violent victimization reports. Of the 5.2 million violent acts committed against individuals in 2007, approximately 84% of those incidents were the result of an assault. Although aggravated assault is the more serious of the crimes, simple assaults occur at higher rates than aggravated assaults. The NCVS reports that there are approximately three times as many simple as aggravated assaults. In 2007, there was an estimated rate of 13.9 per 1,000 simple assaults, compared to 3.4 per 1,000 aggravated assaults. Although there are fewer aggravated than simple assaults, more than 800,000 aggravated assaults were reported to the police. This estimate, however, is most likely an underestimate. Although victims are more likely to report aggravated assaults than simple assaults, only about 62% of aggravated assaults are reported to the police. In reality, the NCVS estimates that more than 1.2 million individuals are victims of aggravated assault.

Although the actual number of assaults that annually occur within the United States may not be determinable, who is most likely to be a perpetrator of an assault has been established. Typically, offenders are male, between the ages of 15 and 34, and of a lower socioeconomic status.

Victims of Simple and Aggravated Assault

Simple and aggravated assaults cross all socioeconomic, cultural, and geographic boundaries; however, certain populations are disproportionately represented in simple and aggravated assault data. Hence, some groups are more vulnerable to the risk of victimization through assault than others. There are a number of factors that influence who will be a victim of assault. According to the NCVS, Blacks are more likely than Whites to be a victim of an aggravated assault. For instance, in 2007, the rate of victimization for Blacks was higher than that of Whites. However, Whites were only slightly more likely to report being a victim of a simple assault. Interestingly, the NCVS reported that individuals reporting two or more races had significantly higher rates for simple and aggravated assaults than did Whites or Blacks. When taking ethnicity into consideration, Hispanics have a

higher rate of both simple and aggravated assaults compared to non-Hispanics.

The 2007 data also revealed that males are more likely than females to be the victims of both simple and aggravated assaults. In 2007, the rates of simple and aggravated assaults for males were 14.5 and 4.5 per 1,000, respectively, compared to assault rates of females of 13.2 and 2.4. Males, in general, are more likely to be assaulted by strangers, while females are more likely to be victimized by someone they know; both adolescent and elderly males are also more likely to be assaulted by someone they know. Consistent with the literature, the NCVS determined that individuals under 25 years of age are more likely to be assaulted than those who are over 25. For instance, in 2007 the rates of simple and aggravated assaults for adults between the ages of 20 and 24 were 7.5 and 21.2 per 1,000, respectively, compared to 4.8 and 15.3 per 1,000 for adults between the ages of 25 and 34. Juveniles aged 16–19 had rates of assaults similar to those of adults under 25 for aggravated assaults; however, the juvenile rate for simple assaults was much higher, 34.2 per 1,000.

Income and marital status are also factors in determining if an individual will be a victim of assault. Those living below the poverty line are more likely to experience assaults. In addition, single and divorced individuals have higher rates of assaults than those who are married or widowed.

Further, geographic location plays a role in whether an individual is likely to be victimized. For instance, individuals residing in the West are more likely to be victims of simple and aggravated assault than those residing in other areas in the United States. In addition, individuals living in urban areas are more likely to be assault victims than those living in either suburban or rural areas.

The factors listed above can contribute to risk of being a victim of simple and/or aggravated assault, especially when they intersect with one another. Nevertheless, the vulnerability to assault is not endemic to a single group. Since assaults are typically spontaneous acts that often escalate in the heat of passion, anyone can be a victim of simple or aggravated assault regardless of demographic, cultural, or geographic factors.

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See also National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS);
National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS);
Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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B

BANK AND CASH-IN-TRANSIT ROBBERY

It is important to examine highly specific types of crime, because each type has a unique criminal opportunity structure. Thus robbery is a general category of crime that includes several distinct variants; for instance, robbery occurs on streets, at post offices, at fast-food restaurants, and near automated teller machines. Although crimes at these locations all fall under the label of robbery, each crime involves different types of offenders, victims, and techniques. Therefore, it is essential to examine particular subtypes of robbery rather than robbery in general. To that end, two specific types of robbery are explored here: bank robbery and cash-in-transit robbery. Although these crimes are relatively rare, understanding them is important because they invoke fear in the community at large and sometimes result in violence.

According to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program handbook, robbery is a theft or larceny aggravated by the threat or use of force. Accordingly, bank robbery is a theft or larceny aggravated by the threat or use of force that occurs *at bank branches operated by financial institutions with federally insured deposits*. Similarly, cash-in-transit robbery refers to a theft or larceny aggravated by the threat or use of force targeted *at armored financial couriers and their guards*. Overall, bank robbery and cash-in-transit robbery are similar crimes in some respects.

For instance, both offenses involve highly secure targets that contain large sums of money. Nevertheless, these offenses also require distinctive techniques and offer unique advantages and disadvantages to different types of offenders. For these reasons, this entry discusses the characteristics of each offense, the types of offenders involved, and crime prevention strategies.

Bank Robbery Trends and Characteristics

Roughly 2 out of every 100 robberies in the United States occur at a bank. Among all the different types of robbery, then, bank robbery is rare. Thus, few people will ever actually have a firsthand experience as a victim or witness of bank robbery. Nevertheless, multiple sources show that bank robbery has been a mounting problem over the last few decades. In fact, some statistics suggest that bank robbery is the fastest growing type of robbery in the United States, especially in many metropolitan areas. For instance, Chicago experienced a sharp increase in the number of bank robberies during the 1990s that prompted the development of a citywide bank robbery initiative. Despite some fluctuations in the United States for certain years, the overall pattern suggests that bank robbery counts have continually climbed through the 1990s with a current average of about 7,000 incidents each year.

Increases in bank robbery have been explained by several factors. Some argue that the expansion of bank minibranches and extension of banking hours have enhanced target access for many potential

robbers. In addition, bank robbery is one of the most lucrative forms of robbery. On average, bank robbers in the United States enjoy an average payoff of about \$4,000 per heist. What is more, bank robbers can expect to keep their large haul, given that 80% of the money stolen in bank robberies is not recovered. Finally, bank robbery can be completed quickly (often in less than 3 minutes) and is perpetrated against targets perceived to be low risk.

There are several reasons robbers might perceive banks as low-risk targets. First, banks have highly predictable interior designs and standard operating procedures. Therefore, robbers enter a bank with a good idea of what to expect from both the physical environment and bank staff. Second, bank robbers expect victim compliance during a robbery. With bank employees trained to ensure safety during a robbery, bank robbers usually face little or no resistance. Finally, bank robbers may believe they will not be caught. This belief, however, is not entirely confirmed. Although most bank robberies are initially successful, bank robbery has one of the highest clearance rates of all types of crime. In fact, nearly two thirds of bank robberies are solved within one month. The risk of arrest, however, declines drastically as time elapses after the incident.

Bank robbery is distinguished from other forms of crime in several respects. One of these is the reporting of the crime, as U.S. banks are *required* by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to report robbery. This requirement likely explains why bank robbery is one of the most fully reported crimes in the United States. In addition, bank robbery has a remarkably high arrest clearance rate—about 80%, according to the FBI. In fact, a high percentage of bank robbers are caught on the same day of the robbery at or near the scene of the crime. Avoiding the threat of immediate apprehension is difficult because bank robbery is reported quickly, often occurs during daylight hours, and is observable by multiple witnesses and security cameras. Finally, bank robbery differs from other crimes because of its high conviction rate. In 1990, for instance, 93% of bank robbers tried in the United States were convicted and sentenced.

Studies show that the majority of bank robberies occur in cities. However, recent trends suggest

that bank robberies in smaller towns are now on the rise. Specifically, the portion of bank robberies that occurred in nonurban settings increased from 20% in 1996 to 33% in 2002.

Bank robberies appear to follow clear temporal patterns. Friday seems to be the most popular day of the week for committing bank robbery—perhaps because many bank branches have extended hours on this day. Research also shows that bank robberies cluster around certain times. Most bank robberies occur around morning and midday hours—usually between the hours of 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. Bank robbers might favor this period because banks are often less busy during these hours, meaning fewer customers to contend with during a robbery.

The use of weapons in bank robbery has received considerable research attention. Studies from both the United States and Australia suggest that the role of weapons in bank robbery has changed over the past few decades. In the United States during the 1980s, firearms were a common “tool” used in a high percentage of bank robberies. Furthermore, bank robbers in Australia often used pistols in the early 1980s, but opted for long-arms near the end of the decade. After the 1980s, however, bank robbers started using fewer weapons during heists. In the United States, some reports claim that weapon use has become uncommon and is still declining. In Australia, bank robbers have begun abandoning firearms in favor of a new weapon—intimidation through sheer numbers (i.e., gangs of bank robbers). In fact, from 1998 to 2002, roughly 62% of bank robberies perpetrated by gangs of offenders did not involve a weapon.

Because robbers expect bank staff to surrender money without hesitation, many of them may feel little need to be armed. Nevertheless, some bank robbers still use firearms or other weapons. Interestingly, research shows that bank robbers who do use weapons are not likely to inflict physical harm upon victims. One study of 281 separate bank robberies revealed that there were only 2 fatalities and 19 injuries by gunfire, even though 391 of the 500 bank robbers involved were armed. The sight of a weapon will intimidate most victims during a bank robbery; therefore, armed offenders likely do not have to resort to violence to gain compliance.

Characteristics of Bank Robbers

Bank robbery is unique in that convicted bank robbers are often subject to social and criminal background investigations from law enforcement, courts, corrections, and probation. Data from these sources can be used to create a demographic sketch of bank robbers. Bank robbers are typically young adult males. Specifically, one study found that about 96% of convicted bank robbers were male, and roughly 71% were between the ages of 16 and 30. Although bank robbers are usually young, they are often older than other types of robbers. Regarding race, 56% of the sample were Black, while 43% were White. Furthermore, most bank robbers are not well educated—many dropped out of high school, while others were not educated beyond the eighth grade. Finally, a large portion of the convicted bank robbers in this study were unemployed at the time of their crime. Therefore, it is not surprising that most robbers cite the need for cash as the primary motivation for their offending.

Bank robbers can be classified as professionals or amateurs. Overall, most bank robberies are considered the work of amateurs. Amateur bank robbers are usually unarmed, undisguised, unprepared (i.e., did little planning prior to the offense), and alone during the heist. Furthermore, although most bank robberies occur during morning or mid-day hours, some amateurs even pick inopportune times to offend (i.e., during peak business hours when banks are full of customers). By contrast, professional bank robbers carefully plan their heists, offend in groups at opportune times, design escape routes, use disguises, obscure surveillance cameras, and use weapons or verbal threats. These practices increase professionals' likelihood of success and netting greater monetary payoffs than their amateur counterparts. Distinguishing between bank robberies committed by amateurs and those committed by professionals could help banks assess the risks of bank robbery and identify the most appropriate crime prevention strategies.

Repeat Bank Robberies

Volumes of research show that certain people and places are prone to repeat victimization. Not surprisingly, some banks are repeatedly targeted for robbery. One study of bank robbery in the United Kingdom confirms this claim, finding that after

any robbery, about 50% of robbed banks are targeted again within a 3-year period. The same study also revealed that many of these repeats occurred soon after the initial robbery—with about one third of them taking place within 2 months. In all, then, repeat bank robberies are not uncommon and the risk is fairly immediate.

Some bank robbers will target the same branch if an earlier robbery was successful. In fact, research shows that the probability of a repeat bank robbery is roughly predictable from the average sum taken from prior robberies at the same branch. A successful robbery, however, does not always ensure another lucrative "hit." Researchers claim that some repeat bank robberies are actually less successful because branches have added security upgrades and provided additional staff training in response to an earlier incident. There are several reasons, besides being labeled a known success, why some banks are repeatedly robbed while others are not: Some banks are more vulnerable to repeats due to their location, business practices, and security measures.

Responses to Bank Robbery

Banks have implemented numerous measures to reduce the risk of robbery. One of the more popular and more promising strategies is hiring uniformed security guards. For instance, a study of more than 200 banking offices across several states revealed that the presence of uniformed guards reduced the risk of bank robbery by almost one robbery per year for more robbery-prone branches. The same study, however, showed that neither bullet-proof barriers nor security cameras significantly deterred bank robbers.

In other areas, some banks have also responded to robbery by keeping less cash on the premises, installing security alarms, banning disguises, offering rewards, using dye packs that stain stolen money, and using traceable bait money. More specifically, the Chicago Police Department teamed up with the FBI to conduct security seminars with more than 250 bank employees across the city. An evaluation of this initiative showed that, together with increased law enforcement efforts, the number of bank robberies in Chicago declined substantially in the months following the seminar. Given the variety of ways to reduce bank robbery, more

evaluations are needed to determine which strategies hold the greatest potential for effectiveness.

Cash-in-Transit Robbery

While some robbers target banks, others prefer robbing cash-in-transit vehicles. There are two main methods for committing cash-in-transit robbery: stopping and then attacking a mobile transit vehicle, or robbing drivers or guards during delivery or collection. One study from the United Kingdom showed that most robbers preferred the latter method due to the difficulty of stopping a moving vehicle. A drawback of robbing guards “across the pavement,” however, is the uncertainty about how much money they possess.

Cash-in-transit robbery has both advantages and disadvantages compared to other types of robbery. On one hand, it is attractive because robbers can net large payoffs without facing the threat of being “trapped” inside a bank or other commercial establishment. On the other hand, it is challenging because robbers must directly confront armed guards or overtake a heavily armored vehicle. Given these added challenges, cash-in-transit robbery seems to attract more experienced and skilled offenders.

Accordingly, some researchers have examined the differences in “professionalism” of cash-in-transit robbers and other types of robbers (i.e., those who target banks, post offices, or shops). Overall, these researchers have found that cash-in-transit robbers appear more “professional” in several aspects. First, they are often more experienced than other types of robbers (i.e., older and more likely to have been in prison). Second, they are more prepared—they are more likely to spend time planning the robbery, wear disguises or special clothing, utilize “tips” from other offenders, and monitor targets prior to the heist. Finally, cash-in-transit robbers take extra steps to ensure control during the robbery, by using violence or weapons and avoiding drugs and alcohol beforehand.

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See also Bystander Intervention; Closed-Circuit Television; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Guns and Victimization; Repeat Victimization, Theories of; Robbery; Situational Crime Prevention

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BATTERED-CHILD SYNDROME

Battered-child syndrome was the first term used by physicians in the United States to describe an array of symptoms in children physically injured or severely neglected by their caregivers. The term *battered-child syndrome* is now seldom used; terms encompassing types of abuse, such as *child maltreatment* and *child abuse*, and up-to-date medical terms, such as *shaken baby syndrome* and *nonaccidental trauma*, are more commonly employed. In the legal sector, battered-child syndrome has had limited use as an affirmative defense for parricide. However, in a historical context, the establishment of the term remains as a significant milestone in the treatment of victimized children. This entry begins with a brief definition of battered-child syndrome, then provides the historical perspective of the term’s impact on the treatment and protection of battered children, a summary of U.S. statistics of child maltreatment, and the prognosis for battered children.

Definition

Battered-child syndrome is used to denote the severe physical abuse or neglect of a child, typically by a caregiver. Common manifestations are broken bones, bruises, lacerations, burns, head trauma, radiological evidences of repetitive fractures, and signs of malnutrition. Telling indications of such abuse include the caregiver's delay in seeking medical treatment for the injured child and/or giving an account of events not matching the child's injuries, as well as the child's having cigarette burns, unexplained unconsciousness, and/or bruises shaped like a fist, hand, or belt.

Historical Perspectives

Historically, childhood has been a harsh and perilous life stage. Less than 150 years ago, children were considered property and could be treated as their parents saw fit. At best, childhood was seen as a time to break the incorrigibility of children and purge evil from their hearts.

A historic U.S. court case of child abuse involved a young girl, Mary Ellen Wilson, who was being beaten and starved. In 1874, Child Protective Services did not exist; thus, Mary Ellen Wilson was represented in court by the Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The case created a great deal of public outrage and resulted in the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Subsequently, due to child advocacy efforts, positive progress was begun in the treatment of children. Yet the claims by these groups regarding the problem of child abuse lacked credibility. Moreover, professional accountability, such as mandatory reporting laws to prevent further abuse of children, were not yet established, leaving the majority of abused children unprotected.

"The Battered-Child Syndrome," by C. Henry Kempe and his colleagues, was published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1962, providing the much-needed recognition of the societal ill of maltreated children. Acknowledgement by the medical profession of the prevalence of life-threatening physical abuse and neglect of children was chiefly due to advances in radiology, namely diagnostic X-rays. Physical abuse of children became detectable through the X-rays' documentation of repetitive damage to children's bones, which told stories of severe abuse

and provided undeniable evidence that demanded a diagnosis.

Battered-child syndrome, as presented by Kempe and his colleagues, consisted of three major components. The first element was the clinically observed manifestations of physical abuse and neglect (e.g., broken bones, bruises, head injuries, malnourishment). The second, a key diagnostic marker of battered-child syndrome, was a clear inconsistency between the caregiver's explanation of the child's physical injury and the clinical findings. Finally, the psychiatric condition of the batterer was noted as a crucial part of the syndrome. Child batterers were described as possibly suffering from psychosis, psychopathic disorders, low intelligence, alcoholism, and/or aggressive tendencies, and as having a history of childhood victimization.

The declared purpose for providing physicians with diagnostic criteria for battered-child syndrome was to guarantee that no repetition of the abuse occurred. The sway of Kempe and his colleagues and the poignant term *battered child* provided momentum for child advocacy groups. As a result, by the end of the 1960s, laws mandating that professionals report suspected cases of child abuse had been enacted in every U.S. state. In criminal court, however, unclear legislation concerning battered-child syndrome has hindered the use of the syndrome as an affirmative defense in cases of parricide committed by victimized juveniles.

Incidence of Battering

In the United States in 2006, according to national statistics, 905,000 children were reported victims of abuse or neglect, at a rate of 12 children per 1,000. The younger the child, the greater the risk, with children from birth to 1 year abused at a rate of 24 children per 1,000—double the average rate. An estimated 1,530 children died from abuse or neglect in 2006, and 78% of those killed were younger than 4 years old. These statistics are based on child abuse cases that were reported to social services agencies, investigated, and had sufficient evidence to meet the legal definition of abuse or neglect. While the true incidence of abuse is virtually impossible to determine, the data cited above are likely underestimates, as many professionals believe that many incidents of abuse and neglect are never reported to officials.

Prognosis

The prognosis for a battered child depends on whether the child survives his or her injuries, whether the injuries are permanent, and whether the child is protected from further trauma. Services that protect children often are needed to ensure the child's safety. The willingness of the caregivers to seek psychotherapy for the child that targets the effects of abuse, as well as the caregivers' participation in child-parent psychotherapy and psycho-educational parenting interventions, enhances the child's chances for recovery and decreases the likelihood of further abusive experiences.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Family Violence; Mandatory Reporting Statutes; Shaken Baby Syndrome

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BATTERED WOMAN SYNDROME

The term *battered woman syndrome* (BWS) was coined by Lenore Walker to describe the psychological impact of intimate partner violence (IPV) on women. Today BWS is best known for its use in expert testimony for battered women standing trial for the homicide of their abusive partners. Since the inception of the concept in the late 1970s, academic and legal understandings of it have advanced and it has faced immense criticism.

As a result of these critiques, *battering and its effects* is now commonly used in place of *battered woman syndrome*. This discussion begins by defining *battered woman syndrome* and outlining its use in the legal system, then provides a critical examination of the concept, and ends with the current use and understanding of BWS.

Definition

Walker coined the term *battered woman syndrome* after conducting a study of battered women in the late 1970s. In her 1984 book, *The Battered Woman Syndrome*, she describes the syndrome as a group of “psychological sequela” that victims develop from their experiences in abusive relationships. The definition of BWS has changed since it was first formulated by Walker, and there is not one consistent definition used throughout the literature, but it appears that most definitions of the term include a combination of the cycle of violence, learned helplessness, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Walker's term *cycle of violence* refers to the cyclical nature of abusive relationships as they move through three key phases. The cycle of violence begins with the “tension-building” stage. At this point, tension builds in the intimate relationship, but it does not result in violence. Next, the tension develops into violence at the “acute battering” stage. Following the battering, the abuser tries to make up for his actions in the “loving-contrition” stage that is commonly referred to as the “honeymoon” stage. The honeymoon stage is thought to encourage women to stay in battering relationships because they experience a decrease in violence or have nonviolent interactions with their abusers. From this perspective, abuse occurs in a cyclical manner, but the amount of time spent in each stage varies for each individual abusive situation. While the cyclical nature of violence is important to the definition of BWS, it is necessary to mention that the cycle of violence outlined above is not universally agreed upon by scholars of IPV. In addition to the cycle of violence, *learned helplessness* is also central to the definition of BWS. Following repeated abuse, some victims of IPV experience learned helplessness. After learning that their behavior does not prevent or control the violence, victims may stop trying to help themselves in their abusive

situations. Learned helplessness is commonly used as an explanation for why some victims are not able to leave their abusers. Finally, the most recent addition to the definition of BWS is its connection to *posttraumatic stress disorder*. While BWS is not listed in the American Psychological Association's 1994 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV), Walker suggests that based on the psychological symptoms of BWS, it should be considered a category of PTSD.

The definition of BWS is also dependent upon who is using the concept. For instance, a clinical psychologist may have a different understanding of BWS than someone involved in legal proceedings for a battered woman. Overall, even with varying definitions of and perspectives on BWS, it is generally characterized by the concepts of cycle of violence, learned helplessness, and its connection to PTSD, which all shed light on the ways IPV affects battered women.

Use in the Legal System

Historically, under the recommendation of their lawyers, battered women who were accused of killing their abusers either pled guilty to the offense or claimed insanity. It was not until the late 1970s that women who committed homicide while protecting themselves and/or their children against their abusive partners began to plead self-defense. At this time, the testimonies of experts, such as Walker and Julie Blackman, were introduced in order to help juries evaluate whether a battered woman's use of lethal force against her abusive partner was done in self-defense. Advocates for the use of expert testimony on BWS believed those judging battered women in the legal system might not fully understand IPV and, consequently, how victims perceive their abusive situations. Expert testimony on BWS allowed the defense to present information on IPV to the courtroom that might illuminate how an abusive situation could have had an impact on the defendant's options, choices, and actions.

Battered woman syndrome has commonly been mistaken as a legal defense for battered women who kill their abusers. BWS, though, is not an actual legal defense. It is a form of social framework testimony that can be presented in legal

proceedings to help explain the actions of victims of IPV. Battered women who have killed their abusers while defending themselves, like others who have felt the need to defend themselves in a lethal manner, are able to plead traditional self-defense. However, although victims of IPV may plead self-defense, feminist scholars have critiqued the utility of self-defense for battered women. They suggest that self-defense is based on the "reasonable man" standard, which makes it difficult for women to effectively use self-defense pleas while on trial for killing their abusive partners. Battered women's cases may not appear to be typical self-defense cases because of the nature of IPV. Homicide involving an intimate partner, someone with whom the defendant shared a life and may have had children, is very different from homicide involving strangers or acquaintances. As a result of this problem, expert testimony on BWS was introduced as a way for the defense to educate the courtroom as to how the defendant perceived her abusive situation and why she felt the need to use lethal force against her intimate partner. While BWS is important to the claim of self-defense for victims of IPV, it is not the only form of support used by the defense. Typically, BWS is one part of a larger strategy to prove the actions of the battered woman were committed in self-defense.

Critiques

While BWS was introduced into the courtroom with the intent of helping juries understand the actions of women in abusive situations, it has been greatly criticized by both legal scholars and domestic violence scholars. One of the primary critiques of BWS has focused on the use of the word *syndrome*. The term *syndrome* presents an image of someone who is defective or ill. Instead of BWS being a way to help understand the effects of battering, some claim it depicts victims of IPV as pathological. Language such as this suggests there is something wrong with the victim and her actions, which is problematic to assume if she was just trying to survive her abusive situation. In addition, the term *syndrome* focuses the attention on the victim instead of on the abuser and his actions.

Another major critique of BWS is that it stereotypes battered women. Labeling the impact of abuse on women *battered woman syndrome* suggests

there is one type of victim and one way that every battered woman responds. It creates the idea that some women are “real” battered women, while other women who do not measure up to the stereotype are not “real” battered women. In reality, battered women are a diverse group. Not only are women affected by abuse in different ways, but victims respond to abuse in a variety of ways (e.g., by leaving the abuser, staying with the abuser, leaving and coming back, and in some cases, lethally defending themselves against the abuse). To suggest that there is one type of battered woman overlooks the distinct experiences of victims and ignores women’s agency. Furthermore, women’s experiences of battering are affected by the context in which it occurs. While abuse transcends race and ethnicity, social class, gender, sexuality, religion, and culture, not all victims have the same experiences. For instance, the way a battered woman views her victimization and the resources that are available to her are dependent upon the context in which the abuse occurs. Instead of recognizing the diversity of victims and their unique experiences and responses, some scholars argue that BWS creates a stereotype of what a battered woman is and how she should respond.

Likewise, explaining their experience of learned helplessness can present a challenge to battered women standing trial for homicide, as in many cases, they may not be seen as exhibiting this part of the syndrome. A woman’s defending herself and/or her children from her abusive partner is not perceived as the act of a helpless victim. This conflict between the actions of the victim and the notion of learned helplessness can be problematic. If BWS is understood as only applying to certain women who fit the stereotypical model of BWS, then women who violate this norm may not be viewed as eligible for a defense based on BWS.

Current Understandings and Use of Battered Woman Syndrome

Due to the critiques of the term *battered woman syndrome*, two phrases, *battering and its effects* and *the effects of battering*, are now being used in its place by many scholars, lawyers, and courts. These new terms acknowledge the impact of battering and, without the pitfalls of BWS,

allow expert witnesses to present information on both the psychological effects and social context of abuse. While the term *battered woman syndrome* is still used in some settings, the movement to replace it with *battering and its effects* shows a growing understanding of the experiences of battered women.

Currently, expert testimony on battering and its effects may include a discussion of the nature of IPV, how IPV affects victims, the different ways victims respond to the abuse, and the context in which the abuse occurs. This kind of testimony can be presented in a general manner (e.g., by discussing the current academic understanding of IPV and the ways it affects victims) or a specific manner (e.g., by discussing the particular case framed within academic knowledge of IPV). While the particular rules surrounding the admissibility of expert testimony on BWS or battering and its effects vary by jurisdiction, it has now been allowed in courts in all U.S. states. The acceptance of expert testimony on battering and its effects shows an increased understanding of IPV within the legal system, but this does not guarantee that a victim standing trial for the death of her abuser will face a courtroom that understands her experiences as battered woman.

The use of expert testimony on battering and its effects has now been extended beyond cases of victims accused of killing their abusive partners in self-defense. This testimony has been utilized during both the sentencing process for battered women convicted of homicide and the clemency process for incarcerated victims. Furthermore, it is now recognized that battering may play a role in a variety of crimes committed by victims of IPV. In some states, testimony on battering and its effects has been presented in the defense of battered women for non-homicide-related crimes. In addition, testimony on battering and its effects is utilized in other legal situations, including prosecuting men for IPV or the homicide of their intimate partners and child custody cases.

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See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Intimate Partner Violence; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization

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BEREAVEMENT PROCESS

Following a homicide, the victim's survivor may be in a state of crisis. This entry discusses the bereavement process in general. It then describes a typology of patterns, based on the circumstances of the homicide and the lifestyles of the victim and survivor, that complicate the bereavement process of these "homicide survivors."

Most homicides are sudden and unexpected, and thus the significant others of a homicide victim have no opportunity to prepare for such a death, as they might have if an elderly family member was terminally ill. In the latter situation, significant others have an opportunity to do anticipatory grieving. Anticipatory grieving refers to the preparatory process individuals undergo when the death of someone close to them is expected, to temper the effect of the death. The anticipation of the death allows individuals to find coping mechanisms to

assist them in dealing with the death. Homicide victims do not have the luxury of anticipatory grieving, which often results in a more difficult grieving process. Research has suggested that it is easier for individuals to cope with a death that is expected than with one that is sudden and earlier in the life course.

Stages of the Grieving Process

Elisabeth Kübler-Ross has organized the grieving process into four stages: (1) shock and denial, (2) anger, (3) isolation, and (4) acceptance or recovery. The first stage, shock and denial, begins immediately after the survivor is notified of the death. In an attempt to use defense mechanisms to cope with the news of the homicide, the survivor may deny that the news of the death is true. The survivor may avoid the situation and resist any information about the death. This reaction is not long-lasting and serves as a coping mechanism for the survivor. The second stage of the grieving process is anger. During this stage, the survivor releases his or her anger and frustration on anyone or anything with which he or she comes in contact. In this stage, victims experience difficulty dealing with the anger and often do not know where to direct this emotion. This anger may be internalized, with the survivor blaming himself or herself for the homicide, or the survivor may project the anger onto the offender, onto society in general, or even onto the medical staff that was unable to save the victim. The third stage, isolation, leads the survivor to feelings of aloneness. Survivors may feel that no one could possibly understand and, therefore, that they have no one to rely on through this process. Survivors may also have difficulty knowing how to deal with others. These two sets of feelings often lead to withdrawal from friends, family, and work. After the survivor has experienced these three stages, he or she begins to return to normal routines. This is known as the acceptance or recovery stage. While the experience of the death does not completely leave the individual, the survivor recognizes that life must continue.

These stages do not follow a specific timetable for all survivors. For some, the process may occur quickly, but for others, it may take years. Some survivors may regress into previous stages before reaching acceptance. Unfortunately, the bereavement

process may be slowed because of the involvement of the criminal justice system. Homicide cases and trials can take years to unfold, prolonging survivors' recovery process. Although there is not extensive research on these survivors, the research that does exist suggests that the intensity of the feelings resulting from the homicide does decrease over time and eventually survivors experience a typical recovery pattern.

Survivors' Response Patterns

L. John Key noted that survivors respond to homicides differently depending on the type of homicide. He developed a typology, based on the type of homicide and the lifestyle and social context of the victim and survivor, to describe these response patterns. The five types of homicide he identified are (1) the alcohol- or other drug-related homicide, (2) the domestic violence homicide, (3) the gang-related homicide, (4) the isolated sudden homicide, and (5) the serial murder. The special circumstances of each of these homicides determine the survivors' responses to the event, and these responses may complicate their bereavement process.

The alcohol- or other drug-related homicide survivor pattern often involves survivors who had some knowledge of the victim's substance use or involvement in trafficking. With this knowledge, survivors may have anticipated that the victim would be involved in dangerous situations, and therefore may have been somewhat prepared for the potential loss of the victim. Sometimes these survivors may even feel a sense of relief once the event has occurred.

The domestic violence homicide survivor pattern may involve survivors' feeling guilty for not intervening when the early evidence of abuse appeared. These survivors may blame themselves, believing that had they intervened, their loved one would still be alive.

The gang-related homicide survivor pattern can be characterized by survivors' awareness that this homicide was a possibility. Although the survivors may have expected this event, they do not feel as though they had any control over the event, in contrast to the domestic violence homicide survivor. Gang-related homicide survivors recognize that the victim may have been a homicide offender

in the past and that it was just a matter of time before it was their loved one's turn.

Unlike the previous three types of homicide, the isolated sudden homicide and the serial murder are both completely unexpected. In these two instances, the survivors experience the bereavement process described earlier. While Key's typologies are not exhaustive, they do provide a framework for understanding how survivors respond differently to homicide.

Support for the Survivor

A critical element of the bereavement process is providing support for the survivor. This support should be initiated at the very beginning of the bereavement process, when the survivor is notified of the homicide. A healthy support system can assist with a multitude of issues facing the survivor throughout the grieving process. Counseling and homicide support groups are excellent sources of support for the survivor, as these services address the survivor's immediate and long-term needs.

Research suggests that significant others of homicide victims eventually reach a typical bereavement process, but due to special circumstances (such as the lack of anticipatory grieving, type of homicide, and background of the victim and survivor), the process differs across survivors.

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See also Death Notification; Domestic Violence; Gangs and Victimization; Homicide, Victim Advocacy Groups; Homicide and Murder; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Secondary Victims of Homicide; Victim Support Groups

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BRADY BILL

The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (hereafter the Brady law), which became effective on February 28, 1994, is the most significant piece of federal firearms control legislation passed in the United States since the Gun Control Act of 1968. This entry provides a brief overview of the Brady law, discusses the manner in which the law is designed to reduce gun violence, presents statistical data on the number of persons denied handguns during the first year of the law's operation, and ends with a brief comment on the most widely publicized study examining the effects of the Brady law on adult homicide.

Overview of the Brady Law

During its first 4½ years, the Brady law imposed a waiting period of 5 business days before an individual could purchase a handgun from a federally licensed firearms dealer. The law also required federal dealers to check with law enforcement authorities to see if the prospective buyers were disqualified under federal law from buying a gun, especially whether they had been convicted of a felony. The waiting period requirement was dropped after November 29, 1998, and the law's central gun-control mechanism became an instant background check on persons seeking to purchase guns of any kind, not just handguns, from federal dealers. Initially, the Brady law exempted the 18 states that already had their own gun-purchase background checks in place before 1994, but introduced new background checks into the remaining 32 states, which included about 46% of the U.S. population. Nine states originally classified as Brady states subsequently met alternative requirements, usually by implementing a permit to purchase or instant check system, and were reclassified as "Brady alternative" states.

How the Law Is Supposed to Reduce Criminal Violence

Supporters of the Brady law maintain that the law will reduce homicide by reducing the share of violent crimes resulting in death. The most clear-cut way the Brady law is meant to accomplish this

goal is by denying convicted criminals access to guns through licensed gun dealers. The required background check on prospective gun buyers provided a system by which the dealers could know whether the prospective buyer is legally prohibited from purchasing a gun under previously existing gun law. The record check would at a minimum scan computerized criminal history files and also make use of records, of varying degrees of completeness, concerning other categories of persons prohibited from acquiring guns.

During the first year of Brady's operation, about 49% of denials were for a criminal record, 39% were for administrative reasons (due to delays in accessing records), 8% were for traffic offenses, and less than 5% were for other reasons (involving ineligible categories or due to restraining orders). Excluding the presumably temporary administrative denials and erroneous traffic offense denials, 91% of denials were for criminal convictions.

Despite the large number of convicted felons denied handguns from licensed gun dealers, critics have remained skeptical about the Brady law's potential to reduce violence levels, pointing out its numerous shortcomings. First, it only restricts gun acquisitions through licensed gun dealers. The best available evidence indicates that about 73% of gun acquisitions by felons are made via routes other than purchases from retail outlets, such as theft or purchases from friends and relatives. Second, with respect to the 27% of criminals who, pre-Brady, acquired guns from retail dealers, an unknown but presumably nonnegligible share could also obtain guns from unlicensed sellers or licensees willing to ignore the law by using phony identification documents to avoid being identified as a disqualified person, or by using a "straw man" without disqualifying attributes to make the purchase on behalf of the real buyer.

Former president Bill Clinton and many lesser proponents of the Brady law have cited estimates of the number of denials as measures of the law's effectiveness. It is unclear, however, whether a large number of denials can be used as a measure of the law's success. Certainly, if the law is effective, it should lead to a large share of convicted criminals who seek to buy guns from dealers somehow being blocked. Yet a large number of denials could be seen as a failure of the law's deterrence role, since it denotes that large numbers of criminals attempted

to get guns from dealers irrespective of the law. In any event, the fact that a criminal was blocked from buying a gun from a dealer does not imply that he or she was prevented from acquiring a gun from any source.

The Law's Effects on Violence

The most widely cited evaluation of the Brady law concluded that its implementation was not associated with any one-time drop in adult homicide or suicide, except for suicides with firearms of those age 55 and older.

Tomislav Kovandzic

See also Crime Prevention; Guns and Victimization; Homicide and Murder

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BRITISH CRIME SURVEY (BCS)

The British Crime Survey (BCS) is one of the longest standing national victimization surveys, although second to the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in this respect. Like other victimization surveys, it counts crimes both

reported and not reported to the police, draws on victims' accounts to provide a picture of crime, and collects information to show which social groups are most vulnerable to victimization. This entry describes some main features of the BCS, outlines some of the changes that have been made to the survey, and points to some of its most important findings.

Main Features

The BCS was first conducted in 1982. It was then repeated more or less biennially until 2001, when it went onto a continuous interviewing cycle. The name British Crime Survey is something of a misnomer, as the survey only covers England and Wales. (Scotland has had a less regular series of surveys.)

The survey is carried out by the U.K. Home Office, which is responsible for analysis and publication of results. Its findings are now part of official crime statistics, along with offenses recorded by the police. This was not the case earlier on, when BCS results and police statistics were released as separate entities, giving rise to some confusion about how the two crime measures related to each other.

The BCS sample comprises those in private households age 16 or older. One person per household is interviewed (unlike in the NCVS). The respondent reports on crimes that can be seen as affecting the household as a whole (burglary, for instance). For personal crime such as assault, respondents report only on their own experiences. The survey has a "recall period" of one year (unlike the NCVS, which measures victimization over the preceding 6 months). The survey is cross-sectional, with no panel survey element as in the NCVS. BCS fieldwork has been subcontracted to private sector companies. These have changed over time, but the changes have been less frequent in recent years. Recognition of "company effects" was one factor here. Since 2001, BMRB Social Research has been the fieldwork contractor.

The survey collects extensive social and demographic information about respondents, including aspects of their lifestyle. In addition, census information is attached to the BCS to give details of respondents' neighborhoods. There also have been ethnic booster samples in most years, to better

assess the victimization experience of ethnic minorities. (Results have generally shown no effect or only a modest “ethnicity” effect on victimization, once other factors are taken into account.) The sample design is complicated, but national representativeness is maintained by weighting processes.

A distinguishing feature of the BCS, particularly in earlier years, was a flexible design that allowed adroit use of variable topic components outside the main crime-counting ones. Some topics were repeated intermittently; others were introduced to test particular research ideas—for instance, the relationship between victimization and self-reported offending. Where large numbers were not needed, the sample was often spilt to allow coverage of more topics. Early ones included drunk driving, Neighborhood Watch, and obscene telephone calls. From its inception, the BCS has measured people’s fear of crime, although the way in which this has been done has varied over time (reflecting lack of academic consensus about how fear is best measured). The survey has also regularly covered police–public contacts—again with several variations in approach. A more recent theme has been confidence in the criminal justice system.

Computer-Assisted Self-Interviewing

Since 1994, the BCS has used computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI), in which the questionnaire is programmed into a laptop computer that the interviewer uses to enter responses. A by-product of CAPI is the ability to allow respondents to use the computer themselves to answer questions of sensitive nature—a technique known as computer-assisted self-interviewing (CASI).

CASI had its first trial in 1994, when it was used to measure rape and sexual assault. CASI modules have been regularly included in the BCS since then. They have covered sexual victimization, domestic violence, stalking, buying stolen goods, and illicit drug misuse. CASI imposes limits on the complexity of questions that can be asked, but has nonetheless proved valuable. Levels of sexual and domestic violence revealed in CASI modules, for instance, are substantially higher than those resulting from the survey’s main screening methods. The CASI modules come after the main survey, and their results are reported separately and not as part of the main crime count.

Changes to the Survey

In addition to the introduction of CAPI and CASI, the BCS has undergone a number of other changes over the years. None was as significant as the redesign of the NCVS in the early 1990s, however, which resulted in a significant change in the number of some types of victimizations counted. With the BCS, the basic approach to measuring core household and personal victimization has remained unchanged.

One of the biggest changes was that the BCS began a continuous interviewing cycle in 2001, leading to inevitable changes in the calculation of annual victimization risks. The sample size has also changed over the years from a modest 11,000 core sample in the 1980s, to about 20,000 in 2000, to more than double that now. The current sample size services some numerical performance indicators for each police force area in England and Wales—for instance, it is possible to ask about “confidence in local policing.” Over time, the non-crime-counting content of the BCS questionnaire has become more routinized. The main reason for this is that the BCS now measures not only aspects of police performance but also a number of other government targets. These include fear of crime, antisocial behavior, and confidence in the criminal justice system. The use of the BCS in this way has been criticized by academics who feel that the survey has fallen afoul of administrative criminology. They see the survey as having lost touch with its earlier theory-testing role (with regard to lifestyle theory, for instance), and as having little scope for exploring more nuanced measures of public reactions to crime.

Over the past few years, the BCS has taken up issues of emerging interest. It has looked at stalking, cell phone theft, identity theft, credit card fraud, Internet fraud, computer viruses and hacking, and harassing or offensive email or cell phone messages. The number of these offenses is not added to the conventional BCS crime count.

In 2006, the BCS was subject to two independent reviews. One focused on the BCS methodology. The other—by the UK Statistics Commission—looked at relationship between the BCS and police statistics in providing national crime statistics. One of the main recommendations for the BCS was to extend coverage to those under the age of 16. As an attempt to address the victimization of younger age groups in the BCS in the early 1990s was not

particularly successful, there was an extensive program of work to develop and test new questions, and to assess their impact on the existing survey. Beginning in January 2009, children ages 10 to 15 in households selected to take part in the main survey have been included.

Another recommendation was to include those living in communal establishments. This was considered but found problematic, as no good sampling frame exists. A recommendation to cover the homeless has not been ruled out, but methodological work is currently on hold. A final recommendation was for more regular surveys of crimes against commercial victims. Planning for a new survey is under way.

Main Results

The BCS is a long-standing survey that has ranged widely in the topics on which it has inquired. Exhaustive description of its results is clearly not possible here, but four features of the results are described below.

Crime Trends

A main purpose of the BCS was to provide a measure of trends in crime that was independent of police statistics, which can be subject to changes in recoding practices and possible changes in the level of reporting to the police. Both the BCS and police statistics showed increasing crime in the 1980s, although the rise was sharper in police figures, reflecting growing reporting rates (possibly driven by higher levels of household insurance). The trend then reversed in the first half of the 1990s, with police figures growing less rapidly than BCS figures. Although the evidence is largely circumstantial, this was very possibly linked to the introduction of performance targets for the police to reduce crime. Both of the crime measures' figures peaked in the mid-1990s, but both have since fallen. The number of crimes now measured by the BCS is as low as the number in the first survey.

The Dark Figure

The "dark figure" of crime is a key criminological concept, essentially referring to offenses not reported to the police. The BCS is unusual in

attempting to quantify the dark figure by drawing tight comparison between police figures and BCS crime estimates—at least for "matchable" offenses. Offenses are classified according to police rules, based on detailed information on the "victim form" completed by those answering affirmatively to screener questions. Various adjustments are made to police figures to maximize comparability.

Matching BCS and police counts allows for both an estimate of the dark figure and comparisons of trends in crime according to the two measures. The matching process allows an estimate of the "recording shortfall" between the number of offenses estimated to have been reported to the police and the number recorded—a part of the dark figure. While the dark figure varies between offense categories, earlier sweeps of the BCS showed that, overall, roughly two thirds of BCS crimes were not reported to the police, and roughly one third of reported crimes were not recorded by the police. The figures have changed somewhat over time, with more offenses reported and comparatively fewer left unrecorded. The extra work involved in linking police and survey figures has increased the value of BCS information.

Victimization Risks

A principal aim of victim surveys is to show how risks of crime vary for different types of social groups. In this respect, the BCS is more inclusive than police records in the United Kingdom, which provide very little about the characteristics of victims.

The picture of risks from the BCS accords with that from a wealth of other victimization surveys. Four main aspects are important here. First, men are much more vulnerable than women to assaults and robbery, although the gender difference reverses for domestic violence. Higher risks are also evident among younger people, single people, and households with children. The BCS has also established that people's lifestyles and routine activities affect their vulnerability. Second, risk is largely concentrated among the less economically and socially well placed, who tend to live in areas of high offending. Third, variations in risk across areas differ somewhat according to offense type, with robbery, for instance, being more often an inner-city crime. Fourth, the probability of repeat

victimization is particularly unevenly spread. This has been firmly established by the BCS, whereas in the NCVS the handling of “series” incidents obscured the characteristics of repeat victimization to a large degree.

Self-Reported Illicit Drug Use

The BCS is now used to monitor government targets to reduce drug use among young people. For this purpose, it started to include an additional sample of those between the ages of 16 and 24, who are asked about illicit drug misuse via CASI. The most recent survey results show that 1 in 10 16- to 59-year-olds had used an illicit drug in the preceding year (mainly cannabis), with the figure double that for 16- to 24-year-olds. Class A drug use was about a third of this level. The respondents’ use of any illicit drug in the preceding year had decreased between 1996 and 2007/2008, due mainly to a decline in the use of cannabis. Usage of Class A drugs has fallen less.

Pat Mayhew

See also Calculating Extent of Victimization: Incidence, Prevalence, and Rates; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Lifestyle Theory; Methodological Issues in Counting Victims; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Repeat Victimization; Victimization Surveys

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Web Sites

Economic and Social Data Service: <http://www.esds.ac.uk>
Home Office Research and Statistics: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/>

BULLYING

Bullying is a complex topic, as bullying behavior occurs in many contexts in society—from schools and playgrounds to the workplace and the home. Bullies may be children or adults, and they often have pasts that are rife with problems. The behaviors that constitute bullying are diverse and often have a specific purpose and involve planning. The victims are chosen because of specific characteristics, and the bullying they experience often exacerbates these traits, leading to a cycle of increasing social isolation and lowering of self-esteem. There also are long-lasting effects of bullying on bullies and victims, as bullies are more likely than their peers to be perpetrators of crime, and victims are more likely to be abused as adults.

Researchers have only relatively recently become interested in and concerned about the victimization involved in bullying, particularly among children and adolescents. The pioneering research on this topic was done by psychologist Daniel Olweus at the University of Bergen in Norway. He began his work in 1970, but only received support from Norwegian school officials in 1982 after three boys committed suicide after being bullied and harassed. Since then, school systems in other countries have made efforts to address the problem of bullying. In the United States, bullying began to attract attention following school shootings by young men who had apparently been harassed by their peers. Bullying is now a central concern of teachers, school administrators, and parents.

Definition

Bullying behavior can occur in several forms and situations, and the definition of bullying includes the following three components. First, bullying involves intentional and aggressive behavior designed to intimidate, harass, exclude, destroy property, or physically injure others. The verbal behavior can take the form of threats, name-calling, teasing, demands for money or services, spreading of rumors, and/or obscene gestures. Some of these behaviors result in indirect bullying, such as spreading rumors; others are direct behaviors, such as name-calling.

Physical behaviors designed to bully are direct and can include tripping, shoving, pushing, or hitting. However, bullying is more likely to take the form of verbal intimidation than physical attacks. Second, for behavior to reach the level of bullying it must occur repeatedly (albeit not necessarily in the same form) and over time. Third, the victim must perceive the bully as more powerful than himself or herself in terms of physical strength, popularity, or competence.

Demographics and Extent

Among children and adolescents, bullying is most likely to occur in school than in any other place, particularly in areas that are not well supervised. Bullying also occurs on the way to and from school, at athletic events, and on field trips, as well as online, as cyberspace increasingly offers opportunities to text message and post communications that can be designated as bullying. It is also most likely to occur among males, with most victims the same gender as the bullies. Males are more likely to be involved in physically aggressive bullying than are females. So-called relational aggression is presumed to be more common among girls. This type of bullying is designed to destroy the friendships, popularity, and reputations of the victims. The victims also tend to be girls. Verbal bullying can include insulting or invective remarks about race or ethnicity. However, there are no consistent research results as to the extent of this type of bullying or its prevalence between or among racial or ethnic groups.

Bullying seems to be most common in early adolescence and to decrease substantially during the high school years. There is some debate as to why bullying decreases as adolescents age. Older teenagers may believe they have more to lose by bullying and will be dealt with more harshly than younger children, or they may have found less obvious methods of intimidation and, correspondingly, victims may have become more skilled at avoiding or dealing with bullying. The extent of bullying is reported in the research literature in terms of bullies, victims, and bully-victims. Melissa Holt, David Finkelhor, and Glenda Kaufman Kantor published a study on bullying in which they surveyed 689 fifth graders. In that study, 14.4% of the students reported they engaged in bullying behavior, 12%

indicated they were victims, and 7.8% were delineated as bully-victims, meaning they reported that they had been bullied but had also exhibited aggressive behavior toward others. These percentages are comparable to the percentages for these three groups in other research on bullying.

Characteristics and Backgrounds of Bullies and Victims

Children and adolescents who exhibit bullying behavior tend to be aggressive in their interactions with others generally. They are often impulsive and have little patience or empathy for others. Male bullies also are likely to be physically larger than their peers. Bullies may be popular among their peers and may receive support from them, even while they are exhibiting bullying behavior, particularly if their victims are generally not well liked. They usually appear confident and think well of themselves. Bullies tend to come from families where parents use inconsistent discipline. The children tend to have few limits placed on their behavior, but they are often physically punished. The parents display little warmth or affection and are often aggressive in their relationships with each other as well as others in their environment. Bullies are more likely than their peers to commit delinquent acts and crimes as adults. They are also more likely to be aggressive toward the people they date and marry.

Victims of bullying who are categorized as submissive or passive generally exhibit a well-recognized array of behaviors and background characteristics. The typical victims of bullying are anxious, particularly around their peers. These victims also appear unhappy, are quiet and withdrawn, and often are socially isolated. Generally, they have low self-esteem and report feelings of depression and loneliness. These victims are also more likely to report somatic complaints and suicidal thoughts than are their peers. If the victims are boys, they are often physically smaller than their peers. As time goes by, they may attempt to avoid the bullying situation, which often involves avoiding school and school events. Therefore, their academic progress may suffer. There is also evidence that children and adolescents who are bullied frequently will experience more severe effects from the victimizations.

A small minority of victims are termed “provocative victims” or “bully-victims,” as they contribute to their victimizations by exhibiting irritating or provocative behavior as a method of gaining attention and respond to perceived persecution through aggression. Bully-victims tend to be boys. They are viewed by their peers as hostile and volatile, and they are not well liked. Bully-victims are generally disruptive at school, whether on the playground or in the classroom. They overreact to insults and even unintentional slights and gestures such as when other children accidentally bump them. Whether they are being bullied or inadvertently provoked, their retaliatory behavior will usually lead to an escalation of the situation. Bully-victims, like victims, exhibit evidence of anxiety and depression and have low self-esteem. Their social life is even more dismal than that of victims, however, as they have fewer friends and are generally shunned by their peers.

The families of bullying victims are considered influential in the establishment of characteristics that lead to and are perpetuated by the victimization. One hypothesis is that the parents of victims are often overprotective and controlling, and, therefore, the children do not have an opportunity to explore the environment or relationships with other children. Parents of these children may threaten or exhibit a withdrawal of love and support if the children attempt independent behavior. Another idea is that these children are not just victimized by bullies, but come from families where they have been abused and/or neglected by their parents. This seems especially the case with bully-victims, whose home environments appear to more closely resemble that of bullies, with a disorganized family and harsh punishment. It is assumed that these backgrounds make these children particularly vulnerable to victimization, which results in further loss of self-esteem and other social deficits. Later in life, they are more likely to be victims of dating or domestic abuse than their peers and are more likely to have children who are victims of bullying.

Responses to Bullying

Olweus developed a bullying reduction program as a result of his early research on bullying in Norway, called the Olweus Bullying Prevention

Program. He reported the success of this program in reducing bullying and other antisocial behavior in several studies in the early 1990s. This program is designed to be comprehensive, and significant components of this program include training teachers and parents to understand, identify, and assess bullying behavior; a survey in the school among students as to their bullying behavior and/or victimization; a commitment to supervise children during school hours; the implementation of and adherence to rules about bullying; meetings with students and parents; and identification of bullies and victims as well as significant responses to these children. The overall goal of this schoolwide program is to change the school climate so that bullying will not be rewarded or permitted, and socially acceptable behavior will be expected. The commitment of school administrators and teachers to the program is crucial in the initial and continuing reduction of bullying behavior. Comprehensive programs should also include partnerships with community agencies, such as libraries, recreation centers, and churches.

The following specific bullying prevention activities in schools were described by Rana Sampson in a U.S. Department of Justice publication on bullying. One recommendation is for schools to encourage students to report bullying anonymously through a hotline or “bully box,” where they can leave notes about bullying they have observed or experienced. Increased surveillance and supervision of students is also recommended, so that recess, lunch breaks, and areas such as restrooms are more carefully monitored. Teachers should be trained to recognize and respond effectively to bullies. Finally, schools can take an active stance in terms of not tolerating bullying through an awareness campaign of eye-catching posters and classes focusing on the subject. Along with these efforts to reduce bullying, there should also be encouragement for victims to report bullying and a supportive response when this occurs.

Children respond to victimization in different ways. Boys are more likely than girls to fight back, and girls are more likely than boys to cry. Girls are also more likely to ask for help from friends, and girls tend to be more empathetic toward victims than are boys. Older children tend to respond to bullying attempts by ignoring their harassers and

walking away. Prevention programs focus mainly on the behaviors of bullies and less on victims' needs and responses. A comprehensive program should include providing effective coping responses to victims. Approaches in this regard include assertiveness training and learning how to gain friends. Also, as reported by Lisa Davidson and Michelle Demaray, social support, particularly from adults such as parents and teachers, appears to decrease the internal distress experienced by victims. Therefore, response to victims should include practical behaviors that they can practice in safe environments, and emotional support from significant people, particularly adults. Also, interventions should assess victims' family situations, including interactions between the parents and children and whether the children are being victimized in other situations. This same background information is important in determining interventions for bully-victims and bullies. Both bullies and victims may need family counseling or therapy that schools do not provide.

Schools generally have policies about bullying, and some state legislatures have provided another response to bullying by passing laws addressing this issue. Susan Limber and Mark Small have summarized the legislation of states that have passed such laws. These laws differ in terms of definitions, sanctions, and responses by school officials. However, they do have some commonalities. The legislatures not only provide legal definitions of bullying but also indicate the seriousness of this behavior; they also either require training and policy development or encourage it. Schools are also encouraged to implement bullying prevention programs and are either mandated or urged to report bullying behavior to the principal. These laws provide sanctions for bullies, including suspension and assignment to a different school. Only one state requires that schools have a plan for protecting victims from further harassment. Limber and Small concluded that states should be more consistent in the definitions they use for bullying, schools should be required to develop bullying prevention programs, and sanctions for bullies should focus on school-based program participation rather than suspension.

The answers and development of effective responses to bullying are not simple. Increasing

knowledge about bullies and victims indicates that there are types of bullies, victims, and bully-victims and that the ability to effectively respond to them may be partially dependent on the victim's gender and age. Therefore, the reduction of bullying will occur as a result of the combined efforts of professionals coming from many fields and viewpoints.

Gail Flint

See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; School-Based Bullying Prevention; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression; Workplace Violence and Bullying, Interventions for

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Web Sites

- Bullying Awareness Week: <http://www.bullyingawarenessweek.org>
- Bullying.org: <http://www.bullying.org>
- Stop Bullying Now! <http://www.stopbullyingnow.hrsa.gov>

BURGLARY

Although precise legal classifications vary, burglary is commonly understood as a person's breaking into or otherwise without permission illegally entering another's property intending to steal. Similarly, attempted burglary refers to a person's trying but failing to gain entry to another's property. However, within this broad definition there are considerable variations: for example, the nature of the property (residential, public, or commercial premises); what (if anything) is stolen; the means of entry, that is, by force, access through an unlocked door or open window, or through trickery (known in the United Kingdom as "distraction burglary"); and whether the property is occupied at the time, and if so if the victim is aware of an intruder's presence. The latter example is relatively uncommon, because burglars tend to target empty property, thus they target homes in the daytime and commercial premises at night.

Extent and Impact

Internationally, commercial burglary is far more common than domestic burglary. For example, the second Commercial Victimisation Survey in England and Wales reported that almost a quarter of retailers and manufacturers had experienced a burglary in the previous year, whereas according to the British Crime Survey (BCS) only some 2% to 3% of households in England and Wales suffer a burglary in any one year. Despite this, most of the academic research focuses on household burglary.

In this respect, domestic burglary is one of the most common property crimes. In the United States, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) shows it outnumbers motor vehicle thefts by more than 3 to 1. Although burglary rates have declined since peaking in the 1990s, the 2007 NCVS suggests that annually some 2.7% of households experience a burglary or attempted burglary. Burglary rates also tend to vary inversely with national prosperity, and there is some indication of a rise in burglary during the current recession.

In urban areas the risk of burglary is greater. According to the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS), in some cities in developing societies,

more than 10% of the population experience a burglary annually. But as with many other crimes, anxiety exceeds risk. The same survey found that as many as 29% of respondents worldwide thought it likely that they would be burgled in the coming year.

Burglary can also have a significant impact on its victims. The act of unlawful entry to the home is seen as an invasion of privacy, and (generally unfounded) concerns that the victim may be confronted by the burglar often evoke fear and sleeplessness. Parents may also express fear for their children's safety, and older children may be directly affected by a burglary. Research in the United States has even suggested that young victims were sometimes so affected that they subsequently chose to move back home with their parents. Moreover, while it was originally standard policy for police to reassure victims that "lightning rarely strikes twice," identification of repeat victimization shows very clearly that victims of burglary, as well as violence and vehicle crime, face an increased risk of future victimization. Burglars may be attracted to a "return visit" by both the prospect of further—or replaced—valuables and the knowledge that familiarity with a property increases ease of operation, a point also used to explain "near-repeats," where homes close to, and possibly similar to, burgled properties are targeted.

Explaining Risk

The research reveals clearly that burglary is rarely a random event. Most researchers have suggested that burglaries tend to involve at least some rudimentary planning, and few are opportunistic. Why a particular property and/or victim is targeted is thus a key question for researchers. One approach to answering it involves comparing levels of risk. Alternatively, known burglars have been interviewed about their choice of targets.

These approaches address the question of risk on at least three levels:

- *Space* is the location of the home and the nature of the area in which it is situated. On this level, the issue is whether certain *locations* have higher rates of burglary than others.
- *Structure* refers to the nature of the home's design and physical structure. On this level, the

issue is whether certain *types of residence* have higher rates of burglary than others.

- *Behavior* includes citizens' consumption patterns, interpersonal relationships, and other routine activities. On this level, the issue is whether certain *subgroups of the population* have higher rates of burglary than others.

A number of theoretical approaches have been adopted, including routine activities theory, opportunity theory, and rational choice theory. Combining these approaches, it seems that the ways in which burglars of residential property identify desirable targets can be addressed using up to three criteria:

- *Guardianship* is the extent to which the home is protected and able to be protected; for example, whether it is visible to others with the motivation to provide protection. Guardianship can be distinguished according to whether it is physical (e.g., an alarm) or social (i.e., where the source is the public police, private security, neighbors, or the potential victim).
- *Accessibility* refers to the ease with which the burglar is afforded access to a home determines the home's accessibility. Accessibility may be physical (e.g., barriers restricting access) or social (e.g., the burglar lives some distance from the potential target).
- *Rewards* is a more specific term than *target attractiveness* to refer to the extent to which the target possesses, or is perceived to possess, property that is of value to the burglar.

These criteria apply across the three levels distinguished. Thus differing guardianship can help explain differential risk on all three levels. For example, homes located in gated, patrolled communities may be better protected, as may homes with burglar alarms and those that are regularly occupied. Similarly, accessibility applies on the spatial level in terms of whether potential burglars live near or pass by specific properties, on the structural level where rear doors and gates may facilitate access to homes, and on the behavioral level in terms of whether householders leave doors or windows open or locked. The influence of rewards on risk of burglary is more ambiguous. We might expect burglars to maximize potential rewards by

targeting prosperous areas (location) and choosing more affluent-looking homes (structures) whose occupants own expensive consumables (behavior). However, in the context of space, burglars break into homes near where they live rather than more affluent homes in prestigious locations, suggesting that accessibility is more influential than rewards. It may be that "rewards" receives more weight than it warrants, and that researchers rely too much on the accounts of known burglars who exaggerate their professionalism. However, although dwellings in more deprived areas experience the most burglary, more prosperous homes *within* these areas are at the greatest risk.

Minimizing Harm and Reducing Risk

Detection rates for burglary have traditionally been relatively low. This is largely due to the nature of the offense. Burglaries are usually committed when a home is empty and in the absence of witnesses. Consequently, despite a number of innovations to policing practices, there is little evidence of any significant and long-term improvement. For this reason, among others, considerable emphasis has been directed at crime reduction through increasing guardianship and reducing accessibility to property.

For example, since the 1980s there have been a number of government-led burglary reduction initiatives in disadvantaged areas. While some such initiatives have been introduced in the United States, they have been particularly common in the United Kingdom. These began with the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project in the Greater Manchester area, the success of which spawned the Safer Cities program, within which burglary reduction was prioritized, the Secured by Design (SBD) initiative, the Burglary Reduction Initiative, and projects targeting older people such as Locks for Pensioners and the Distraction Burglary Initiative. Much of the emphasis in these initiatives has been on technical innovations such as locks and bolts, lighting, and alley gating. Some initiatives have incorporated social prevention, especially Neighborhood Watch-based schemes, whereas others, such as the Distraction Burglary Initiative, have prioritized educating vulnerable groups to change their behavior. While the British government has put considerable positive spin on the results of

these projects, proclaiming their success, independent evaluations have not always been positive. This is particularly surprising given that the British Crime Survey (BCS) demonstrates the close association between target hardening and reduced risk, and that according to the 2003/2004 ICVS, as reported on by Jan van Dijk, John van Kesteren, and Paul Smit, such measures are primarily responsible for the near-universal reduction in property crime in the U.K. over the last 15 years.

The answer to why some initiatives succeed while others fail may be found in either design or implementation failure. Design failure implies that a project was designed in such a way that it did not address burglary reduction measures adequately. Implementation failure implies that while the initiative targeted appropriate measures, its implementation failed to meet proposed outputs. Identification of the reasons for failure is crucial if policy makers are to learn from the mistakes of failed initiatives and introduce new measures to reduce burglary. If the emphasis is on exaggerating success and hiding failure, however, it is unlikely that burglary reduction measures will be improved.

This reaffirms the importance of harm-reduction policies. Although burglary victims have been mostly positive about the service they receive from the police, the police are not generally seen as a victim-oriented group. Partially in response to this situation, specialist victim service agencies have emerged in many Western industrial societies. However, while traditionally the United Kingdom has been one of a few areas of the world where many burglary victims receive support (in contrast to the United States, where the assistance is commonly offered only to victims of violence), recent changes to victim support in England and Wales mean that the original emphasis on providing a personal, practical service to burglary victims has been diluted: Services have been centralized and direct personal contact is becoming a rarity. Elsewhere, the latest ICVS suggests that unmet need (defined as the proportion of those wanting or receiving help who did not receive it) is greater among victims of burglary than among victims of any other major crime.

Reducing the extent of burglary depends on a clear understanding of which properties are most at risk and why this is the case, and designing policies to increase guardianship and reduce accessibility of

homes. Reducing the impact of burglary on victims depends on identifying those in most need of support and providing appropriate help. The evidence suggests that while governments have made some progress in the former respect, services for burglary victims are still inadequate.

R. I. Mawby

See also Burglary, Prevention of; Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project; Property Marking/Operation Identification; Repeat Victimization

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BURGLARY, PREVENTION OF

Burglary is a crime that traditionally has been addressed through the use of place-based crime

prevention interventions. Throughout the developed world it is acknowledged that domestic burglary is a problem. For example, in the United Kingdom, burglary continues to be a volume crime of concern to the police and other agencies. This is reflected by the fact that the Home Office currently estimates the national prevalence of burglary at 2.5% and that its reduction continues to be a part of a key performance indicator for the Police Forces of England and Wales. The International Crime Victimization Survey of 2000 demonstrated some variation across countries in terms of individual burglary risk. England and Australia had the highest reported prevalence and Finland, Spain, and Japan had the lowest levels.

There are many different types and methods of burglary. For example, distraction burglary involves creating a diversion to enable an opportunity to be exploited; hook and cane burglaries involve the offender using a tool to hook a set of keys through a mailbox or mail slot; burglary with assault involves some intimidation of the victim. Whatever the type of burglary, similar measures are proposed for combating the problem, and these measures concentrate specifically on residential (rather than commercial) burglary.

Concentration of Burglary Risk

In attempting to prevent burglary, it is important to understand that burglary risks are concentrated in certain places. The repeat victimization literature is a good illustration of this. Research shows that individuals who have been burgled once are more likely to be burgled again. In fact, the British Crime Survey shows that 13% of individual households that had been burgled once were burgled at least once more in a one-year period. Ken Pease and others have demonstrated that an important element of repeat victimization risk is that it *decays over time*. In other words, an initial event is useful in detecting vulnerability and predicting the possibility of a subsequent one for a limited time only. Thus there is no point in focusing effort on a household that had a burglary a year ago, because the risk will have returned to the background risk.

Recent research reveals a further clue about spatial patterns that can be used to extend this

concept. This is that a certain element of burglary risk spreads to nearby neighbors, which is known as *near repeat victimization*. Like the spread of a cold through a population, burglary risk spreads to those in close proximity to a recently burgled property. In fact, nearby neighbors are 10 times more likely to be burgled within a week of a neighbor's burglary than they are to be burgled 2 weeks later. Those in particularly close proximity to a burgled house are at particularly high risk, again for a limited amount of time. Due to the spatial and temporal concentration of burglary, it is important to have interventions that can be installed quickly and effectively in areas of high risk.

Impact of Interventions

A range of different types of intervention have been implemented to attempt to reduce burglary. The measures implemented under the U.K.'s Reducing Burglary Initiative (RBI) reflect the wide range. They include target-specific situational prevention (e.g., target hardening to an individual household through installation of a burglar alarm), area-wide situation crime prevention (such as gates restricting the back alleys of blocks of housing to residents only), offender-based schemes (such as offender rehabilitation), stakeholder schemes (attempts to "empower" the community to take action), and property marking and enforcement (to make goods easier to trace and harder to sell).

Niall Hamilton-Smith and Andrew Kent recently undertook a review of the literature on prevention of domestic burglary. Their review particularly focused on situational methods of prevention, which work by barring opportunities for crime by increasing effort, increasing risks, reducing rewards, reducing provocation, and removing excuses for crime. They found that those measures that aimed to reduce burglary through "increasing the effort" involved in committing crime were the most effective; evidence was mixed on those approaches that removed excuses, reduced provocations, increased the risks, or reduced the rewards. This demonstrates that if too much effort is involved in a crime, burglars will generally desist from undertaking it.

Another recent review, conducted by Shane Johnson and his colleagues, examined the literature

available on tactical options used in the reduction of burglary. The review was comprised of five parts: the type of intervention, a summary of the evidence of its effectiveness, its cost (financial and latency of implementation), the geographical coverage of the measures, and the partners involved in implementing the intervention. The following sections are based on the findings of that review, to which the interested reader is referred for details of the references on which it was based.

Effective Strategies

Interventions that involve target hardening individual households (e.g., strengthening doors and windows or inserting alarms) have been found to reduce the risk of revictimization, but they may not affect overall area-level crime rates. This type of intervention has the advantage of being relatively low cost and quick to implement. Increasing the visibility of policing in the area also works well at reducing crime problems such as burglary. Particularly cost-effective are single-officer patrols. Other interventions with positive impacts are alley gating (blocking off rear alleys of houses to all but residents) and the use of intelligence and targeting of known offenders. However, the financial costs of these latter two types of scheme can be high due to the associated administration.

Schemes that attempt to reduce property crime through environmental design have been proven to have a significant effect. They include measures such as street closures, which demonstrate that there is a relationship between street access and crime rates, and “secure by design”-type interventions that promote securely designed housing in well-thought-through environments, where possible at the prebuilding stage. If done in situations where little alteration to existing environments is necessary, environmental design schemes can be cost-effective, although they can take some time and effort to implement.

An antiburglary strategy that has proved particularly effective is focusing on prevention of repeat burglaries. Past victimization is an excellent predictor of future risk and therefore taking action quickly after an initial event is a useful way of preventing burglary incidents. The power of using repeat victimization strategies is evident from the demonstration project undertaken in Kirkholt. It

was found that focusing on treating houses that had suffered a recent incident of burglary reduced the risk of burglary by 72% over a 3-year period in the area as a whole.

Interventions With Mixed Evidence of Effectiveness

There are other types of burglary reduction strategies on which the evidence of effectiveness is more mixed. These include Neighborhood Watch-type schemes, publicity campaigns, and property-marking schemes. Neighborhood Watch-type schemes rely on the presence and involvement of others, hence they tend to have a greater impact when residents are at home during the day. Cocoon watch schemes work in a similar way, but they concentrate on direct neighbors, who are put on “high alert” after an incident and hence can increase the likelihood that a returning offender will be caught. Although their effectiveness is unclear, these schemes are very low cost.

Publicity campaigns, such as slogans aimed at pointing out risks to victims or offenders, rarely change offender behavior on their own, although they may achieve a “drip feed” effect if continued over time (that is, the campaign has a small ongoing impact due to its consistent presentation). Interestingly, publicity associated with crime prevention tactics (e.g., publicizing the launch of an anti-burglary scheme in an area, or talking to the press about the success of local measures that have recently been taken) can have a crime-reductive effect.

Property marking reduces anticipated rewards because it is hard to dispose of marked property. However, its impact is likely to be due to the publicity rather than the intervention itself. In reality, property marking does little to deter offenders from breaking into a house or stealing marked property taken from it. Recent evidence suggests that Smartwater, a spray that includes a DNA-style code linking offenders to offenses and property to owners, is particularly effective at deterring offenders.

There is mixed evidence on the effectiveness of street-lighting initiatives. These aim to reduce crime in areas by encouraging use by legitimate individuals and increasing the visibility of offenders. In a systematic review of 13 street-lighting

schemes, 4 showed significant reductions in property crime and 7 showed significant reductions in crime overall. Hence, there appears to be some value in using good lighting to combat burglary.

Interventions With Little or No Evidence of Effectiveness

Closed-circuit television (CCTV) interventions are only likely to have an impact on commercial burglaries or residential houses within or near the area covered by a camera. They can increase detectability, act as a deterrent, and provide reassurance—but the associated financial cost is very high. One way of attempting to increase the flexibility of such camera systems is to use redeployable CCTV that can be moved around. However, these systems are difficult to use and sensitive to misuse, and there has been no demonstration of long-term reduction in crime levels resulting from their use.

Ringmaster is a system that alerts local residents and voluntary groups of up-to-date crime information. There are mixed reviews of the success of such schemes and the way in which information is disseminated. A further issue is that organizations often worry about increasing fear of crime and will circulate information to frontline staff only, which limits the power of the intelligence.

Forensic traps are items such as silent alarms and chemically treated mats that pick up intruders' footprints. Evidence shows that high-tech forensic devices can pose numerous practical problems when used on burglaries of retail premises; they also are unlikely to be useful in domestic situations. There is more positive evidence on the effectiveness of silent alarms, which alert the police and/or security staff to the presence of an intruder.

Crime Prevention Practitioners and Implementation Issues

It is important to consider the practicality of proposed schemes in addition to their effectiveness. Some types of scheme rely on multiagency responses. For example, alley gating requires the cooperation of the police, local authorities, local residents, and other interest groups due to the legalities associated with sealing off a public right-of-way. As a rule of thumb, the greater the

number of agencies involved, the more at-risk the particular initiative is of implementation failure (i.e., never being realized in practice in its conceived form). Furthermore, schemes that are equipment centered rather than people centered, those that are fairly low tech, and those that focus on specific types of crime rather than reducing crime generally tend to be easier to implement. This means that there is a good argument for sticking to basic measures such as burglar alarms rather than more complex ones like redeployable CCTV.

Project Intensity, Cost Effectiveness, and Sustainability

It might be expected that the more expensive the crime prevention project, the greater its success at reducing burglary. In an influential piece of evaluation research, Paul Ekblom and his colleagues examined scheme intensity (i.e., expense) and how it correlates with the number of burglaries reduced. For the purpose of their analysis, they divided areas into high-, medium-, and low-action areas on the basis of the amount spent per household. When they looked at burglary trends across these three groups, it was evident that there was some *prima facie* evidence that the high-action areas saw a drop in the burglary rate that was not mirrored by the other areas or in control areas. Other work has confirmed this trend. The implication of this finding is that it is worth investing intensively in a defined community to get the most benefit in terms of crime reduction.

A further issue relating to intensity is the extent to which a program is cost-effective. That is, if a very high-intensity scheme appears to have reduced burglary very successfully, but the unit cost of each burglary reduced is too high (especially if it exceeds the cost of dealing with the aftermath of a burglary), then it is less of an achievement and rather impractical. Finally, it is also important to consider the sustainability of a scheme; that is, how long it is likely to go on preventing crime. For example, high-visibility policing might only reduce crime while the police patrols are increased, but alley gates might remain effective for 10 years.

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See also Burglary; Crime Prevention; Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project; Reducing Burglary Initiative; Repeat Victimization; Safer Cities Program; Situational Crime Prevention

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BUSINESS COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

The business community is generally defined as corporations, partnerships, and individual proprietors who are engaged in the conduct of commerce. This definition could be expanded so that the business community includes customers and employees as well. A definition of a specific business community might include companies that share a common commercial sector, such as hotel operators, or convenience stores; or a geographic location, such as a region, city, neighborhood, or commercial strip. This entry first examines the scope of crime in the business community, and then turns to a discussion of prevention initiatives.

Crime Against Business

Crime against business is a serious public policy problem. Crime against business can occur from the inside, such as in employee theft, embezzlement, and workplace violence, or from the outside, in offenses such as burglary, robbery, and theft. Business establishments experience a much higher crime rate than do residential dwellings. Despite

having far fewer establishments, U.S. businesses have more total robberies than do residences; they also have a disproportionate amount of burglaries compared to residences. Research in Britain has shown that while only a small percentage of households fall victim to burglary, nearly one quarter of all commercial establishments have been burglarized. Estimates of the cost of commercial crime in the United States are approaching \$200 billion a year, a cost that gets passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices. In essence, U.S. consumers pay a crime tax of nearly 15% of the total costs of goods and services, as the cost of crime and its prevention gets passed along to consumers.

Businesses fall victim to crime more than do residences for many reasons. As places of commerce, they contain a wealth of goods and cash that are attractive to criminals both inside and outside the business. Moreover, due to limited hours of operation, many businesses are vacant much of the day, which leads to uneven levels of surveillance, a situation that facilitates burglary and vandalism. Not all businesses become victims to crime, however. There are certain business sectors and locations where crime perpetrated by outsiders is more likely to occur. Generally, these are businesses such as retail operations that deal in cash, as well as businesses located in communities with high levels of poverty and social disorganization.

Businesses also contribute to crime in indirect ways; that is, the very nature of the business operation can facilitate crime that is either perpetrated on-site or spills out into adjacent communities. Two examples of business types that attract crime include establishments that serve alcohol and businesses that attract teenage and young adult customers. Another example of how businesses indirectly promote crime is that of commercial operations that require large parking structures, such as suburban office parks or malls. These structures can facilitate vehicle theft and thefts from automobiles, with the level of incidence being largely dependent on the relative quality of parking lot management schemes and surveillance systems.

The Importance of Business Crime Prevention

Criminal victimization is one of the leading competitive issues facing business. As business profit

margins have declined in a competitive global marketplace, the pressure to stem losses attributed to crime has become more pressing. However, much of the research on business crime identifies a dearth of systematic data. Researchers have also noted a reluctance of business operators to deal with crime victimization issues in the open.

Internal Crime Prevention Techniques in the Commercial Sector

Much of the effort of crime prevention in the business community is comprised of discrete, internal actions taken at the company or establishment level. Many firms, large and small, possess some institutional capacity for crime prevention. In most cases, the resources available for crime prevention and the level of risk of the particular business sector dictate the type and level of security pursued. A company's investment in crime prevention and security is driven by many factors; primary among these factors is the effort to prevent financial loss. Losses can be direct, such as the costs associated with replacing stolen merchandise and with replacing injured or fearful employees, or involving financial liabilities associated with a failure to properly protect business premises. Indirect costs can be associated with the loss of market share due to fearful customers, decreasing stock prices due to reduced market confidence in management abilities, or a general decline in public goodwill due to criminal incidence. A nonfinancial reason for companies to engage in crime prevention efforts is their desire to protect the life and health of their employees, suppliers, and customers.

Historically, commercial efforts at on-premises crime prevention and security have been driven by situational crime prevention. This approach was born out of a frustration by a criminology that fixated on more macro explanations for crime (e.g., poverty) and offered little in the way of everyday solutions for local actors such as governments, institutions, businesses, or citizens. Situational crime prevention is defined by a set of principles that operate on the assumption that crimes can be prevented by understanding what facilitates specific crimes and adapting the environment to make these crimes less likely, thus deterring actors from committing them. One conceptualization of the theory includes five organizing principles for crime

prevention interventions. These include developing strategies that (1) increase the effort of criminals, (2) increase the risk of detection and arrest, (3) reduce the rewards of criminal acts, (4) reduce criminal provocations, and (5) remove excuses for criminal action. By applying these principles to business crime prevention, some rather straightforward techniques for commercial operators have been developed.

Using the retail sector as an example, the first principle, increasing effort, might result in higher value merchandise being isolated and secured, thus making it harder to shoplift. The second principle, increasing risk of detection, would result in a number of strategies, including store security (and undercover security) and electronic surveillance capabilities (closed-circuit television). The third principle, reducing the rewards, could include attaching tags to merchandise that can only be removed safely with store equipment (or that contains staining dyes in the case of high-end clothing). The fourth principle, reducing criminal provocations, is most frequently applied to internal criminal threats. Here, personnel and management systems that promote workplace equity can be applied to reduce the threats posed by disgruntled employees. The fifth and last principle has to do with establishing and enforcing clear behavioral rules. A set of techniques in the retail sector would be equally salient for both internal and external crime risks. Internally, setting rules about workplace culture, or the handling of cash, would be an important step in reducing employee theft. Externally, advertising a store's policy on the handling of shoplifters, or in the case of establishments that serve alcohol, making clear the standards of decorum, can be an effective tool in preventing potentially violent crime acts.

While many businesses have incorporated methods to address crime from both inside and outside sources (often referred to as security or loss prevention), they historically have lagged in their participation in larger strategic crime prevention efforts. There are a few notable reasons for this historical reluctance. The most direct involves the costs associated with extending resources to crime prevention. Clearly business operators have an interest in the security of their own staff, site, and customers. While there may be an altruistic reason for this, more likely, businesses have adopted crime prevention

and security techniques as their exposure to financial liability for failure to secure their premises from crime has grown. Moreover, the fear of promoting crime vulnerability to a broader audience might negatively impact customer perceptions of an establishment, thus hurting profits.

Social and Economic Trends Affecting Business Crime Prevention

Pressures to address larger social and economic trends have led to a larger effort to develop strategic solutions, often through the use and integration of technological advances in the area of surveillance and detection equipment. In addition, businesses have become more focused on developing problem-solving partnerships that help define solutions to specific crime issues. They also have taken efforts to build larger, more resilient coalitions with other private actors with shared concerns and with public safety agencies to address broader social issues that have an impact on business victimization trends. Increasing levels of technical specialization in the economy and a globalizing marketplace for capital, labor, and consumer markets have led to increasing input from commercial interests in developing mechanisms for regulation and crime prevention strategies. Indeed, the restructuring of the economy over the past few decades from one that is dominated by manufacturing to one that is more focused on consumption and specialized services has changed the nature of crime against business. This change has included an increase in exposure to threats such as terrorism and sabotage, and fear of crime becoming a very important negative factor for consumption-based businesses. Moreover, the growth of computer- and Internet-based commercial transactions has also affected the scope and types of crime prevention concerns of business.

Other social trends germane to business crime prevention include the incredible growth in private security and the development of what one analyst has called “mass private space” (i.e., large-scale private space such as shopping, entertainment, and recreational developments that is privately owned, managed, and secured). In a more general sense, over the past few decades there has been a continued blurring between private and public property and between financial interests and services. This

has led some to see private sector interests and activities as part of a larger security governance regime that, in partnership with public sector agencies, shapes crime prevention policies, practices, and regulation.

Business Crime Prevention Collaboratives

Chambers of Commerce and Crime Prevention

A chamber of commerce is a voluntary business membership organization, often serving a local area or primary economic region. Chambers of commerce have traditionally been the main business advocacy organization in the United States, at both the national and local levels. Their services typically involve efforts at local place promotion, technical assistance, and policy lobbying. While crime prevention efforts are not usually at the forefront of chamber efforts, there have been some notable exceptions, especially when specific areas have suffered from high crime and negative public perceptions despite public policy efforts to manage the problem. Thus, local chambers have grown more involved in developing and directing crime prevention policies and programs in the United States. Examples of chamber of commerce efforts include imparting organization and technical expertise to police departments in efforts to improve strategic planning and operations. Chambers of commerce have created and sustained working groups—including federal, state, and local law enforcement, major commercial operators, and property owners-managers—to develop problem-solving solutions to crimes affecting businesses. These groups are particularly effective at information sharing, especially in the area of stopping economic crime syndicates whose existence and tactics might not be known to local actors.

One specific chamber effort includes work done by the Greater Richmond Chamber in Richmond, Virginia, a city that has experienced surges in violent crime. When the U.S. government developed the gun enforcement program Project Exile in the late 1990s, subjecting violators to a 5-year, federal mandatory minimum sentence, the Richmond Chamber became very involved in the development of a large-scale promotional campaign to assist the prevention potential of this new law.

Chambers of commerce around the United States are also involved in creating and managing crime alert networks using either email or fax; offering crime prevention advice to businesses, including performing a security vulnerability analysis and offering security system advice; and developing specific crime prevention public information campaigns, including campaigns that focus on theft from automobiles and laptop theft, to name but a few.

Business Improvement Districts

A second type of business crime prevention collaborative is the business improvement district (BID), a policy idea that has grown tremendously, especially over the past decade. Starting with just a handful of BIDs in the 1980s, the number of BIDs is now more than a thousand. Incorporated by state or local governments, BIDs derive their funding from special tax assessments on commercial property. These special districts formulate service plans for a defined commercial area. Larger organizations, usually located in central business districts and commercial concentrations, tend to invest part of their assessment in crime prevention strategies. These strategies often include developing a capacity for strategic planning for crime prevention, including funding staff with expertise in crime mapping and trend analysis and crime prevention implementations. BIDs have also been known to extend resources to policing agencies; these have taken the form of providing substation facilities, bikes for bike patrols, and funding for extra police shifts. As part of a larger crime prevention package, larger BIDs also provide some form of common area security. BIDs are also likely to share facilities with local policing operations, in some cases sharing roll calls, lockers, and break room facilities, in line with the theory that closer relationships and information sharing will have a positive effect on problem-solving partnerships focused on crime prevention.

Larger BIDs are also likely to have a full-time crime prevention planner on staff. The type of common area security varies across organizations, and can include everything from part-time contract security to armed security. Many larger BIDs, however, subscribe to a less stringent security model and see their common area personnel as a

resource for district users. In keeping with this philosophy, BIDs tend to call their street personnel street concierges, customer service representatives, or ambassadors.

While the impact of BIDs as a crime prevention tool is limited to certain geographical areas that have the capacity to fund common area security and strategic planning personnel, the success of BIDs in crime prevention can be attributed to this limited focus. As most effective crime prevention strategies are formulated around good information about causal factors and focused on nuanced environmental adaptation, the localized nature of BIDs sets the stage for successful crime prevention practice. Finding ways to extend resources dedicated to developing local crime prevention expertise, common area security, and resilient partnerships with law enforcement agencies to less capitalized business districts should be an important goal for policy makers in the future.

The Safe City Initiative

A third example of a crime prevention collaborative is Safe City—a relatively new community-based initiative that has been developed, cofunded, and promoted by the Target Corporation, a major U.S. retailer. The primary goal of this initiative is to develop crime prevention partnerships between a city's law enforcement agency, business community, property managers, and local community organizations. Through this initiative, the Target Corporation seeks to improve local crime prevention problem-solving capacity. As of early 2009, there were 25 U.S. cities that had either begun or signed on for this initiative.

In addition to its organizational goals, Safe City's program goals include developing networked electronic surveillance across private and public electronic surveillance systems for better crime prevention and detection capabilities. The logic is that by linking disconnected private systems of surveillance into an integrated web, their surveillance network capabilities will be enhanced. Other efforts include offering subsidies for alternative transportation and surveillance by way of supporting the purchase of Segways for local law enforcement. Segways are personal transportation systems that might afford greater levels of interaction with the public, as well as foster speedier enforcement

efforts. Other program inputs include a series of prevention guides, developed by researchers at the Urban Institute, that focus on providing evidence-based tips to users on effective prevention techniques for a series of crime types, including shoplifting, commercial burglary, public disorder, panhandling, vandalism, and car break-ins and theft—all types of crimes that are particularly troubling to businesses and business districts.

Policy Directions

Research indicates that effective, evidence-based crime prevention is less costly to society than criminal justice approaches to crime. The cost of patrol, arrest, trial, and incarceration are staggering when compared to the cost of effective strategies employed by crime prevention practitioners. While not all crime is preventable, much of the crime that occurs in the commercial sector can be prevented through either situational or managerial efforts that have an impact on the opportunity, motivation, and economic considerations in criminal decision making. While many larger businesses already are engaged in substantial crime prevention activities in their own operating spheres, ways need to be found that afford smaller operators these advantages, while also promoting crime prevention partnerships that transcend individual concerns.

The incentive for cooperation between commercial actors, law enforcement, public policy makers, and community groups is growing. This is evidenced by the growth in the type and overall incidence of the partnerships noted above. The prospect for further growth, however, is tempered by a need for more sustainable organizational models for these efforts, as many businesses have not gotten involved in these types of partnerships. Policy makers can improve this situation by providing additional incentives for crime prevention activities, such as grant support and other financial incentives and dedication of staff and expertise for group problem-solving efforts. They could also create more disincentives for crime-generating business operations through a more efficient and effective regulatory regime, and/or through civil law action that holds businesses that create crime responsible for the costs they impose on society.

Robert J. Stokes

See also Community Policing; Situational Crime Prevention; Third-Party Policing; Workplace Violence, Training and Education

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BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

The death of Catherine “Kitty” Genovese in New York City in 1964 focused attention on bystanders and crime. Her stabbing death, and sexual assault, were seen and heard by at least 38 people over a period of 40 minutes. Not one of those people came to her assistance or called the police. Initial theorizing included “big city apathy” and the effect of alienation within the “megapolis.” More systematic research soon followed, enabling researchers to better understand and predict the phenomenon of bystanders’ helping or failing to help those in need. The term *bystander intervention* was coined to describe the direct or indirect intervention of a person present, but not involved, for the benefit and well-being of someone in need. Research on bystander intervention has been examined through the lens of prosocial and helping behavior, as well as altruism, within the fields of social psychology, sociology, criminology, medicine, political science, economics, and biology.

There are various theories as to what variables influence bystander intervention (or nonintervention), including social-cognitive, self-perception and social identity, and biological and evolutionary perspectives. From these theories, a range of

studies have examined the factors that predict bystander intervention and the effect of bystander intervention on behaviors, ranging from sexual assault to bullying in schools. Other research has examined bystander intervention in the context of criminal, harmful, and emergency behaviors as a mechanism of informal social control, the strength of which is negatively correlated with the level of crime and violence. Many research studies have shown that bystander intervention can be an effective crime prevention strategy, both directly—by intervening when a crime or harmful act is under way—and indirectly—by notifying an authority.

Theories of Bystander Intervention

Social psychologists Bibb Lantáné and John Darley produced the seminal work on bystander intervention, which they began by examining police reports of the murder of Kitty Genovese. They suggested that it was the large number of witnesses that caused the nonintervention, rather than apathy or indifference. Their studies showed that a person alone is likely to intervene; in contrast, when other bystanders are present, individual bystanders are less likely to intervene. Based on the five-stage decision-making model, they argued that the presence of bystanders lessens responsibility by diffusing it; this is known as the *bystander effect*. When this psychological shift occurs, a state of pluralistic ignorance arises as individuals look to others for social cues of appropriate action.

It has been suggested that when others are present the “costs” of intervention (stress, embarrassment, shame) are greater, and thus individuals are less likely to intervene. A large number of other situational factors have been studied: ambiguity of the situation, level of victim’s distress and dependence, the victim’s style of request and degree of physical attractiveness, and the level of threat. These situational studies, particularly the robust finding on the inverse relationship between number of bystanders and level of helping behavior, initially raised doubts about the influence of social norms and personal characteristics in understanding bystander behavior.

Self-perception theories, however, are concerned with individuals’ perceptions of other people’s interpretations of their behavior, and they argue that being aware that others are observing could

neutralize diffusion of responsibility and negate the bystander effect. Building on this work, researchers have argued that it is the desire to act in ways expected of us (such as by “doing the right thing” and by not overreacting) that leads to bystander intervention. In a similar vein, social identity theory and self-categorization theory (SCT) argue that it is not the number of bystanders that is of primary importance, but the social categorical relations between the individuals present. A central premise of SCT is the dynamic responsiveness of the self within a social context. A change in social context can lead to a more or less inclusive self-categorization, which then influences behavior. Individual bystanders are more likely to intervene when the others present are included in a salient self-categorization; in other words, when they share a common group membership. The categorical relationship with the victim is also important; that is, when a bystander does not share a salient group membership with the victim, the bystander is more likely to experience a perceived threat and not intervene. However, when a shared common fate with the victim is salient, bystander intervention is more likely. Further, according to SCT, strong group norms of social responsibility and action play a role in the influence of prosocial behavior patterns.

Research informed by a neurobiological perspective demonstrates that the amygdala, a small area in the limbic system, is a central regulator of the “fight or flight” response commonly experienced by victims of crime and bystanders. The amygdala’s anatomical connectivity processes information from two pathways: the thalamo-amygdala and the cortico-amygdala. The faster, fight or flight, pathway processes raw partial images from the thalamus; in contrast, the longer pathway processes more complex information from the cortex. If a potential emergency is not genuine, the fight or flight response can be aborted through information received from the cortex. However, if the fight or flight message is strong enough, the information from the cortex is inhibited, and individuals physiologically “freeze” for a moment in a trance-like state. The evolutionary perspective suggests that this is an adaptive response of the fight or flight reflex. By extension, what appears to happen in bystander intervention is that the bystander freezes while the more complex situational context is

accessed. If the situational cues are ambiguous, bystanders will fail to act. Researchers have found that through working with individuals experiencing this trance state, they can teach these individuals how to overcome the debilitating effects of the state and intervene effectively. This research has also been found to be effective in managing other amygdala-influenced states, such as the posttraumatic stress disorder, anxiety, and depression often experienced by victims of crime and violence.

This breadth of theoretical research has been organized into a multilevel perspective: the micro level—the study of the biological origins (e.g., neural or evolutionary) of prosocial tendencies and the etiological variation in these tendencies; the meso level—the study of helper–recipient dyads in the context of a specific situation; and the macro level—the study of prosocial actions that occur within the context of groups and large organizations. This broad perspective has grounded comprehensive and multifaceted crime prevention initiatives. Crime and violence prevention approaches are also developing breadth through bridging the study of bystander intervention with the study of community readiness, development, and education.

Areas of Application

Efforts to develop the capacity of bystanders to intervene have been made in situations ranging from sexual violence, to suicide prevention, to bullying in school. Research has found that the contextual, situational, and personal variables that influence bystander behavior are consistent in the theoretical literature and suggests that active bystander intervention in situations of violence is possible and effective. Broadly, this research base advocates that primary prevention efforts that educate and skill a broad population must ground the efforts of secondary interventions such as bystander intervention.

Sexual Violence

In the context of violent crime, particularly sexual violence, research has shown that bystanders are less likely to intervene when they believe that an abuser and a victim know each other. This is relevant to violent crime, particularly sexual violence, as 70% of victims of rape and sexual

assault and 50% of all victims of violent crime know their attackers. However, this effect can be ameliorated with the appropriate training. Intervention research has shown that bystanders are empowered to act when they feel a sense of responsibility and when they know what to do. This suggests that primary prevention activities that develop knowledge and skills at a community level are an important aspect of building the capacity for effective bystander intervention and crime prevention. Bystanders need to feel that it is important to intervene and that they have the skills to intervene safely and effectively. Bystanders are also empowered to act when they witness and engage with individuals who model effective intervention. Research suggests that violence, particularly sexual and intimate partner violence, will only be curtailed when broader social norms shift and a wider audience is reached.

Youth Suicide

Research on the effectiveness of bystander intervention has also been applied to the prevention of and intervention in adolescent suicide through building an understanding of adolescents' normative views on suicide, the diffusion of responsibility that can occur, and the ambiguity that bystanders often experience. Each of these factors was predictive of whether or not a teen would tell an adult about a suicidal peer. Using this knowledge base, primary intervention programs have been developed that build awareness, knowledge, and skills that teach bystanders how to take action. Youth suicide prevention is related to prevention efforts to curb bullying behavior in schools, as victims of chronic bullying are at risk of depression, suicidal ideation, and suicide.

Bullying and Violence in School

Research into the role of bystanders has become an important aspect of bullying prevention programs, identifying factors that may account for positive and negative responses of bystanders. It shows that while most students hold attitudes that are opposed to bullying behavior and supportive of victims, students' behavior in actual bullying situations (i.e., as active participants or passive bystanders) often reinforces bullying behavior. For example,

the mere presence of peer bystanders can initiate and escalate bullying behavior. Rather than preventing school bullying, peers have been shown to have definable roles in the maintenance of bullying behavior through assisting, reinforcing, or ignoring bullying behavior. Students are often reluctant to take on the role of an active bystander who censures the act of bullying. These findings suggest that bullying intervention programs should be directed toward all students in order to change participant roles in the bullying process by increasing awareness, self-reflection, and skill development.

Research into school violence more broadly has defined the bystander as an active and involved participant in the social architecture of school violence rather than as a passive witness. Bullying is better understood from a triadic (bully-victim-bystander) than dyadic (bully-victim) perspective, with teachers, administrators, and students legitimizing or ameliorating bullying through their roles and activities as bystanders within the school community.

Bystanders and Social Responsibility

A number of researchers see examining the intersection of bystander intervention and prosocial behavior as a way of widening the “lens” through which active citizenship and social responsibility are viewed; that is, instead of considering bystander intervention as the endpoint, it can be viewed as part of a range of prosocial behaviors that form an ongoing process of social responsibility and active citizenship. The personal and social benefits of these behavior patterns have been shown to increase both the mental and physical health of

victims, offenders, and bystanders. Research also has examined the relationship between prosocial behavior, forgiveness, and reconciliation, an important aspect of healthy interpersonal and intergroup relationships that strengthens the foundation for common group identification and action. At the same time, too much helping behavior could erode mutual and reciprocal power and status relations between the helper and the recipient and produce stratification. Research has bridged work on procedural and restorative justice with sustaining cooperative relations within neighborhoods as a vehicle for community capacity building.

Brenda Elizabeth Morrison

See also Peer Mediation; Resolving Conflict Creatively Program; Restorative Justice

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CALCULATING EXTENT OF VICTIMIZATION: INCIDENCE, PREVALENCE, AND RATES

Measuring the extent of victimization is an important aspect of criminal justice research, and statistics can be a valuable tool in understanding victimization issues. There are two primary sources of victimization data in the United States—the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the Bureau of Justice Statistics’ National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Each of these sources provides useful data related to victimization incidence, prevalence, and rates. However, no data source is perfect, and each has issues that call into question the accuracy of the findings.

Sources of Victimization Data

Victimization data in the United States come primarily from two sources—the UCR Program and the NCVS. The UCR Program, in its annual report published by the FBI, divides crime into two categories: Part I and Part II crimes. Part I crimes are considered more severe and are restricted to eight particular crimes: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Data on an additional 21 crimes are reported in Part II. Data for these reports are compiled from nearly all police departments in the United States at the local, county, and state levels. Each police department in the United

States voluntarily sends the FBI their information on crime in their particular jurisdiction. The FBI then compiles the final report that becomes the UCR Program’s report. The report is based on only official data reported to police departments, and as such does not measure those victimizations not reported to police.

The other major source for victimization data in the United States is the NCVS. The NCVS is administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), and utilizes a multistage sampling design to obtain annual estimates of certain types of victimization. The BJS administers surveys to persons 12 years of age or older and asks about both personal crime (e.g., sexual assault, robbery) and property crime (e.g., household burglary, theft) victimizations experienced by members of the household, as well as information about each victimization incident (e.g., the victim–offender relationship, consequences of the victimization incident).

Incidence and Prevalence

From these two data sources it is possible to obtain victimization incidence and prevalence statistics. *Incidence* refers to the proportion of respondents who are victimized by a particular crime in one year. *Prevalence* refers to the proportion of people who have ever experienced a particular type of victimization in their lifetime. The two statistics are similar, but have subtle differences. The major difference between the two statistics is temporally based. Incidence is restricted to victimization in one

year, whereas prevalence refers to victimization during an entire lifetime.

Calculating Rates

A third type of victimization statistic is a victimization rate. Generally, a *rate* refers to some raw count that has been standardized by some measure of the population (e.g., the number of robberies per 100,000 people in the population). The two primary purposes of rates are to simplify information and to allow for easy comparison of data. Rates simplify information because they make the information more manageable and understandable. For example, reporting only raw numbers can be misleading. As an illustration, if a community experiences 578,962 aggravated assaults in a year, it may seem like a large number of assaults; however, that number of assaults expressed as a rate may be 5.7 per 100,000 people. The rate transforms the raw count into a more manageable and understandable number. In addition, because a rate is standardized with regard to a specific portion of the population, rates can be accurately and directly compared across communities. For example, comparing the raw number of homicides in Rhode Island to the raw number in California is not very informative because there are so many more people in California. By standardizing by some measure of the population (e.g., per 100,000 individuals), the population size has effectively been “controlled,” allowing for meaningful comparison between those two states. The UCR Program and NCVS calculate their rates differently. The UCR Program calculates rates based on 100,000 members of the population for all crimes, whereas the NCVS calculates rates based on 1,000 persons for personal crime and 1,000 households for property crime. What this means is that rates from the UCR Program and the NCVS are not directly comparable without some manipulation of the figures.

Measurement and Counting Issues

Measurement and counting issues can ultimately affect victimization estimates (i.e., rates, incidence, and prevalence). Measurement issues include topics such as how to measure repeat and series victimization and how these measurement decisions

can affect victimization estimates. The hierarchy rule counting strategy, which counts only the most serious crime where more than one crime has taken place, can have the effect of underestimating the extent of certain types of victimization.

Measuring Repeat and Series Victimizations

Repeat and series victimization present measurement issues that influence victimization statistics. A *repeat victimization* has occurred when a particular individual is victimized more than once in the specified time frame. Repeat victimizations can affect victimization estimates, making how they are counted and whether they are included in estimates an important estimation issue. Series victimizations present a similar dilemma. The NCVS classifies six or more similar but separate victimization events that cannot be distinctly separated and described in detail by the respondent as *series victimizations*. Series victimizations can have a significant impact upon victimization estimates, and past iterations of the NCVS have either included these series in their entirety or totally excluded them. The BJS currently excludes series victimization from its annual NCVS estimates.

The Hierarchy Rule

The hierarchy rule stipulates that only the most severe crime is counted in a criminal event involving multiple crimes. Consider the following hypothetical scenario: A victim is first robbed, then assaulted, and finally murdered. In that instance, only the homicide would be counted because of the hierarchy rule. Homicide is the most severe crime under the UCR scheme and in the above hypothetical scenario, it would be the crime reported to the FBI for UCR purposes, even though two other crimes happened within that one event. As a result, the UCR Program has been criticized for underestimating the extent of certain types of victimization.

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See also Methodological Issues in Counting Victims; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; Stalking, Measurement of; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Victimization Surveys

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CAMPUS CRIME, COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY

Campus crime—illegal behavior occurring within the confines of postsecondary institutional boundaries—involves three important contexts: the legal, the social, and the security. The legal context involves judicial and legislative efforts to address campus crime, the social context includes efforts to accurately measure the extent and nature of campus crime while also identifying its major correlates, and the security context includes efforts of campus law enforcement and security to reduce/control campus crime and address new challenges, including those posed by high-tech crimes such as intrusions of university computer networks.

Legal Context

The legal context of campus crime includes postsecondary institutional liability for on-campus criminal victimizations. When lawsuits against postsecondary institutions first came before the

courts in the 1970s, the courts were forced to determine whether they had legal merit. During the 1980s, an increase in these suits occurred, as plaintiffs began winning their lawsuits and the courts seemed more willing to take seriously such litigation. Finally, during the 1990s, postsecondary institutions became more proactive in trying to prevent these lawsuits by changing their campus security policies and procedures.

The courts have generally held postsecondary institutions liable for damages arising from on-campus victimizations, provided the plaintiff proves the institution owed the victim some kind of a duty, the duty was breached, and injuries resulted from that breach. Further, although courts have offered different reasoning, they have relied on several prominent theories in determining postsecondary institutional liability that focus on the relationship between the victim (plaintiff) and the institution and resulting duties owed him or her. Some courts have ruled the relationship as “special,” in the sense that members of the campus community have a reasonable expectation the institution cares about their safety/security and will take steps to ensure it. Other courts have ruled the relationship is comparable to that of business owner/invitee, while still others have ruled the relationship is analogous to that of a landlord and tenant. In all three instances, specific duties toward members of the campus community arise on the part of the institution, and failure to fulfill them may result in liability.

Legislatively, Congress and nearly one half the states passed various “campus crime” statutes during the 1990s and into this decade. Congress passed the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act (20 USC 1090[f]) in 1990, which in 1998 was renamed the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (hereafter, Clery) in remembrance of Jeanne Clery, a student who was murdered in her dorm room at Lehigh University in 1986. Clery and its state-level counterparts were intended to force postsecondary institutions to better communicate to the public the institution’s crime statistics, its security policies, and its procedures for dealing with allegations of student-involved rape/sexual assault occurring on campus.

Proponents of such legislation argue that greater public awareness of campus crime will result in

reduced levels of victimization, as people will take better precautions. Critics, however, argue that Clery represents a symbolic effort to address campus crime because (1) Clery's reporting requirements are based only on incidents actually reported to campus police/security, which seriously undercounts the true volume of campus crime; (2) Clery does not require postsecondary institutions to report annual statistics for on-campus theft, which victimization surveys repeatedly show is the most commonly occurring type of campus crime; and (3) sanctions for institutional noncompliance with Clery—civil fines of up to \$25,000 per violation—are minimal and have rarely been implemented.

Critics of state-level campus crime legislation argue that the statutes often are not campus *crime* legislation, but rather are *enabling* legislation that allow colleges and universities to create campus police agencies; the legislation does little more than echo some of the requirements of Clery; and the statutes universally fail to contain penalties for noncompliance.

Social Context

Social scientists attempt to understand the social context of campus crime by measuring its extent and nature and identifying its major correlates. Two key areas here involve efforts to accurately estimate the victimization of college women and to identify and explore the role that students' lifestyles play in contributing to campus crime.

During the past 15 years, several national-level surveys have gathered data on the victimization experiences of college students in general and college women in particular. While the studies showed that students had lower overall rates of victimization when compared to nonstudents of similar ages, they almost universally found that a large minority of college women experienced a continuum of sexual victimization ranging from verbal harassment to rape. These studies also found that female victims often did not report their experiences to the proper authorities, blamed themselves for what had happened, or did not even perceive themselves as victims and therefore sought no help. In addition, the studies reported strong links between alcohol/drug consumption and sexual victimization, including evidence that males often planned their assaults on females by trying to debilitate them with alcohol,

drugs, or some combination of the two. Finally, the studies found that college women experiencing sexual victimization reported higher levels of depression, anxiety, hostility, and other mental health problems than did nonvictims.

The other key area of research examined the role that students' lifestyles play in explaining campus crime, particularly the use of alcohol and drugs. Alcohol, without question, is a key factor in college students' lifestyles. Evidence compiled by Harvard's College Alcohol Study (CAS), based on four, national-level studies of college student drinking patterns, indicated that about 80% of students enrolled at 4-year colleges and universities on a full-time basis drink alcohol; about 50% of these students routinely "drink to get drunk"; some 40% binge drink (drink four or more drinks in a row at one sitting in the two weeks prior to completing the survey); and roughly 20% of students binge drink frequently—at least three times during a 2-week period.

These studies also found strong links between students' alcohol abuse and self-reported offending and victimization. A 2002 survey showed that among 68,000 students enrolled at 133 colleges and universities, while student victimization was relatively rare, a pattern was discovered in which between one third and three quarters of all victims reported they had consumed alcohol or drugs prior to being victimized.

The research regarding college students' alcohol use and their victimization risk is clear: students who drink are at greater risk; the more a student drinks, the higher his or her risk for victimization; the more a student drinks away from his or her residence and among others who have reason to see the student become intoxicated or that the student does not know well, the greater the risk.

Security Context

Finally, the security context of campus crime includes not only campus policing and security, but increasingly efforts by postsecondary institutions to address such issues as high-tech crimes like identity theft and computer network intrusions involving members of the campus community as both offenders and victims.

While the first campus police officers were actually two City of New Haven officers who patrolled

campus as part of their beat in 1849, research shows campus police departments evolved out of campus maintenance departments during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The responsibilities of those in the maintenance departments slowly changed from insuring the physical safety and security of the campus to enforcing campus disciplinary policies to full-fledged law enforcement. By the 1960s, in response to the political and social unrest of the time, postsecondary administrators wanted to avoid having municipal police officers on their campuses but still have a law enforcement presence there. It was then that modern campus police agencies, whose officers had full law enforcement authority, were born.

Over the next 40 years, campus police agencies adopted many of the same characteristics of municipal police agencies, including similar levels of specialization, bureaucratization, and tactical operations. Recently, like their municipal counterparts, increasing numbers of campus law enforcement agencies have adopted community-oriented policing (COP) as their new organizational model, which involves decentralization of operations, reduced levels of specialization, closer contacts with the campus community via foot or bicycle patrol, and greater emphasis on problem solving by line officers.

As campus law enforcement agencies evolved, they not only adopted organizational characteristics similar to their municipal counterparts, but also embraced emerging security technology as routine additions to their tactical and operational activities. For example, many campus police agencies routinely use closed-circuit television (CCTV) to monitor such areas as parking decks, green space, and particular buildings seen as high-level security risks due to research or other activities occurring there. Campus police and security agencies have also begun using “hot spots” analysis to identify places on campus disproportionately responsible for calls for service and to reallocate personnel accordingly. Finally, most campus police agencies have also adopted nonlethal technology such as pepper spray for use in the field.

A new challenge relating to the security context of campus crime involves high-tech crime and victimization. Samuel McQuade and his colleagues at the Rochester Institute of Technology have extensively studied this issue and identified the following

as the predominant forms of what they call information technology abuse (ITA): writing and distributing malware, such as viruses; disrupting computer service capabilities; spying and network intrusions, including computer hacking; fraudulent schemes, including identity theft; illegal file sharing and downloading of copyrighted material such as music or software; academic and scientific misconduct, including purchasing papers online; and online harassment, including threats and cyberstalking. Ironically, colleges and universities commonly offer academic programs involving computer science, information technology, and related fields, where students learn the very tools needed to perpetrate these offenses. As a result, academic departments involving these fields must help to insure students in their fields develop strong ethical standards concerning the use of this technology.

As the new millennium unfolds, campus crime will continue to pose a challenge to postsecondary administrators and members of the campus community. Liability issues continue to be present for institutions of higher learning, while at the same time new challenges are posed by increasingly high-tech capabilities to victimize large numbers of people. Drinking by students also poses a challenge to postsecondary institutions, while the victimization of college women is a pressing issue that must continue to be addressed. Finally, as campus law enforcement agencies reformulate their organizational, operational, and tactical orientations, they continue to adapt to a relatively unique situation. In each of the areas discussed—legal, social, and security—campus crime continues to create both challenges and opportunities.

John J. Sloan

See also Campus Policing and Security; College and University Campus Legislation, Federal; College and University Campus Legislation, State; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys

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CAMPUS POLICING AND SECURITY

Historically, it has been a challenge for campus administrators to provide a safe and secure environment for all students, and especially to protect those students who reside on campus. American colleges have taken their security responsibilities seriously, as in the past a parental-type relationship with students was assumed by colleges and universities. Currently, campus police and security

departments are primarily responsible for developing comprehensive programs to provide for the safety of college communities.

The characteristics of today's campus police organizations are directly related to the changes that have occurred in institutions of higher education over the last 150 years. Therefore, this entry examines campus policing and security by providing a historical overview of the efforts made to make American college campuses safe and secure. The entry then reviews the policing issues raised and provides a snapshot of today's campus policing.

Definitions

A “campus police” department is an organization that provides the full range of police services to its collegiate community. For example, campus police officers typically have arrest authority and carry weapons while on duty in their legally defined jurisdiction. These departments operate in similarly in many ways to local law enforcement and are usually found at state-operated larger institutions.

“Campus security” departments provide personal and property protection services for their campuses, and their officers usually have no arrest authority and do not carry weapons. These departments typically have policies that require the local police to be summoned if a crime is reported or if an arrest is to be made on campus. Campus security departments are typically found at smaller and/or private institutions.

“Campus watchman” refers to the official in the 19th and early 20th centuries whose function was to lock up campus buildings and to be alert for other potential dangers such as fire hazards.

Early American College Security

Books written on the historical development of American colleges provide examples of early efforts to serve the personnel and property security needs of U.S. campuses. In colonial America, colleges established long lists of rules and regulations in an attempt to govern student conduct, and college presidents, faculty members, and even janitors provided rudimentary security services. At some

institutions in the mid-1800s, students also became involved in campus security.

In 1870, Princeton created a new position on its campus called the office of the proctor. According to Jerry Witsil, this position was established to serve a policelike role and to be directly involved in student discipline. However, it would be another Ivy League institution, Yale, that would lay claim to having the first actual police force on campus. John Powell, a pioneer in campus policing, has noted that in 1894 two New Haven police officers were stationed on Yale's campus. The services they provided proved so effective that they were hired by the college as its first police force. This unit was established following a series of violent confrontations between Yale students and local townspeople.

As the 20th century approached, dramatic changes occurred within American higher education. The passage of the federal law known as the Morrill Act of 1862 established state land grant colleges throughout the country and, as a result, made college education accessible to middle-class families. Over the next several decades many new college and universities were built, and student populations grew accordingly. Moreover, with this growth colleges slowly began to experience more security-related problems.

Campus Security From 1900 to World War II

As American institutions of higher education grew in physical size to accommodate an increasing number of students, the protection of campus property and facilities became the primary focus of campus security. Watchmen were hired for this purpose, and also to work closely with deans of students to monitor student conduct. There is little evidence that serious crimes were much of a problem on American college campuses during the first third of the 20th century. Later in the century, however, the problems experienced by society in general (such as the sale and consumption of bootleg alcohol) also appeared on college campuses. In the 1940s (and 1950s), alcohol-related incidents such as disorderly conduct and destruction of property on the part of students were problems confronted by those offices responsible for student discipline and security.

Post-World War II Campus Security

The period from the end of World War II to the mid-1960s was one of slow evolution from campus "watchmen" organizations to more professional "security" departments. It was during this time that many campuses once again experienced significant growth in the number of students. A new federal law, the GI Bill, and the number of former military personnel attending college contributed substantially to the increase in students. In an effort to improve campus security departments, many institutions hired former or retired city police as officers and security chiefs. During this time, campus officers seldom had arrest authority and little specialized training. The traditional role of supervising student conduct and the emphasis on protecting property were often reflected in campus organizational hierarchy. The campus security department was typically supervised by the dean of students or the director of physical plant during the 1950s and early 1960s.

The long-term parental-type relationship between colleges and their students was altered in 1961. That year, the legal concept *in loco parentis* was struck down by the Supreme Court's decision in *Dickson v. Alabama Board of Education*. College students of age were now given the full rights and responsibilities of adults. As a result, campus administrators were required to alter many of their long-held policies and practices with regards to students. Security departments became less concerned with rule enforcement and more concerned with assisting students in making themselves more secure. In theory, colleges were still required to provide a safe and secure campus environment, but as adults, students assumed more personal responsibility.

Securing the Campus, 1960s–1980s

During the late 1960s and through the 1970s, societal events helped to bring about changes on college campuses and further alter the role of campus security agencies. Protests against the Vietnam War and other social/civil rights issues became part of everyday life on many American campuses. Campus security departments were inadequately prepared or equipped for the increase in civil disobedience, property destruction, and sometimes violent acts occurring within college

boundaries. Local, county, and state police agencies were often called to assist the campus departments, but their presence often exacerbated tensions. It was during this time that most states passed laws creating campus police departments (usually at state-supported institutions), granting them the full range of police power and authority. According to campus police researcher John Sloan, it was during the 1970s that campus police departments began to closely resemble their local counterparts in both organizational structure and role. Professionalism, training, and technology became the trademarks of many progressive campus police agencies. Their role would ultimately become more “professional law enforcer” and less “rule enforcer” or “property protector.”

Securing the Campus, 1980s–1990s

Institutions of higher education continued to grow during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, the *Digest of Educational Statistics* estimated that the number of colleges and universities in the United States grew from 1,500 in 1960 to almost 3,500 in 1990, and the number of students grew to approximately 14 million. Serious on-campus crimes also increased during this period, resulting in increased demands on campus police.

It was also during the 1980s and 1990s that civil liability lawsuits brought against colleges for failure to provide an adequate level of campus security and new campus crime legislation (both state and federal) influenced the role of campus police. The economic impact of lawsuits, coupled with negative publicity, had a major impact on campus security decision makers. Thus many campuses sought to improve their overall security to be in a better position to defend against lawsuits. This would in turn bring about improvements in campus police agencies.

Numerous states passed legislation placing a variety of requirements on institutions of higher education with respect to campus crime reporting and other security policy issues. The Student Right to Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 (now called the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act) places a variety of mandates on institutions and their campus police agencies. It can be argued that the requirements of these

pieces of legislation have established legal standards for campus police that exceed those required of municipal police agencies.

Current Campus Policing and Security

Authority and Jurisdiction

The authority and jurisdiction of campus police/security organizations are typically defined in state laws. The vast majority of states grant powers of arrest and the ability to carry weapons to campus officers. These rights are accompanied by requirements that the officers meet the same minimum standards for hiring and training mandated for local police in that state. Many state-operated colleges and universities require police experience or college credit from applicants. In addition, new officers are placed in a field training program that familiarizes them with departmental policies and procedures. Smaller, private institutions of higher education do not usually possess statutory authority to make arrests or to carry weapons. The campus security departments at these colleges protect property and facilities, monitor student conduct, and provide a minimum level of personal safety for campus community members and visitors.

Status

In 1996 a report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics provided a comprehensive picture of campus police. The report identified the many organizational, administrative, and operational characteristics of current campus police agencies, many of which mirror characteristics of municipal police agencies. Among other things, Brian Reaves has noted the following findings with respect to campus police agencies today:

- More campus law enforcement agencies are using sworn and armed officers;
- Campus law enforcement agencies have kept pace with increasing enrollments;
- Campus police forces have become more diverse in terms of their employees;
- Training requirements for campus police have increased;
- Most campus police are actively engaged in community policing;

- Campus police agencies are more likely than ever to offer special programs for safety, and crime prevention;
- Campuses have better emergency access systems.

A review of these findings suggests that campus policing has continued to evolve as a profession. As campuses become larger and more complex, so too will the challenges for campus security decision makers. Unanticipated events and external influences will also play a part in the continuing evolution of campus policing. For example, the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the mass murder at Virginia Tech in 2007 prompted campuses to conduct internal reviews of security practices and policies with respect to vulnerabilities and prevention of and response to a multitude of potential threats. The mass murder incident at Virginia Tech in 2007 also produced additional internal review by campus officials, as well as external scrutiny of campus security issues relating to the prevention of and response to such threats. For the future, campus police and security administrators will need to be aware of the various factors that impact the campus environment. Given the fact that on most college campuses innovation is encouraged, the campus policing profession should continue to progress in order to anticipate campus changes and to develop ways to adequately protect the campus communities.

Max L. Bromley

See also Campus Crime, College and University; College and University Campus Legislation, Federal; College and University Campus Legislation, State

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CARJACKING

During the late 1980s and the early 1990s, carjacking was brought to the national attention. The 1992 case that triggered the national debate involved Pamela Basu of Maryland. Two men pulled Basu from her car and drove away, dragging Basu, who was caught in her seatbelt, for over a mile before she fell to road. Basu died of her injuries. Basu's child was thrown from the car but was not injured. The perpetrators were subsequently prosecuted in state court for various crimes—but not for carjacking, as there was no specific state carjacking statute in existence at that time—and sentenced to extended periods of time in prison.

Carjacking, a term apparently coined by the media in response to various other sensationalized cases, is commonly understood as the taking of an automobile from a person, while he or she is in the car, with the use of force. The act usually occurs while the car is in a parking lot, stopped in traffic, or at a traffic light, and the victim is usually approached by one or more perpetrators who are armed. The frequent presence of weapons in carjackings fueled the public reaction to the crime, given the ongoing war against violent crime.

Although carjacking was not formally defined as a crime at the federal level, the prevalence of armed carjackings and the injuries suffered by

innocent motorists caused a public outcry. The United States Department of Justice estimated that there were more than 35,000 carjackings and attempted carjackings each year from 1987 to 1992. Weapons were used in 77% of the carjackings and attempted carjackings. Further, 24% of victims of completed carjackings were injured, and 18% of attempted carjacking victims were injured. The carjackings were most likely to occur at night and away from the victim's home, with 29% occurring in a parking lot or garage and 45% occurring in an open area such as on the street. In addition, 49% of the perpetrators were Black and 30% were White. Males committed 88% of carjackings.

The Law

Thus Congress enacted the Anti-Car Theft Act of 1992, codified at Title 18 U.S.C. § 2119, which made carjacking a separate offense. Title 18 U.S.C. § 2119 provided that whoever possessing a firearm, takes a motor vehicle, which had passed through interstate or foreign commerce, from a person by force or intimidation, or attempts to do so, with the intent to temporarily or permanently deprive the person, shall be punished by fifteen years in prison, twenty five years in prison of serious bodily injury results, or by death or life in prison if death results. The statute was subject to numerous constitutional challenges in court under the Due Process Clause and the Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution. Subsequently, in 1994, Congress amended the statute to include unarmed carjackings. In addition, a number of states have enacted carjacking statutes. Each state has different criminal codes and each requires different elements for a conviction.

Carjacking is considered a form of theft or robbery. Theft involves the unlawful taking of property with the intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property. Theft, generally, does not involve taking the property directly from the person. Depending upon the value of the property taken, theft can be a misdemeanor or a felony. Robbery involves the unlawful taking of property directly from the person or in their person with the intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property by the use of threats or force. Robbery is considered a serious offense and is usually classified as a felony. Higher penalties are usually imposed if a weapon is used

during a robbery. Unarmed robbery has frequently been called "strong arm" robbery. The key issue for both crimes is the intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property.

One of the basic principles of criminal law is that, to be convicted of a crime, the prosecutor must prove every element of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt. For theft and robbery, one of the elements of the crimes is the intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property, which must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

The legal problem presented by carjacking arose from the fact that the perpetrators frequently did not intend to keep the automobile. The perpetrators would take the automobile, use it for whatever purpose it was intended (i.e., such as for a robbery get-away vehicle or a joyride), and then abandon it. A significant proportion of the automobiles that were carjacked were returned. Thus, there was a significant problem in charging carjackers with theft or robbery, as convictions were difficult to obtain. Finally, the federal carjacking statute resolved the problem caused by whether the carjacker intended to temporarily or permanently deprive the person of the automobile, as it criminalized the taking of the automobile no matter what the intent.

Statistics

According to the National Crime Victimization Surveys, between 1992 and 1996, approximately 49,000 attempted or completed carjackings occurred in the United States each year. About half of all carjackings were completed. About 7 in 10 completed carjackings involved the use of a firearm, while about 2 in 10 attempted carjackings involved the use of a firearm. Most carjackings did not result in injuries to the victims.

According to the National Crime Victimization Surveys, from 1993 to 2002, there were about 38,000 carjackings annually. Blacks and Hispanics were more often victims of carjackings than were Whites, and 93% of all carjackings occurred in urban areas. Weapons were used in 74% of the carjackings, with 45% involving firearms. Further, 32% of victims of completed carjackings and 17% of victims of attempted carjackings were injured, and 9% of the injuries were serious. Males were responsible for 93% of the carjacking incidents. In

addition, 56% of the carjackers were Black and 21% were White. Finally, 68% of the carjacking incidents occurred at night, and 42% of the nighttime carjackings and 50% of the daytime carjackings were completed.

As can be seen from the data, the incidence of carjackings declined over time since the issue was raised to a significant degree in the national media. As with many crimes brought to the attention of the public, with carjacking there was a reduction in incidents after enforcement efforts were increased. Also, with the enactment of laws directly related to the prosecution of carjacking and closing the legal impediments to obtaining convictions, the argument can be made that there has been some deterrent effect.

Overall, the relative incidence of carjackings compared to other crimes is low. Indeed, carjackings represent only a small fraction of the total number of automobile thefts. Even in the period from 1987 to 1992, only 2 of every 10,000 persons were subject to a carjacking. However, carjacking has received a significant amount of attention because of the possibility of severe injuries for its victims, or even death.

The general suggestions for the prevention of carjacking concern the use of caution. The public should be warned: Do not drive through areas where there is high crime. When driving through high crime and urban areas, keep your car doors locked and windows shut. Do not open the doors or windows for strangers. Common sense and reasonable caution can prevent many carjackings.

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See also Crime Prevention; Deterrence; Guns and Victimization; Larceny/Theft; Motor Vehicle Theft; Robbery

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CENTRAL REGISTRY

Child abuse is typically defined as the physical, sexual, or psychological maltreatment of children. Unfortunately, children are frequent and easy targets of abuse and maltreatment because they are unable to protect or help themselves. As a result, numerous agencies and departments have continued to work to develop means of protecting children from abusers. One of the more cooperative and widespread efforts is the development of central registries, also known as child abuse and neglect registries. A central registry is an online database used to maintain and track reports of child abuse and neglect. Central registries have been created at both the state and national level. They allow social services, medical, and/or police personnel, as well as employers, to check for reported incidents of child abuse that individuals committed in other areas, cities, or states. The main purpose of central registries is twofold. First, they prevent abusive parents or guardians from escaping detection by taking their children to multiple hospitals or doctors. Second, they prevent abusive individuals from getting jobs working with children or serving as foster parents. Though there are apparent benefits of central registries, there is also a moderate amount of controversy associated with them.

Design and Purpose

A central registry is an online database that contains records of prior incidents of child abuse and maltreatment. The information contained in the records typically includes: the abused child's name and address, the name and address of the parents or guardians, the name and address of the alleged perpetrator, a description of the harmful incident, and the outcome of any investigation. Certain

agencies and employers can submit requests to perform prior-abuse background checks on individuals that may come into contact with children. This process helps to protect children from potential abuse by preventing individuals who have a prior record of abuse and maltreatment from coming into contact with them. Further, central registries can be used by social services, medical, and police personnel to investigate allegations of child abuse. In many instances, abusive parents or guardians will take children to different hospitals in order to avoid the suspicion that may arise as the result of continuously bringing an injured child to the hospital or doctor. With a central registry, it becomes very difficult to hide child abuse.

State Central Registries

Numerous states have had central registries for well over 20 years. Currently, every U.S. state, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories of American Samoa and Guam has procedures for maintaining and tracking reports of child abuse and maltreatment. However, as of 2005, only 45 states have statewide central registries. Forty-two states developed central registries as a result of statutory authorization, and the other three developed central registries as a result of administrative policy. Each state has its own specific process and documentation used to report and track suspected incidents of abuse and maltreatment. Employers or agencies within a state can use the state central registry to track prior abusive behavior that has occurred only in that state. In order to track potential abuse and maltreatment across multiple states, the national central registry should be used.

National Central Registry

Similar to state central registries, there is also a national central registry. The national central registry was developed as a result of the National Child Protection Act of 1993 (NCP Act) and the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act of 2006 (Adam Walsh Act). Essentially, the national central registry combines the information from the state registries, in order to allow agencies and

employers to search for abusive incidents committed by specific individuals in any state or city across the United States. The NCP Act, which was signed by President Bill Clinton in 1993, allows employers to perform a prior-abuse background check on any individual applying for a job involving direct contact with children, such as day care services. The Adam Walsh Act, signed by President George W. Bush in 2006, mandates that the central registry be used to perform a prior-abuse background check on any individual applying to serve as a foster or adoptive parent. Unfortunately, the information in the national central registry does have limitations. It only contains information reported by those states that have state central registries. In addition, compared to many of the state central registries, the national central registry is relatively new and still has many issues that need to be worked out.

Controversy Associated With Central Registries

Though the underlying goal of central registries—to protect children from abuse—is certainly laudable, their development and use has sparked a certain amount of controversy. In an effort to prevent child abuse and maltreatment, central registries are used to track abusers rather than the children they abuse. This method is designed to restrict the opportunity for individuals to abuse. Many argue, however, that the registries may be used improperly to investigate and prosecute abusive individuals, essentially removing the focus from protecting children to punishing offenders. Further, unlike other registries—such as sex offender registries—individuals placed in central registries are never removed. As a result, punishment and stigmatization continue even after a convicted offender has completed all the requirements of his or her sentence.

Billy Henson

See also Abuse, Ritual Child; AMBER Alert; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Response; Child Protective Services; Megan's Law; Shaken Baby Syndrome

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CHICAGO ALTERNATIVE POLICING STRATEGY (CAPS)

The Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy, or CAPS, was one of the first attempts to implement community policing comprehensively in a major American city. Five police districts implemented the CAPS strategy and structure on an experimental basis beginning in 1993, and deployment throughout the entire Chicago Police Department (CPD) occurred over the next 2 years.

Planning and Implementation

The Chicago Police Department is organized into 25 districts with a total of 279 beats. In April 1993, the department launched CAPS in five districts—Austin, Englewood, Marquette, Morgan Park, and Rogers Park. The prototype districts constituted trial runs of the new approach, allowing weaknesses and unanticipated issues to be identified and addressed before the citywide rollout. Emerging and ongoing issues were addressed by several committees; some focused on short-term corrections, while others analyzed strategic changes that would require longer planning and more extensive engineering.

Operationally, the core of the CAPS initiative was a dedicated team of patrol officers in each of the city's beats. Those officers were charged with

organizing the residents, working with them to identify and prioritize the needs of the neighborhoods, and developing effective responses and solutions. Team officers were assigned to their beats for an extended term in order to develop deeper knowledge of the area and form stable working partnerships with individuals and entities within the beat. That constituted a major change from the past practice of regularly reassigning officers to new areas, a legacy of earlier anticorruption efforts.

On a daily basis, one of the primary barriers to community problem solving had been the need to respond to calls for service. Daily call demands often overwhelmed more time-intensive community projects. The CAPS structure initially removed beat officers from the 9-1-1 response queue in order to facilitate their problem-centered efforts. Separate teams of rapid-response units handled calls for police service, but were also responsible for coordinating with the beat officers. The structure was later modified to allow Priority 1 (emergency) calls to be assigned to beat officers.

The effort was not limited to uniformed patrol officers: All CPD officers in investigative and specialty assignments are required to coordinate with and support the beat teams on a regular basis. Their participation brings vital resources and special knowledge to the problem-solving approach, and insures that “stovepipes” of restricted information do not develop.

The CAPS design embodied variants of innovations and experimental programs in other jurisdictions: the split-force concept pioneered in Wilmington, Delaware; team policing, which had been pioneered in several cities in the early 1970s, but not widely adopted; and foot beats, whose effectiveness in an age of motorized patrol had been demonstrated by the Flint, Michigan, Neighborhood Foot Patrol Experiment in the early 1980s.

The principles of problem solving and community organizing are also fundamental to CAPS organization, training, and direction. In 2000, the CPD instituted a decentralized planning and management process for identification and resolution of problems in support of CAPS. Comparable to the contemporary COMPSTAT process in New York City, it delegates strategic functions to the District level. A new 9-1-1 center was inaugurated, and the CPD Research and Planning Division was transformed through civilianization and expansion.

This change in the CPD's information-processing capacity dovetailed with the CAPS process. Better and timelier information supplements community efforts at problem solving. Drawing upon the department's upgraded information systems, the data used to inform the planning and response are also used by the administration to evaluate effectiveness.

The overall thrust of the CAPS initiative was to orient all CPD officers to the community-policing philosophy, provide them with adequate tools and institutional support, and eliminate known barriers to effective community organizing. It rests upon the belief that crime prevention and crime control are community responsibilities, not the exclusive domain of the police, and will not result from police activity alone. A concurrent goal is to establish a territorial "ownership," a personal investment in their assigned beats, among CPD officers.

A corollary of the community-oriented philosophy is that the entire organization must support the community policing initiatives. Attempting to align the department's commitment to the community within a small innovation ghetto of specialist officers is a prescription for failure. If the community-policing unit is just an innovative ghetto while the rest of an agency continues to operate on the traditional model, positive results will be limited. The CPD sought input from multiple community and social service partners, both in the planning stages and throughout the implementations. The relative proportions of input from the community members are a major element of the external evaluation.

In constructing the CAPS model, the CPD established a series of committees to plan and coordinate the implementation. Planners sought the positive and negative lessons of prior experiments and programs, synthesizing them within the unique organizational aspects of the CPD. Planning partners from outside the agency were full partners in the endeavor: Some shared a common client group with the police; others were oriented to a broader municipal development perspective. A long-term independent evaluation was conducted by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, which provided annual or biannual assessments of the process over a 10-year span.

Outcomes

CAPS has been successful in achieving many of its goals, and most of the initial difficulties were overcome during the first decade of its existence. The external evaluation focused on several implementation and outcome measures; some concentrated on the community, others on the department, and still others on the quality and effectiveness of their interaction and problem-solving efforts.

Community knowledge of CAPS is high, and as participation rates for citizens grew, so did satisfaction with the police. Chicago is a famously multiethnic city, and CAPS participation and approval ratings mirror its larger racial divides. After 10 years of CAPS, all racial/ethnic groups were more positive about the police department than they had been when CAPS was inaugurated, but the gaps between groups remained relatively constant. Caucasians and African Americans were more likely to rate the police favorably than were Latinos, whose lower approval rates were strongly influenced by a variety of immigration issues.

During the early years of CAPS, the initiatives experienced the same difficulties in eliciting resident participation and leadership that have been recorded in other locations. The 10th-year evaluation noted that the highest rates of citizen participation were found in the neighborhoods with the most serious problems. This was attributed to belief that the problem resolution projects were effective, even though a relatively low proportion of identified problems have an action component. Like community meetings elsewhere, participation rates are greatest among long-term residents, older adults, and those with higher education.

As with most fledgling community-policing initiatives, CAPS experienced difficulties in organization and leadership responsibilities, including uneven rates of participation and satisfaction among all participant groups. Leadership roles developed unevenly, particularly within the police ranks, and the clarity of purpose of each meeting was often lacking. Over time, meeting quality improved, and cooperative leadership emerged. Citizen satisfaction with the process steadily increased. Police satisfaction fluctuated more than resident satisfaction, which may have been due to turnover and the periodic loss of experienced

officers to reassignment, or to different expectations of success.

The impact of CAPS on serious crime is not clear. Although felony-level crimes fell in Chicago during the first decade of the CAPS, the reductions were in accord with national declines in reported crime during that period. Though Chicago experienced some steeper declines in certain types of crime, such as armed robbery, the influence of CAPS is confounded by the effects of other prevention initiatives, including greater restrictions on firearms availability and changes in drug markets. Some of the factors credited with the lower crime rate are associated with, but not specifically linked to, the CAPS outcomes of improved neighborhood conditions and police effectiveness.

Neighborhood-specific analysis of crime trends and conditions during that period showed substantial improvements in African American neighborhoods. Those improvements paralleled gains in African American confidence in and approval of the police. A causal relationship to CAPS activities remains speculative in the first instance, but may be more strongly inferred in the second. Because the two are conceptually linked, there is reason to believe CAPS played a prominent role in the resurgence. Unfortunately, like many crime prevention initiatives, CAPS overlapped with too many simultaneous initiatives to allow its effects to be distinguished without ambiguity.

Greater confidence can be placed in the CAPS influence on neighborhood problems. Issues identified in the early stages of CAPS tended to be those of physical decay, while those in later years clustered around social behavior and disorder. Concerns about physical conditions such as derelict buildings, graffiti, and trash-strewn lots declined in African American neighborhoods but not in Latino areas. Language barriers were identified as a continuing problem in Latino areas, where personal contact was far more influential than printed or broadcast dissemination of information. Specific concerns about problems in and around schools were reduced in all areas.

Internal administrative and managerial changes within the department have evolved at an uneven pace. CAPS is generally credited with making district-level managers more effective and responsible, and for improving communications and cooperation within the CPD. The legacy of policing's

command-and-control orientation has been seen as restricting upward communications to a reporting function, and the overall assessment was that management was improved by the process. Ongoing issues include limited participation in CAPS by senior commanders and integration of all partners at all levels.

Future Outlook

CAPS remains the organizational backbone of the Chicago Police Department. Periodic reversion to more traditional police responses to problems remains a concern, but CAPS has endured and grown through several different city hall and CPD administrations. The department's commitment to the change process has enhanced the police role, and the community role has grown and solidified over the years.

The enduring result of CAPS has been a solidified partnership between the CPD and the communities it serves. The institutionalization of community orientation, problem analysis, and problem-solving capacity on the scale of CAPS is unprecedented. Addressing new problems as soon as they are identified cannot always guarantee success, but is a major step forward in making crime prevention a priority of police operations. Police departments will always depend upon reactive responses to a large extent. In its CAPS structure, the CPD created a way to maintain that function without sacrificing crime prevention. Sustained consultation with citizens and continued attention to quality-of-life issues yields greater community support for the police, enhanced livability in the neighborhoods, and a more responsive, intelligence-led police force.

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See also Community Policing

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CHILD ABUSE, IDENTIFICATION OF

The identification of child abuse is a challenging task because the child victim may be reluctant to reveal his or her victimization to others. An abuser may threaten the child victim with additional punishment if the child tells of the abuse experience. There are several sources of suspicion of child abuse. They include direct witness, the child's statements, the child's injuries, the child's behavior, the parents' description of the events, and prior abuse reports. Thus, a medical professional, a social worker, or a law enforcement officer considers the totality of all information from various sources to identify whether abuse has occurred. Criminologists, however, divide child maltreatment into four categories: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, and neglect. This entry explores the possible indicators for each of the four typologies of child abuse and the various sources of such information. Although these indicators can have causes other than abuse, these indicators, when evaluated within each individual context, may assist

professionals in evaluating alleged or suspected child maltreatment.

Identification of Physical Abuse

Information From the Child: Physical Signs

Physical signs of abuse may include a number of unexplained burns, bite marks, bruises, broken bones, black eyes, and so on. When children fall or bang into things, they tend to injure their chins, foreheads, hands, elbows, and knees. Injuries to areas that are less commonly sites of accidental injuries, such as the thighs, upper arms, genitals, buttocks, and the back of the legs or trunk, may be signs of abuse.

Bruises

Bruises on an infant's face and buttocks may signal that the infant has been intentionally assaulted by someone. For example, two black eyes seldom come from an accident. An investigator must calculate the time of injury to see if the injuries are consistent with the explanation from the child's parent or caregiver. A professional is able to estimate the age of bruises by color. The color of bruises changes from red (swollen, tender) within 2 days of the injury, to blue or purple within 2 to 5 days, to green within 5 to 7 days, to yellow within 7 to 10 days, and finally to brown within 10 to 14 days. The bruises disappear within 2 to 4 weeks after the injury occurs.

Bruises on the neck whose shapes look like fingers and/or an entire palm print may be signs that the child was choked. Similar bruises on the torso, on the shoulders, or around the elbows or knees may be the indication that the child was thrown or shaken. Thus, a medical professional must carefully take a look at the shape of bruises.

Shaken Baby Syndrome

John Caffey coined the term *shaken baby syndrome* in 1974. According to Caffey, shaken baby syndrome is the product of violent shaking of a baby's arms or shoulders. One of the important characteristics of shaken baby syndrome is that it does not result in a clear external head injury; however, violent shaking a baby may lead to serious brain damage because a baby's neck muscles are not well enough developed for the baby to support

his or her own head. Simple household falls and gently tossing a baby in the air during play are not very good explanations for a baby's brain injury. In most cases of shaken baby syndrome, the baby does not show skull fractures and external signs of trauma. However, the baby may begin to show symptoms such as seizures or unconsciousness immediately after the injury occurs. In a serious case, the vibrant shaking of a child may leave permanent brain damage requiring long-term medical attention or even lead to death.

Bone Fracture

Injuries resulting from physical abuse include broken and dislocated bones. Spinal fracture and other injuries to the arm and leg bones of an infant may be signs of twisting or pulling by an adult. Infants are especially unlikely to inflict such bone injuries by themselves. The presence of rib fractures, if accompanied by pressure bruises (shaped like fingers or hands), provide a hint that an adult may have squeezed the baby with enormous force. If an infant or a child has multiple fractures with different stages of healing, it could be indicative of repetitious assaults by others.

Burns

Another common cause of abuse that results in physical injury is the cigarette burn. Some abusive adults place burning cigarettes against a child's skin. However, burn marks may come from other attacks. An abusive adult may place the child in extremely hot water or place hot irons or automobile exhaust pipes against the child's body.

Burn patterns can provide clues for a child abuse investigation. Distinctively shaped dry or "contact" burns suggest that the attacker may have used instruments such as a heated wire, an iron, a space heater, or hot plate. A well-defined line between burned and unburned body parts without splash marks may be a sign that the abuser held the child firmly and carefully lowered him or her into a hot liquid. Also, the severity of the burn is generally unchanging throughout the body when the child is placed in the hot liquid by force.

Poisoning

Some abusive parents and caretakers use chemical agents as a means of maltreatment. Those most

commonly used include water, salt, alcohol, marijuana, barbiturates, psychoactive drugs, tranquilizers, and opiates. The children poisoned by such chemical agents display a variety of symptoms, including irritability, listlessness, lethargy, stupor, and coma. In addition, a child may be poisoned by cleaning fluid or some other caustic substance. In such a case, there will likely be burns in the child's mouth. Accidental poisoning is seen most often in children 2 to 3 years old, and it is uncommon in children under the age of 1 or over the age of 6. Thus, poisoning of a child less than 1 or older than 6 is likely to have been intentional.

Information From the Child: Behavioral Signs

A physically abused child is also likely to exhibit behavioral symptoms. The child may be afraid of seeing his or her abusive parent(s) or care provider(s), or may feel a constant danger of being attacked and therefore may not want to go home after school. Other behavioral symptoms of physical abuse may include aggression, such as anger and attacking other children and depression. Behavioral signs are not limited to those above, however, and may include bedwetting, refusal to speak, head banging, and many others.

Information From the Parents or Caregivers

The possibilities of physical abuse may be ascertained from the statements and behavior of parents or other care providers. There are several examples suggesting the possibilities of physical abuse. First, the parents or caregivers may fail to give reasonable explanation for the child's injury. Second, the parents or caregivers may depict the child in a negative way or as evil. Third, abusive parents may delay seeking medical assistance when the child is injured. This may be due to their fear of being detected by others. Finally, abusive parents may have shown similar abusive patterns in the past.

Identification of Sexual Abuse

Information From the Child: Physical Signs

In many cases, sexual abuse does not leave distinct physical injuries to the victim. However,

sexually abused children may have some physical signs. For example, the child may have a problem with walking or sitting. The child may have unexplained injuries around genital and anal areas; for example, the vagina or anus may be torn, lacerated, infected, or bloody. Unusual vaginal irritations may be due to forced sex. A child's penis may be swollen, inflamed, infected, or show signs of internal bleeding. Additional injuries may also include bruises, redness, and bleeding around genitals. The child's underwear may be torn, may have blood stains, or may contain semen. The presence of semen in the oral, anal, or vaginal cavity also discloses that the child has had sexual contact with others. Finally, the child may be pregnant or infected with a sexually transmitted disease.

Information From the Child: Behavioral Signs

The sexually abused child may exhibit sudden behavioral changes. Thus, the child may avoid changing clothes or exercising at gym class. He or she also may have unusual knowledge of sexual behavior or interest. Further, a sexually abused child may display seductive behavior that is not appropriate for his or her age. The child may experience ongoing nightmares or bedwetting. He or she may be afraid of going to a certain place or seeing a specific adult. The sexually abused child also may state that his or her body is "dirty" or "damaged." Finally, a child's drawing and writing may include sensationalized sexual images.

Information From the Parents or Caregivers

The parent or caregiver who is sexually abusing his or her child is one of two basic types. The first type is a person who primarily has sexual relationships with adults. However, the adult has sexual relationships with his or her child due to situational factors such as stresses from divorce or unemployment. Thus, social workers or law enforcement professionals investigate unusual stressors of parents or caregivers that may lead to sexual abuse of a child. The other type is the adult who is primarily attracted to children instead of adults. In these cases, social workers or law enforcement professionals need to investigate whether the adult is a pedophile. For example, the adult may collect child pornography, which is indicative of pedophilia.

Identification of Emotional Abuse

Information From the Child: Behavioral Signs

Emotionally abused children rarely show physical signs. Thus, in many cases only behavioral signs are identifiable. An emotionally abused child may be drastic in his or her behavior. Behavioral disorders such as antisocial or destructive behavior are common consequences of emotional abuse. For example, some abused children have a habit of head banging, sucking, and/or biting. Also, an emotionally abused child may display signs of neurosis such as sleep disorders, speech disorders, and the inhibition to play. He or she may be overly passive or aggressive.

Signs of Emotionally Abusive Parents or Caregivers

The causes of emotional abuse by a parent or caregiver can be divided into several types. The first type is related to factors associated with the child. For instance, caring for a child with a special problem, such as physical disability, mental disability, or serious behavioral problem, can be taxing for the parent, and the parent may respond with emotional abuse. Another type is associated with the stressors of a parent or a caregiver, such as divorce, loss of job, unwanted pregnancy, or other personal or professional stressors. Sometimes, the adult's mental illness, such as depression, or substance abuse may be an underlying cause of the emotional abuse.

Identification of Neglect

Neglect is frequently defined as a caregiver's failure to provide his or her child with basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and/or supervision.

Information From the Child: Physical Signs

One of the common physical signs of neglected young children is low body weight. A young child is totally dependent upon his or her caretakers for food. If a child does not receive the proper nutrition, the child can fail to gain weight as expected for his or her age. In addition, lack of proper nutrition can result in dull and thin hair and failure to develop

full motor skills, which can be seen in a child's difficulty with tasks such as grabbing, reaching, and picking up objects.

Information From the Child: Behavioral Signs

There are several behavioral signs that may indicate neglect. Children who are neglected may be absent from school frequently without a clear reason (such as a sickness). A sudden drop in children's school grades also may be a consequence of neglect. Neglected children may beg or steal food at school because their parents do not provide proper sustenance. They may appear to be constantly tired, and may fall asleep in class or even in play sessions. These children may wear the same dirty clothes for several days or more, and may have a strong body odor because their parents do not wash them regularly. Further, their parents or care providers may fail to seek medical attention for them when it is needed, indicating neglect.

Finally, normal infants or toddlers are generally curious about their surroundings and spend a significant amount of time seeing other person's faces and hearing noises. However, neglected children may be disinterested in their environment. In serious cases, neglected children may not cry for help from their caregivers. They learn that they cannot rely on others to satisfy their environmental and emotional needs.

Signs of Neglecting Parents

Some neglecting parents suffer from depression and use excessive amounts of alcohol or drugs. Thus, they are incapable of taking care of their children. Other neglecting parents may leave a young child home alone. This kind of neglect not only jeopardizes the safety of the child but also may inhibit the child from fully developing awareness for personal safety.

Don Chon

See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and

Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of; Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy; Shaken Baby Syndrome

Further Readings

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CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT

Victimology and crime prevention cut across many fields of study, including social services. Although the perpetrators of child maltreatment are not always prosecuted, the children who are abused and neglected are undeniably crime victims. They suffer the emotional trauma of victimization in addition to the physical effects of the abuse or neglect. In many cases, the consequences of the abuse are especially traumatic because of children's subsequent separation from their loved ones. Professionals' use of best practices in responding to and trying to prevent child maltreatment is a critical part of ensuring that all children have the opportunity to grow up in a safe, nurturing environment.

Definitions

Child abuse and neglect, also referred to collectively as *child maltreatment*, comprises the legal and social definitions of specific typologies, including physical abuse, physical neglect, emotional/psychological neglect, and sexual abuse. Legal definitions of the different types of maltreatment vary from state to state, but their source is societal standards of a safe, nurturing environment that ensures a child can grow into a fully functioning, contributing member of society. The definitions below are based on those used by the American Humane Society and other standard sources in the field.

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is the most visible of the maltreatment typologies. It is defined as inflicted, nonaccidental physical injury, or the risk of injury, to a child by a caregiver or parent. The injury often results from inappropriate or excessive discipline. Discipline and cultural practices are part of determining what crosses the threshold for the legal definition of abuse. Most of the Western world accepts corporal punishment as a means of discipline. The question becomes how one differentiates between discipline and abuse.

Generally, physical abuse is confirmed when the injury goes beyond temporary redness and results in bruises, broken bones, burns, bite marks, internal injuries, disfigurement, impairment of health or daily functioning, or risk of death.

Neglect

Neglect, the most often reported maltreatment typology, is an act of omission by the parent or caregiver that is harmful to the child. What constitutes neglect depends on societal mores, community standards and culture, and economic and political values. It is subdivided into physical, medical, educational, and in some cases emotional neglect. (Emotional neglect will be dealt with below as a separate category.)

Physical neglect, the most prevalent and recognizable form of neglect, is the omission by a parent or caregiver to provide the child with basic necessities such as food, clothing, or shelter. Examples also include poor hygiene, inadequate supervision, and an unsafe environment such as exposed wiring or broken glass on the floor.

Medical neglect is a failure to provide needed medical treatment, placing the child at serious risk of death, disfigurement, or disability. Examples of medical neglect include not giving a child with diabetes the required medication or monitoring it and not seeking immediate medical care for a child with a severe injury.

Educational neglect includes failure to make an effort to ensure that a child attends school or has a reasonable alternative for pursuing educational requirements (e.g., homeschooling). Examples include a parent permitting a child's chronic truancy, failing to enroll a child in school, or not attending to a child's special educational needs.

Emotional Neglect

Emotional neglect has many other names, including mental injury and psychological maltreatment. It is defined as an act of omission or an overt action that is inattentive to a child's need for nurturance, affection, support, and emotional development. Examples include rejection, verbal assault, isolation, torment, exploitation, belittlement, and public humiliation. Emotional neglect is one of the most difficult types of maltreatment to document because it may not be readily observable. It is often accompanied by other forms of maltreatment, such as physical abuse or neglect.

The meaning of emotional neglect has broadened as society has become aware of the impact on children of chronic or extreme intimate partner violence in the presence of children, of parental behavior that is influenced by substance abuse or mental illness, and of parents' other destructive behaviors.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse involves using a child, as defined by state laws, for the sexual gratification of an adult. Although definitions vary by state, sexual abuse generally refers to a parent, adult, or child using force, coercion, or threats to engage a child in sexual acts or activities at the perpetrator's direction or for his or her purpose. Examples include fondling a child, making a child touch adult sexual organs, penetration of the child's vagina or anus, oral sex, nontouching adult masturbation in the child's presence, exposing the child to pornographic material, or engaging or soliciting the child for prostitution.

Sexual abuse falls into one of two categories based on the identity of the perpetrator. Interfamilial abuse, or incest, is usually perpetrated by a blood relative, particularly the parent or a caregiver with responsibility for caring for the child. Extrafamilial abuse is perpetrated by someone who does not live in the home.

The definitions of the maltreatment typologies overlap, and a single act may be classified as more than one type of abuse; for example, an act may be both physical abuse and emotional neglect. Similarly, several typologies may be present in one family: A family may be reported for physical neglect, but sexual abuse is discovered during the assessment. The definitions provide legal standards

for prosecution and guidelines for society. The commonality among all types of maltreatment is the damaging effects on the children.

Historical Perspective

The concept of child maltreatment has evolved throughout history. Across cultures, children used to be seen as the property of their parents, having neither rights nor privileges, and infanticide was a common practice. Children's status in life was determined by the parents, and discipline was often harsh and unrestrained by society. In the ancient world as well as the more modern Western world, children of slaves were at the mercy of their masters, who exploited them physically for work and often abused them sexually. Many children worked the land or were indentured to tradesmen, who were sometimes abusive or exploitive.

Child labor increased with the burgeoning industrial revolution of the 1800s. Unregulated working conditions were often harsh for children, and children of immigrants were especially vulnerable. Many children during this time were injured, maimed, killed, or worked to the point of exhaustion in factories and mines. Whereas close-knit communities or extended families in some societies had been known to shelter and protect children without parents, the anonymity of growing cities meant that children who were separated from their families were often left to live on the streets or were housed in facilities with mentally ill adults or adult criminals.

As the settlement house movement evolved in the late 1800s, individuals began to speak out against child labor. The first organizations to help children who had been exploited or mistreated physically were voluntary, religious, and charitable organizations such as New York's Children's Aid Society.

The New York case of Mary Ellen Wilson in 1874 prompted the founding of the first child protection organization in the United States. When a neighbor reported Mary Ellen's mistreatment by her guardians to Etta Wheeler, a church worker, Wheeler took the matter to Henry Bergh of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Bergh intervened, and the public awareness raised by the ensuing trial and subsequent imprisonment of the child's guardian led to the establishment of

the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC) in 1875.

A new view of the concept of childhood emerged in the early 20th century as society began to recognize that children should be protected from parents who mistreat them, and that parents should be punished accordingly. New York was the first state to pass laws to protect children, and many states followed its lead. Orphanages and boarding homes sprang up across the country, and eventually institutions specifically for African American children and Native American children were also founded. The prevailing attitude of child protection advocates focused on rescuing children rather than addressing the social conditions, stresses, or lack of resources that may lead to mistreatment. The Boston chapter of the SPCC was the first to emphasize family rehabilitation, the philosophy that child protection agencies would eventually adopt.

Three significant events marked the movement toward a more regulated governmental effort to protect children from maltreatment in the United States. The first event took place in 1909, when the first public policy was initiated on child protection issues at the White House Conference on Children. The focus of the conference was removing children from abusive families. The second event, in 1912, was the federal government's establishment of the Children's Bureau for the purpose of addressing child protection. Finally, the third event was the founding in 1913 of the Child Welfare League of America, which advocated for the rights of children and for children's protection.

A prominent turning point in the child protection movement was the involvement of the medical community. John Caffey, a pediatric radiologist, noticed in the 1940s that the X-rays of some children revealed new, healed, and healing fractures that were unexplained or that lacked medical evidence to determine the cause. In 1962, Henry Kempe and his colleagues published an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* titled "Battered-Child Syndrome," which discussed a condition in young children who had been victims of severe physical abuse intentionally perpetrated by parents or foster parents. The national attention raised by these and similar findings by others in the medical profession resulted in the 1974 federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA), which includes the following:

- Mandated reporting laws requiring professionals dealing with children to report suspected abuse and neglect;
- National standards for reporting, investigating, and intervening in cases of child maltreatment;
- Development of a registry for perpetrators and child victims; and
- Grants to states with financial incentives to respond to child abuse and neglect.

By the late 1970s, child abuse and neglect had become a formalized, structured governmental program for the purpose of protecting children of all races and ethnicities, but there was still little attention given to supporting parents. With the influx of children into the foster care system in the 1980s as a result of mandatory reporting, a philosophical shift occurred to support parents through the prevention of maltreatment and family-focused intervention.

Incidence and Prevalence

Determining the number of U.S. children who experience maltreatment is more complicated than it may seem. Defining terms is essential. Prevalence is defined as the number of people who have experienced at least one act of child abuse or neglect, while incidence is the number of child maltreatment cases reported to Child Protective Services (CPS) agencies each year.

Although CAPTA set national minimum definitions for maltreatment in 1974, the details of the definitions were left to the states, creating variation and complication in determining prevalence. Prevalence determinations have also been hindered by different policies for acceptance and investigation as well as different methods used to collect data. The refinement of abuse and neglect definitions, the education of the professional public about its mandated reporting responsibilities, and the increase in community awareness of the problem have contributed to a marked increase in the number of cases reported since the mid-1970s.

The two major sources of incidence statistics are the annually updated National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) and the periodic National Incidence Study (NIS). NCANDS aggregates data from states' CPS agencies. According to NCANDS, approximately 1.2% of U.S. children

were maltreated in 2005, with an estimated 3.3 million referrals of child abuse or neglect to CPS agencies. In addition to CPS reports, the NIS also includes information from community professionals who have contact with children, resulting in much higher estimates. The NIS suggests that between 2.3% and 4.2% of U.S. children are maltreated each year. Experts agree that the actual prevalence of child abuse and neglect is higher than either NCANDS or the NIS reports, because many cases remain unreported.

Factors Associated With Child Maltreatment

Since the concept of a battered-child syndrome was introduced in the 1960s, theories about the causes of maltreatment have varied, influenced by the political, social, and cultural beliefs of the time. Research, however, has consistently identified certain social conditions and characteristics of families that may create an unsafe and abusive physical, emotional, and social environment. These factors include a lack of social support for the parent-child relationship, poverty, minority race/ethnicity, substance abuse or addiction, mental illness, violence in the home, and family dynamics. The presence of these factors, however, does not necessarily indicate child maltreatment. The causes of child maltreatment must be understood within the context of family dynamics.

Lack of Social Support for the Parent-Child Relationship

Parents who create safe, nurturing environments for their children usually have a social network that helps them cope with difficult situations. These parents exhibit reasonable competence in the caregiver role by separating their personal needs from those of the child and finding a balance between meeting their own needs and meeting the child's needs. If parents have experienced disruptive and chaotic early years, had few healthy relationships with adults, or were maltreated themselves, they will be less likely to have a strong support network and more likely to seek to satisfy their own personal needs ahead of their child's needs. This creates a situation that is likely to lead to child abuse and/or neglect.

In addition to the early experiences of parents, the impact of social problems on parents and the entire family threatens parents' ability to use competent and skilled parenting behaviors. These problems rarely occur in isolation. Typically these social problems are interrelated, impeding the parents' ability to be fully engaged in developing the parent-child relationship and in providing a safe, nurturing environment.

Poverty

Poverty is the most pervasive issue found in maltreating families and is particularly associated with reports of neglect. The lack of economic resources or the inadequate allocation of resources within the family can create stress for parents and an inability to meet the basic physical needs of children. Often, families who struggle with chronic economic hardships are headed by single mothers with multiple children, few employment skills, little educational success, and few supportive adult relationships. Their extended family may experience similar economic struggles. Current research also has found that parents and single-parent households experiencing chronic poverty have a much higher probability of violence in the home.

Minority Race/Ethnicity

Parents who are members of a minority race or ethnicity, such as African Americans, Pacific Islanders, and American Indians, are reported for child maltreatment more often than are White or Hispanic parents. This does not necessarily mean that these particular groups actually abuse or neglect their children more than do others, but it does mean that these groups are disproportionately represented in the child welfare system. There are many reasons for this phenomenon. Minority groups often experience social conditions that place children at risk, such as poverty, substance abuse, and mental illness, and they may come into contact more frequently with mandated reporters. Language barriers and cultural bias may also be factors in the disproportionate number of substantiated child maltreatment cases involving minorities. In addition, parents may be reported for practices that are not intended to be harmful and that, within the context of their community, are

acceptable. The value systems of other cultures often conflict with that of the mainstream culture in the United States.

Adults' Substance Abuse and Addiction

Adults' abuse of and addiction to alcohol, prescription drugs, and illegal substances such as cocaine and methamphetamine place children at risk of maltreatment. Polydrug use is common; parents may be supporting a cocaine addiction as well as battling alcoholism. Prenatal exposure to any of the aforementioned substances can cause harm to a child. Parents who are abusing drugs, and especially those who become addicted, are often physically and emotionally unavailable to their children. Single parents, especially mothers, who are prosecuted in the criminal justice system for drug possession or trafficking, are likely to be incarcerated and, therefore, separated from their children.

Parents with substance abuse problems are also likely to have few supportive adult relationships. Because of the addiction, the parent places his or her own physical and emotional needs over the needs of the children. Parents who are addicted may prostitute themselves, leave children alone and unsupervised, or become homeless to support their drug use. They may become unable to provide their child with the basics, such as food, clothing, and shelter, not to mention the nurturing, stimulating environment required for the child to achieve developmental milestones.

One barrier to successful recovery that addicted parents face is the lack of consistently available and accessible treatment options. Plus, the likelihood of relapse makes providing a stable home that meets the needs of children a difficult goal for parents who are addicted.

Adults' Mental Illness

Parents with an undiagnosed or untreated mental illness have a higher risk of child maltreatment than the general population. Depression is one of the most common forms of mental illness affecting the quality of parenting. The emotional unavailability caused by a psychiatric problem can have a very damaging effect on children, particularly as it interferes with successful attachment between the child and primary caregiver. The parent may offer

inappropriate or inconsistent responses to the child, leaving the child in distress. Parent–child bonding can also be affected by frequent hospitalizations that separate the child from his or her primary caregiver for extended periods of time.

Violence in the Home

A supportive environment is important to mitigating stressful times for parents. Violence between domestic partners threatens the abused parent's ability to cope, fundamentally increasing the risk of child maltreatment. The victim of domestic violence is often reluctant to leave the perpetrator, even for the sake of the children involved. If the perpetrator has not harmed the child in the past, the victim may resist the idea that child maltreatment is linked to domestic violence. A victim may believe that staying with the perpetrator is best for both the victim and the child, especially if the perpetrator controls the household's finances.

When there is violence in the home, there are frequently other problems, such as substance abuse, mental illness, poverty, and sexual abuse. A combination of stressors can place children at a higher risk for maltreatment.

Family Dynamics

The family dynamics of maltreating families vary by types of maltreatment. In neglectful families, the child may take on the role of the adult. When a child is physically abused in a family that experiences domestic violence regularly, the child may have taken on the role of protector of the mother. The social problems already mentioned may also be factors in families in which there is sexual abuse. Research findings on the causes of sexual abuse, however, are more complex than those on other maltreatment typologies. Nevertheless, findings indicate that families in which sexual abuse occurs usually have certain characteristics. The family structure has blurred boundaries and is less cohesive than that of other families. Family members may seem disengaged and find intimacy uncomfortable. The victim tends to see herself or himself as compliant and subservient, and the perpetrator as the dominant figure in the house. The perpetrator may force, coerce, blame, or threaten the child. If confronted, the

perpetrator either denies the allegations or attempts to place blame on the child, indicating that the child invited the abuse. The nonoffending parent, often the mother, may not be aware of the abuse or, when told of the abuse, may not believe the child. She may be psychologically and/or economically dependent on the offender, which influences her ability to protect the child.

Impact on Children

Child maltreatment is associated with adverse effects and trauma in children as they develop and grow into adulthood. While signs of developmental delays or other difficulties do not always indicate that a child has been maltreated, research has shown that children who are harmed often experience such problems. Immediate consequences such as antisocial behaviors, low self-esteem, and guilt are common; however, even when immediate consequences are not visible, the adverse effects of child maltreatment often surface as the child enters adulthood.

Common feelings that children experience as a result of maltreatment include guilt, shame, fear, and anger. Children may feel that they deserved the abuse, or they may feel guilty or ashamed for disclosing the abuse and possibly causing the dissolution of the family or their own separation from the family. Their fear may manifest itself in nightmares or paranoia, or their anger may translate into aggression. Victims of maltreatment often have difficulty in regulating and controlling emotional responses, and they react impulsively to stressful situations. They have little mastery of self and may feel out of control, resulting in deviant or antisocial behavior.

The interruption of the attachment process between mother and child as a result of maltreatment can have negative effects through adolescence and into adulthood. Children with impaired attachment often experience problems in trusting others and fail to develop meaningful and satisfying relationships. Maltreatment is also associated with low self-esteem, which hampers children's ability to interact with others, and depression, which is also associated with isolation from families and peers. Children who have been maltreated often take on the parental role by assuming adult responsibilities, and thus skip developmental tasks that are necessary to build competence in social relationships.

Child maltreatment also impairs cognitive development. Victims often have learning disorders and fail in academics. They also may have defective moral reasoning, and they may exhibit deviant behaviors in an effort to justify to themselves their parents' mistreatment of them. Physiologically, their symptoms can include sleeplessness, encopresis (stool or bowel movement accidents), or enuresis (involuntary passage of urine).

Impact of Physical Abuse

The obvious impact of physical abuse is the effect of the injuries on the health and physical development of the child. In addition, cognitive and academic development may be delayed, resulting in poor academic performance. Examples include difficulty with problem solving and an inability to distinguish right from wrong. Children may also internalize emotions related to the abuse, resulting in anxiety and depression, or they may externalize their emotions, displaying aggressive behaviors.

Impact of Sexual Abuse

In addition to the behaviors common to all the typologies, child victims of sexual abuse often experience psychosomatic and physiological symptoms and complaints. They may believe that the abuse physically harmed their body, they may have a distorted body image in addition to low self-esteem, or they may receive the message from society that they are "damaged goods" or unlovable. They may reenact the abuse on younger children or become promiscuous in an effort to regain control of their bodies.

In cases of incest, the role confusion that often accompanies maltreatment is compounded. For example, a young girl may be groomed by her father to feel more powerful and sexually desirable than her mother. In addition, the nonoffending parent plays a key role in the impact of incest on the child by believing or denying the child's disclosure of abuse. Children who are not believed are more likely to recant their report, compromising the investigation. The parent's disbelief confirms the child's suspicions that he or she is to blame for the incidents. Failure to believe the child also influences the parent's ability to protect the child, and it may result in the child's removal from the

home. As sexually abused children grow into adulthood, they may experience depression, suicidal thoughts, eating disorders, self-mutilating behaviors, substance abuse, and additional victimizations.

Impact of Neglect

Studies suggest that children who are neglected suffer very significant adverse consequences during childhood and into adulthood. The most likely cause for this is unmet basic developmental needs. Young children and infants are dependent on their parents to meet these needs, and parents' failure to do so can cause their children to have poor self-concepts, physical deficiencies, developmental delays, and lower academic scores. These children may exhibit developmental lags in language and cognitive functioning. They may also be socially passive and withdrawn from family and peers. Their deep lack of trust is difficult to overcome.

Impact of Emotional Neglect

Since emotional neglect is difficult to define and substantiate, its impact is difficult to study. This typology often occurs along with other forms of maltreatment, and studies have found that the effects of emotional neglect are similar to the effects of other typologies, interfering with the child's overall development—cognitively, emotionally, psychologically, and socially. Children who are emotionally neglected often lag behind their peers academically, and they may exhibit self-abusive behavior and anxiety.

Impact of Exposure to Family Violence

Children who witness family violence may learn that violence is an appropriate means of resolving conflict. Studies suggest that a child's exposure to marital violence, in addition to his or her being physically or sexually abused, results in lasting effects such as posttraumatic stress disorder and anxiety. More research needs to be conducted to fully explore the connection between maltreatment and violence exposure.

Mediating Factors

The impact of maltreatment depends on a number of factors, and some children exhibit

fewer adverse effects than do others. Children's reactions may depend on the type of abuse, the severity of the abuse, and the prolonged nature of the abuse. An early, secure attachment between the child and caregiver can have a lasting positive effect on the child's resilience. Other mediating factors may include the child's temperament and developmental stage and the availability of support outside the family.

Response and Prevention

Since child maltreatment involves complex, interactive factors—including parent–child interaction, environment, community standards, culture, and child characteristics—response and prevention must be multifaceted. Levels of prevention include primary, secondary, and tertiary programs.

Primary Prevention

Primary prevention is typically defined as educating the general public about recognizing and reporting child maltreatment. Although determining impact is difficult, it is generally accepted that a more informed public raises awareness and reporting of incidents of suspected abuse. Distributing culturally responsive materials in churches, schools, and medical clinics can reach parents, children, and professionals. Schools of higher education can offer courses on child maltreatment to professionals in training.

Parenting programs that educate and support new parents have proven to have positive outcomes. Successful, cost-effective programs target a specific population, require high levels of engagement from participants, include both parents and children, and focus on one-on-one interactions between parents and their children. Programs that specifically target high-risk populations can also be considered a secondary prevention strategy.

Secondary Prevention

Activities that prevent abuse from occurring in high-risk populations are often referred to as secondary prevention. Parenting programs can be successful even after a family has been reported for

child maltreatment—if the programs have the elements described above. Some studies have shown that risk is most effectively reduced immediately after the parent training. Thus, continued family support through a variety of services and educational opportunities may be beneficial to families over an extended period of time.

Other beneficial results of secondary prevention programs include more child-friendly beliefs and attitudes; an increased willingness to understand and accept children's developmental capabilities, emotions, and intentions; changes in beliefs about corporal punishment; changes in the roles and relationship of parent and child; and strengthening the parent's emotional well-being. Some research suggests that home visitors have a positive impact on the successfulness of parenting programs by offering education and emotional support.

Programs that address the needs of children who witness violence can help prevent abuse. Since witnessing violence in the home and/or in the community is often associated with maltreatment, programs that provide needed services to the adult victims should also be rigorous in providing children with services. Teaching children life skills (e.g., coping with stress, dealing with a crisis, developing successful relationships, problem solving) and helping them build a positive self-image can help reduce the risk of maltreatment and ameliorate the effects of violence.

Tertiary Prevention

Tertiary prevention is the response to situations where abuse has already occurred and intervention may prevent future occurrences. Some intensive programs for families already being investigated for child maltreatment offer less punitive approaches than the criminal court system offers. Drug courts in some states try to bridge the gap between the child welfare and criminal justice systems to improve outcomes for families.

Specialized units, protocols, and responses for investigating and prosecuting child maltreatment cases can help lessen the effects of abuse. Training and protocols for social workers, law enforcement, prosecutors, medical teams, and mental health counselors can enhance how children are interviewed and lessen the trauma that can occur when a

report is being investigated. Child advocacy centers are also an innovative approach to providing services to child victims. Centers are child-friendly and provide comprehensive approaches to interviewing and intervening with children and families during an investigation.

In addition to protecting children physically, services need to address children's developmental, emotional, spiritual, social, academic, and mental health needs. Interventions that help parents build protective family factors can also help build resiliency in children. Developing positive relationships with extended family and other adults and enhancing life skills can help children rebuild their self-esteem and become more resilient.

Final Thoughts

Child maltreatment is a prevalent issue in the United States that is caused by multiple interrelated social and psychological factors. The complex interplay of internal and external dynamics that affect families contributes to the abuse and/or neglect of children. Although child maltreatment is difficult to define, there is no doubt of its existence and the damage it causes children and society. Because of its intense adverse effects on children, research must continue to discover best practices in preventing and responding to child maltreatment. Raising public awareness about child maltreatment and its impact on children can help protect children. Social support for children is crucial. A significant relationship with even one person can make vast improvements in a child's life.

Pamela G. Bond and Jennifer Reid Webb

See also Abuse, Ritual Child; Central Registry; Developmental and Social Victimization; Mandatory Reporting Statutes; Safety Planning for Abused Children; Sexual Orientation and Victimization

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CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: INTERVENTIONS FOR

Once someone reports child abuse, an investigation begins. A social worker is usually the person who initiates the investigation, and then he or she makes a decision as to how to proceed. Various treatment programs are available for both the maltreated child and the abusive parent or guardian. This entry first briefly discusses the investigation of child abuse, and then describes the intervention process for the child and abuser after evidence of child abuse is found.

Investigation and Case Management

In recent years, many schools and medical centers have developed a child protection team (CPT). For example, if teachers become suspicious of maltreatment of a student, they can report the case to the CPT. Once the members of the CPT agree that they have a case of abuse, they typically pass the information to a state's child service agency. Next, the agency's social worker interviews the parties involved in the case, such as the child victim, the parents, other family members, and the reporter of the abuse. Once the social worker has confirmed the report of child abuse or neglect, he or she decides what kind of service/treatment the child victim and the abuser should receive.

Treatment Methods for Abused Child

Play Therapy

Play therapy is a form of counseling or psychotherapy in which a therapist observes a child at unstructured play. Young children are allowed to express their emotions through play rather than encouraged to verbalize them, as these children have low levels of verbal communication skill. Playing allows the child victim to release and overcome the feelings of anxiety and anger associated with the victimization. It can also enhance a child's communication skill with others.

Cognitive-Behavioral Strategies

The goal of cognitive behavioral strategies is to identify the child's emotional and behavioral responses to victimization. Sometimes, the child blames himself or herself for the abuse. Thus, therapists focus on helping the child understand that he or she is not a guilty party, but that the adults are responsible for the abuse. Cognitive-behavioral therapists help victims restore their relationships with family members.

Group Therapy

In group therapy, the victimized child participates in sessions with a group of peers who have had similar experiences of abuse. Children in group therapy are likely to realize that the abuse problem is not related only to *their* experiences, as other children have suffered similar difficulties. In addition, group therapy provides the children with an opportunity to address problematic behaviors that may have arisen as a result of the abuse suffered. The child may gain communication skills such as listening to others and sharing feelings with others. Group therapy is especially effective for alleviating the sense of loneliness and for promoting social skills.

Foster Care

Foster care is out-of-home care for a child who has been removed from his or her parent or caretaker. The foster parents, usually a third party, care for the child in a private home setting. In most cases, the foster parents are licensed and supervised by a social service agency.

During the investigation stage, the abused victim is placed in foster care by the social worker only when his or her staying home with the abusive parent may pose an additional risk of victimization. Under certain conditions, the social worker can put the child in foster care or a group home without the parent's consent. In that case, the social worker requires authorization from the court.

Foster care allows a social worker to observe the behavior of the child without the influence of his or her parents. The social worker, with the assistance of foster parents, may then be

able to pinpoint specific developmental problems of the child, including communication skill deficits. In many cases, the abusive parent regularly sees the child in foster care to maintain a constructive relationship until the family can be reunited.

Group Home

Group homes are residential care facilities that provide foster care for a limited number of children, usually between the ages of 7 and 12. Some children do not respond well to being in a family setting because of the trauma they have experienced. In that case, they may require intensive therapeutic treatment before they can be placed with another family. Such treatment may include a group home environment.

Treatment Methods for Abusive Parents

Cognitive–Behavioral Strategies

Cognitive–behavioral therapy assumes that clients have irrational beliefs that require cognitive modification. Thus, the goal of cognitive–behavioral therapy is to identify specific problematic behaviors of the abusive parent by gathering information from other family members. Behavioral therapy has been found to be effective in child management, parenting, parent training and, more recently, in shaping adult behavior.

The Child Welfare League of America emphasizes the importance of intensive family-centered services (IFPS) for children. One of the oldest IFPS programs in the country is HOMEBUILDERS, which was established in Tacoma, Washington, in 1974. IFPS programs focus on intensive skill building through techniques such as values clarification, parenting training, and problem solving. Sometimes this type of program is called a “behavior-modification program.”

Family Therapy

Family therapy is designed to enhance family ties. An important element of family therapy is that an individual family member must recognize

how his or her behavior influences other members of the family. Family therapy offers programs for conflict management and building communication skills. Family therapy may be most helpful after the individual family member has addressed his or her intrapersonal and developmental issues through individual or group therapy sessions.

Self-Help Groups

Parents Anonymous (PA) began as a parental group in Redondo Beach, California. A former abusive mother, Jolly K., founded PA in 1969 because she felt that the services of existing social service agencies did not satisfy her needs. PA is now the largest treatment program for the prevention of child abuse, with 267 accredited organizations and local affiliates throughout the United States.

PA is based on the Alcoholics Anonymous model. PA members are parents who have maltreated their children. Volunteers comprise 75% of the membership; however, some parents become members because of a court order. PA members provide each other with mutual support to prevent future abuse; thus a member is able to call other members when he or she faces a problem within the family.

Don Chon

See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Multisystemic Therapy; Parents Anonymous

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CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: MANDATORY REPORTING

Federal and state laws have been enacted mandating that certain persons, usually professionals (e.g., health care providers, child care workers, mental health professionals, law enforcement officers, and teachers), report suspected and observed cases of child abuse and neglect to appropriate Child Protective Services (CPS) and law enforcement agencies. These laws vary by state and often change. Due to the lack of standard definitions of child abuse and neglect, reporting suspected child abuse and neglect is surrounded by much confusion and ambiguity. This entry explores the reporting laws, reporting controversies and barriers, and reporting procedures.

Laws

Standard definitions of child abuse and neglect usually include physical abuse (e.g., hitting a child, throwing an object at a child, or burning a child), sexual abuse (e.g., fondling a child's genitals, exhibitionism, sexual exploitation, or intercourse), emotional and psychological abuse (e.g., constantly denigrating or threatening a child), and neglect (e.g., refusing to obtain mental or physical health care, abandonment, allowing a child to use alcohol or drugs, or failing to enroll a child in school). Additional areas of abuse or neglect may include prenatal exposure to drugs, alcohol, and tobacco; corporal punishment (e.g., spanking a child); and exposure to inappropriate Internet sites.

Challenges to Reporting

Reporting child abuse and neglect can be a challenging task, as laws vary as to what constitutes abuse, how to report abuse, and who is mandated to report. In addition, time limits for reporting suspected maltreatment to the appropriate agency vary, and there are different penalties for failing to report suspected child maltreatment.

Barriers to reporting include the following: lack of education on how to report; fear of reaction from the alleged perpetrator; confusion over the

definitions of abuse and neglect; fear that CPS will create additional stress for the family; fear of being blamed for mismanaging the case; and concerns about having to testify in court.

Rules for reporting abuse or neglect are often unclear. Some questions about reporting include the following: Does one report abuse when an adult tells of experiencing abuse as a child? Does one report abuse when someone reports knowing of someone who has been a victim of child abuse? How much information does one need in order to make a report? When does one make a second report on the same case? Should one report a child who is at risk for potential abuse? Answers to these questions vary depending on whom you ask.

Mandated reporters may find themselves in dilemmas when working with a family in which partner abuse has occurred. For example, one must report child abuse if a child reports witnessing partner abuse, but there is confusion regarding reporting when there is no evidence that the child directly witnessed the partner abuse. The duty to report vs. the duty to maintain confidentiality may present some professionals with an ethical dilemma.

Corporal punishment is a controversial issue. Some state laws allow for corporal punishment as long as no harm occurs. However, it remains unclear what constitutes harm. In one case, in the 1980s, corporal punishment was used legally as a means of disciplining children at a school; however, during a paddling, a child moved and was hit on the back instead of the buttocks, resulting in an injury that required medical attention.

There are disagreements that focus on religious and cultural practices. For example, there are still debates on whether clergy are mandated to report abuse. In addition, specific parenting practices may be construed as child abuse and neglect by some cultures and viewed as appropriate parenting practices by other cultures.

Researchers have obligations to report child abuse and neglect; however, certain research designs may prevent the researcher from knowing the identity of the participants and thus make it impossible to report a specific case. There continues to be debate about the limitations of the federal Certificate of Confidentiality. It is always important for researchers to work with their institutional review board to obtain guidance regarding legal and ethical issues pertaining to their research.

Reporting Procedures

A person mandated to report child abuse and neglect should follow the reporting protocols of his or her state. Many states have a toll-free number linked to a central registry that screens calls and passes on the information to the appropriate agency. These registries are staffed by trained professionals who can determine if the report meets the requirements for acceptance and investigation. Some cases will be reported to CPS, and others to law enforcement. Various agencies may work together on cases to avoid duplication of services. Some states allow a person to fax a report or complete a report online. Consultations with attorneys, colleagues, and the state Child Protective Services representatives are often warranted in suspected cases of child abuse and neglect. While someone not mandated to report may file a report anonymously, the mandated reporter may be required to provide information such as his or her name, occupation, and work address. Mandated reporters are immune from liability as long as they make the report in good faith. Physical evidence of abuse or neglect is not needed in order to make a report; suspicion that abuse and neglect has occurred or is occurring is sufficient. In summary, one needs to become familiar with state reporting laws and report any suspicions of abuse and neglect in order to reduce one's own liability and to protect victims from further abuse.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Child Protective Services; Mandatory Reporting Statutes; Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization

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Web Sites

Child Welfare Information Gateway: <http://www.childwelfare.gov>

CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: MEASUREMENT OF

Although prevalent in our society, child maltreatment is not easily defined, nor measured. Concerns with protecting victims, while securing justice, ensuring offender rights, and preserving families, create a unique victimology of child maltreatment. Although the words *abuse* and *maltreatment* are often used interchangeably in common nomenclature, there is no strong scholarly consensus on definitions. This entry acknowledges that *maltreatment* is a more general and neutral term than *abuse*, and it includes within the broad category of child maltreatment the subcategories of abuse and neglect, and within the subsets of abuse physical, emotional, psychological, and sexual abuse, including exploitation.

Legal and Social Service Definitions

From a legal perspective, the definitions of neglect and the various forms of abuse are a function of federal and state law in the United States. The formative federal legislation defining child abuse and neglect is the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA; P.L. 93-247) of 1974, as last amended by the Keeping Children and Families Safe Act of 2003 (P.L. 108-36). The act states that

the term "child abuse and neglect" means, at a minimum, any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker, which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation, or an act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm (P.L. 93-247, Sec. 111. [42 U.S.C. 5106G])

The CAPTA legislation mandates reporting of child maltreatment by requiring compliance of states seeking federal funding. Although CAPTA sets minimum standards, each of the 50 states determines its own legal definitions in conjunction with its penal code, and there is variation in codes from state to state.

Medical and social service providers also have a set of definitions describing the various forms of child maltreatment. In its most basic form, child neglect is the failure of the caregiver to provide adequate food, shelter, clothing, and health and emotional support. As Denise A. Hines has noted, for many forms of maltreatment, the difficulty in defining concepts stems from the blurred line between abusive and nonabusive behavior (e.g., abuse vs. corporal punishment).

Sexual abuse is a range of actions and practices between an adult and child where the child is being used for sexual gratification. It includes activities such as fondling a child's genitals, sexual penetration, incest, rape, sodomy, and indecent exposure. Exploitation through prostitution and/or pornography is also a form of sexual abuse.

Physical abuse is any action, such as hitting (with a hand or any object), kicking, burning, or otherwise harming or injuring a child. All such acts are considered abuse regardless of intent. Emotional abuse is a pattern of behavior that impairs a child's emotional development or sense of self-worth. Since emotional abuse is often difficult to prove, authorities may not be able to intervene without direct evidence of harm to the child. Emotional abuse is almost always present with other forms of maltreatment.

Micro- and Macro-Level Measurement

At the micro level, maltreatment is measured on both sides of the victim-offender relationship. To identify offenders and potential offenders, several self-reporting instruments are used for screening purposes. Peggy Nygren has made two important observations. First, all child abuse screening instruments are designed to be administered to parents, and second, there have been no controlled studies implemented to study the impacts of child abuse assessment or intervention.

One common instrument is the Kempe Family Stress Inventory (KFSI), which is a direct parent

assessment. The Child Abuse Potential (CAP) inventory is used as a screening tool for the detection of physical child abuse, while the Parenting Profile Assessment (PPA) evaluates the potential of parents to be abusive or nonabusive. The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) includes 80 items that explore intrafamily conflict and violence, and it includes four scales: Parent-Child (Scale 1), Partner-Child (Scale 2), Parent-Partner (Scale 3), and Partner-Parent (Scale 4). Other instruments used to measure potential risk are the Hawaii Risk Indicator Screening Tools (HRIST) and the Maternal History Inventory (MHI).

Along with self-reporting, there are behavioral indicators of maltreatment, particularly for sexual abuse offenders. These behavioral indicators include vaginal, anal, and/or oral intercourse or attempted intercourse; fondling a child's breasts or genitals; exhibitionism; showing a child pornography; and filming, photographing, or videotaping any activity involving the exhibition of a child's genitals or any sexual activity with a child.

Due to the young age of most maltreatment victims, self-reports are not a feasible methodology for measuring victimization. Physical and sexual abuse, as well as neglect, are typically observed directly by teachers, health care workers, social service providers, other professionals, and laypersons who interact with children. After maltreatment is reported, interviews are often conducted with adults familiar with the alleged victim. Maltreatment is not defined by one concrete set of indicators. Rather, maltreatment is defined functionally and within the context of each situation. Safechild.org, childabuse.com, and crisiscallcenter.org publish lists of indicators to assist in the identification of potential abuse and neglect. Some such indicators are listed below, but it is important to note that these indicators can have causes other than abuse, so professional evaluation within the context of each situation is needed.

There are numerous indicators of physical abuse, including bruises and welts, possibly in unusual shapes (similar to the instrument used); lacerations such as cuts and tears; abdominal injuries; burns, including those from cigarettes or cigars and hot liquids; skeletal injuries such as fractures; and hemorrhaging due to violent shaking, throwing, or hitting.

The physical indicators of sexual abuse include difficulty in walking or sitting, bladder or urinary tract infections, pain, swelling and redness, or itching in the genital area; presences of suspicious stains, blood, or semen on the child's body, underwear, or clothing; and painful bowel movements or retention of feces. Behavioral indicators of sexual abuse include engaging in delinquent acts or running away; poor peer relationships; low self-esteem; social isolation; displaying bizarre, sophisticated, or unusual sexual knowledge or behavior; changes in eating behaviors; regressive behavior; and aggressive, hostile acting out behaviors and play.

In terms of neglect, indicators cross a wide range of physical, social, and behavioral aspects including inadequate nutrition, clothing, or hygiene; a lack of adequate shelter or unsafe or unsanitary housing; inadequate medical, dental, or mental health care; a consistent lack of supervision, or an extended period of nonsupervision, especially when a child can engage in dangerous activities; and child abandonment.

Potential emotional neglect can be identified via several behavior indicators, including acting withdrawn and/or unable to enjoy life; exhibiting bizarre behavior; low self-esteem; acting aggressive, defiant, and/or domineering; and engaging in self-destructive behavior, both physically and socially.

Two syndromic corollaries to child maltreatment are failure to thrive syndrome and Munchausen syndrome by proxy (MSP). Failure to thrive syndrome involves children 18 months or younger and may be an indicator of maltreatment. It requires a medical diagnosis, and symptoms include height below the 5th percentile; an unusually thin body type; infantile proportions; a potbelly with dull skin, paleness, and cold and mottled limbs; rocking or head banging; being solitary and unable to play; delayed development and retarded speech and/or language; ravenous appetite; and marked growth spurts when out of the home and relapses when returned to the home environment. Munchausen syndrome by proxy is an offender disorder that manifests in victim maltreatment of many forms. In both syndromes, professional diagnosis is required to identify and/or eliminate causal alternatives.

At the macro level, the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) is a national data collection and analysis system created in 1988

in response to CAPTA. Each year, NCANDS collects micro-level data from states' Child Protective Services (CPS) agencies and produces an annual report. Prior to 1993, states provided only aggregate data. In 1993 states began to submit case-level data along with the aggregated data, and in 2000 the case-level data set became the primary source of data for the reports. Although a review of data is conducted to assess the internal validity of each state's data, since not all states share common definitions of maltreatment, states must decide which of their classifications provide the best fit with NCANDS standards.

Timothy Sweet-Holp

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Response; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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Web Sites

- Child Welfare Information Gateway, state statutes: http://www.childwelfare.gov/systemwide/laws_policies/state

CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: STATUTORY RESPONSES

There have been various federal and state legal responses to the problem of child abuse. They include mandatory reporting laws, sex offender registration laws, guardian ad litem, mandatory minimum sentencing laws, and the screening of child care workers. This entry discusses each of these statutory responses to child abuse.

Mandatory Reporting Law

Currently, all states in the United States have mandatory reporting laws for child abuse and neglect. The goal of the mandatory reporting law is to protect abused and neglected children. Some states have enacted laws identifying specific professionals who have an obligation to notify state authorities of any child abuse and neglect. The term *mandated reporters* refers to individuals who have professional relationships with the child and the family. The professionals usually include physicians, nurses, counselors, social workers, and school personnel. Other states have enacted “any person” statutes, whereby all suspicions of abuse or neglect must be reported. For example, Florida Statute 39.201 requires “Any person who knows, or has reasonable cause to suspect, that a child has been abused, abandoned or neglected by a parent, legal custodian, caregiver, or other person responsible for the child’s welfare” to report such knowledge or suspicions. Departments of human services, child welfare agencies, and child protection agencies are usually the recipients of these reports. Some states allow the report to be provided to law enforcement agencies as well.

Sex Offender Registration Laws

Megan’s Law, enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1996, is an example of a sex offender registration law. Megan Kanka, a girl from New Jersey, was murdered by a neighbor who had a history of sex offenses. Following the enactment of Megan’s Law, all 50 states and the District of Columbia required that certain adjudicated sex offenders

must register a current address with particular criminal justice agencies. Some law enforcement agencies may make the information on the offenders available to the public. The law is designed to protect community members from sexual predators. The act required each state to register the offenders convicted of a violent sexual offense or crime against a child. However, each state can exercise discretion whether or not to publish the information on the sex offenders.

Following the federal Megan’s Law, many states have passed state-level notification statutes. Some states allow the distribution of very broad information on certain sex offenders through Web sites, newspapers, door-to-door visits, and letters to individuals or organizations. The information includes the offender’s name, current address, personal descriptions, charged offenses, and so on. However, some states employ a more passive approach to notification and may provide the public with the access to adjudicated sex offender information only through a law enforcement agency or its Web site.

Another example of sex offender registration laws is the Sex Offender Registration and Notification (SORN), Ohio’s version of Megan’s Law that went into effect in 1997. According to the law, individuals adjudicated for committing sexual offenses are grouped into one of three categories: sexually oriented offender, habitual sexual offender, and sexual predator. Sex offender registration is mandatory for all adjudicated sex offenders in Ohio. However, notification is mandatory only for adjudicated sexual predators. At the sentencing stage the judge makes a decision on whether or not a certain habitual sexual offender is subject to the mandatory notification. In Ohio the law is not applicable to sexually oriented offenders.

Guardian Ad Litem and Other Courtroom Assistance

A guardian ad litem (GAL) is an advocate for a victimized child. The GAL provides support and advice during the criminal justice proceedings, serving to maximize the interest of the child victim in family court.

Other courtroom assistance for a victimized child is also available. To minimize the stress experienced by a child who testifies in the courtroom,

the court can employ several techniques. Those techniques include adjusting questions to the child's comprehension level, clearing the courtroom, and reorganizing the courtroom furniture. The court may use alternative testifying techniques for the child victim, including the use of videotaped testimony, the removal of the defendant from the child's view, and having the child testify through the closed-circuit television or a one-way mirror. In addition, some state courts allow the use of dolls to describe physical and sexual abuse of the child. By using a doll, an attorney at a court may ask the child victim to pinpoint his or her body part where the abuser touched him or her.

Other Statutory Responses

Mandatory Minimum Sentencing

Some states have passed mandatory minimum sentencing guideline for sexual offenses, especially for sex crimes against children. For example, Oregon enacted long-term mandatory minimum sentencing for 16 designated violent sexual offenses, with sentences ranging from 70 to 300 months. In Texas, the court judge can give a 25-year imprisonment sentence or even death penalty for child rapists.

Mandatory Background

Checks for Child Care Workers

Many jurisdictions require that child care workers be subject to background checks. The background check is done immediately after the initiation of employment. For example, in 2000, the State of New Jersey passed the law Background Check for Childcare Workers. According to the law, a child care center owner or sponsor is required to screen his or her staff's criminal history, including sex offenses. The screening should be done by Department of Law and Public Safety and the FBI. The failure to obey the law may result in the suspension, denial, or refusal of renewal of the license of the child care facility. A person with a certain criminal history is not to be employed at child care facilities.

See also Central Registry; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; In-Camera Proceedings; Mandatory Reporting Statutes; Megan's Law

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CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: THEORIES OF

Efforts to prevent child maltreatment must begin with a clear and coherent explanation of the problem. Theoretical attention has been directed both to the questions of how and why maltreatment occurs and to the questions of how and why maltreatment affects developmental outcomes for victims. Because of the present concern with victimology and crime prevention, this entry focuses on the first of these questions, that is, on theoretical models developed to explain how and why maltreatment occurs.

Much of the empirical and theoretical work in the field of child maltreatment has concentrated on single risk factors such as parental psychopathology, a history of maltreatment in the perpetrator's childhood, family poverty, or children's difficult temperament. There is now a broad consensus in the field that maltreatment is too complex and multifaceted to be adequately explained by any

Don Chon

single-level theory. Integrated theories aim to explain how multiple risk and protective factors interact to produce child maltreatment. This entry describes a number of single-level explanations concerning cultural, family, individual, and situational factors, and then outlines two prominent integrated theories: social ecology theory and ecological-transactional theory.

Single-Level Theories

Cultural Explanations

All human societies have a strong stake in ensuring the health and well-being of their children, even if the cultural methods of achieving these ends differ from group to group. Most maltreatment involves individuals or families acting outside their respective cultural norms. Nevertheless, there may be cultural factors that increase the risk for child maltreatment. For example, hitting children remains widely accepted as a valid disciplinary practice in many modern Western societies, perhaps blurring the line between legitimate aggression and physical abuse. Similarly, media images and characterizations that exploit or exaggerate children's sexuality are thought to create ambiguities relating to child sexual abuse. Feminist theories propose that patriarchal cultures promote inequalities between men and children as well as men and women, and that in such cultures men are more likely to exploit their dominant position by physically, emotionally, or sexually abusing children.

Family-Level Explanations

While families generally afford the most effective natural child protection, it is also the case that most maltreatment occurs in family settings. One explanation for this is that children are dependent on, and spend most of their time with, their family, thereby increasing opportunities for maltreatment. Feminist theories propose that children can become targets of aggression or sexual interest by fathers, stepfathers, or older male siblings because of the power differential between adults and children and between males and females. Learning theories propose that negative interactions among family members can be positively or negatively reinforced,

leading to coercive cycles in which the child and caregiver increasingly rely on coercive strategies to influence the other's behavior. Unsuccessful coercive efforts by a caregiver, for example to subdue or discipline a child, may lead to an escalation of aggression or violence in an attempt to exert control. Attachment theory focuses on the effects of early bonding between children and their caregivers. Insecure attachment is implicated in child abuse and neglect in that it weakens protective bonds.

Individual-Level Explanations

Individual-level theories focus on abuse-related vulnerabilities or dispositions of victims and perpetrators. The biological and psychological immaturity of children places them at risk of abuse by older children and adults, and certain individual characteristics (e.g., difficult temperament, physical disabilities, excessive emotional neediness) may further increase this risk. A warm, supportive family environment and individual psychological resilience have been identified as important protective factors. Social learning theory proposes that childhood exposure to violence and maltreatment can lead to later abuse-related dispositions. Attachment theory proposes that insecure early attachment can lead to poor empathy and emotional regulation and a coercive or anxious interpersonal style, thus perpetuating intergenerational abuse-related vulnerabilities.

Situational Explanations

Situational theories concentrate on the effects of immediate environments on abuse-related behavior. Rational choice theory proposes that, all other things being equal, maltreatment is more likely when a potential reward (e.g., removing an aversive stimulus, sexual gratification) outweighs the potential cost (e.g., being caught and punished). Routine activities theory proposes that any crime requires the presence of a motivated offender, the presence of a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. According to this formulation the immediate environment presents or restricts opportunities to enact abuse-related motivations. More recent formulations propose that the environment can actively evoke abuse-related motivations by presenting behavioral cues, social pressures, temptations, and perceived provocations.

Integrated Theories

Social Ecology Theory

Social ecology theory proposes that individual behavior is influenced by the multiple ecological systems within which the individual is socially embedded. The theory thus locates risk and protective factors for child maltreatment within and between various (individual, peer/family, school/work, neighborhood, sociocultural) levels of the victim's and perpetrator's social ecologies. Social ecology theory asserts that the influence of these systems varies along a proximal-distal continuum such that proximal (e.g., peer or family) systems exert a more direct and therefore more powerful influence than distal (e.g., neighborhood or sociocultural) systems.

Developmental–Ecological Transactional Theories

Transactional theories build on social ecology theory and aim specifically to identify etiological mechanisms and processes involved in maltreatment. These theories focus on interactions between various ecological (e.g., individual, family, and community) systems within a developmental context. Emphasis is given to interpersonal interactions (e.g., difficult child behaviors and deficient parenting skills). Maltreatment is thought to occur when potentiating (or risk) factors outweigh compensatory (or protective) factors, usually across multiple ecological levels. Potentiating and compensatory factors are understood to be relevant both to the original causes and to the developmental outcomes of maltreatment.

Stephen Smallbone

See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Developmental Victimology; Pedophilia; Victimization, Theories of

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CHILD DEATH REVIEW TEAM

A child death review team (CDRT) conducts a comprehensive, multidisciplinary review of all cases in which a child under 18 years old has died due to natural causes, accidental injury, abuse, homicide, or suicide. The CDRT was created in 1978 in Los Angeles, California. CDRT members include social service providers, victim advocates, health care practitioners and emergency medical personnel, law enforcement, prosecuting attorneys, medical examiners/coroners, and others who have an occupational interest in the case. The goal of the team is to review the cases in which a child has died with two goals in mind—preventing similar cases from recurring in the future and improving the safety, health, and well-being of all children. This entry outlines the process including the goals and objectives of the CDRT.

The CDRT Process

The composition of the CDRT differs by state and even by jurisdiction within states. Regardless of the variations, typically the team is given a case file (or files) or summary sheet to review the case. Cases are subdivided into categories based upon the type of death under review. If the case requires immediate review, the team will be convened within 48 hours after the child's death. If an immediate review is not required, the CDRT will review the case as needed with meetings planned several times per year. If a case merits a periodic review, the CDRT members will receive the case file several days or sometimes weeks before the initial review meeting. Regardless of the type of review, there are six steps that CDRTs share when they meet to review cases. The CDRT's first step is to discuss all the relevant information regarding the circumstances of the child's death. At this initial meeting, it is important for all participants to share with the other team members any pertinent information regarding the case (e.g., the child, the child's family, services received, and circumstances

surrounding the death). This provides all CDRT members with a full understanding of the case and the opportunity to ask questions for clarification purposes. Given the varying rules regarding individual, organizational, and/or professional levels of confidentiality, CDRT members typically do not provide written materials to the team. Instead, a verbal presentation, including a question-and-answer period, is made by each member. If there are still questions after the completion of all presentations, the case may be revisited at the next meeting, pending the gathering of more information. Likewise, if the complexities of the case necessitate greater time for case review, the initial review may be extended to a later meeting date.

After the initial meeting, the CDRT must discuss all aspects of the investigative process, including identifying the lead investigating agency and key personnel, outlining the findings of the initial investigation, determining findings from subsequent investigations, and verifying if the investigation is complete. At this point, the CDRT determines if the investigation is adequate or if something is missing. If there is information missing, the CDRT identifies suggestions to improve protocol and to streamline the investigative process, rather than finding fault or laying blame.

The third step for the CDRT is to identify if the child and/or family were utilizing any services prior to the child's death. This includes reviewing if the services were given in a timely manner, if the delivery of other services could have prevented the child's death, and if anything was absent in the delivery of services prior to the child's death. As part of this step, the CDRT is expected to determine which services may be needed currently and/or in the future to help family, friends, or schoolmates cope with the child's death. The CDRT identifies which member/agency should take the lead to ensure that services are distributed, a follow-up is conducted with recipients, and then a report is presented to the CDRT in a timely manner. As with all other stages of the CDRT review, team members provide suggestions to improve the service-delivery process.

The next step requires the CDRT to identify a host of risk factors involved in the child's death. These risks may include, but are not limited to, the family dynamics and medical, social, environmental, behavioral, and systemic factors. Team members

must challenge themselves to not look for the simple, obvious answer, but to really explore the totality of factors that had an impact on the child's death. The goal of this stage is to determine if anything could have minimized or eliminated the identified risk factors and prevented the child's death. This information may prevent the death of children in the future.

The fifth step is to identify and recommend improvements within and across systems. The CDRT works collaboratively to identify problems, barriers, and gaps in services that may have contributed to the child's death. Once problems have been identified, the team works together to investigate, inquire, and suggest improvements. If one of the CDRT members represents an agency in question, he or she will be given the opportunity to explain organizational and personnel responsibilities, protocols, and limitations that may have contributed to the identified problems. If necessary, the CDRT may serve as liaison to ensure that there is an adequate response to addressing the identified concerns. During this step, it is essential for the CDRT to provide positive feedback and realistic suggestions that take into consideration limited organizational and staff resources. This process should not put individuals or organizations on the defensive, but rather, should provide an open forum to determine informed suggestions to improve and streamline the process in the future.

The final step in the CDRT process is to outline the mechanisms to prevent similar deaths in the future. The team members work together to identify and determine appropriate avenues for adopting prevention-based policies, programs, and initiatives. The CDRT may not be responsible for implementation, but it will determine what organization or entity is capable of adopting and enforcing proposed preventive actions. Finally, the CDRT must follow up on the status of the prevention program to ensure its timely implementation and enforcement. This six-step process provides an effective means of understanding a child's death, and findings from this process can be used to prevent comparable deaths in the future.

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See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and

Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses

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CHILD PORNOGRAPHY AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Child pornography is not a new form of child exploitation, and it has long been implicated in other sexually abusive practices toward children. However, with each technological advance there has also been a further democratization of the availability of images and text that objectify and sexualize children. To describe these images, the term *abusive images* is now widely used by those who advocate for children's rights in relation to sexual abuse through photography; however, *child pornography* is consistently used in the majority of laws and policy documents internationally, and attempts to change terminology are thought by some to be both confusing and to not adequately capture the complex nature of the material. As such, there seems to be a widening gap between those who are concerned with the availability of sexualized depictions of children and those who feel that such depictions may be problematic but cannot be legislated against. In relation to this, the terms *sexual abuse* and *sexual exploitation* are sometimes used synonymously.

Definitions

Article 34 of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) states that parties should undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and take all appropriate national, bilateral, and multilateral measures to prevent the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials. The first international definition of child pornography was that of the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography, which entered into force on January 18, 2002. Article 2(c) defined child pornography as "any representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child primarily for sexual purposes." This document, as well as the Council of Europe's Cybercrime Convention and the European Union's Framework Decision, defines a child as under the age of 18 and includes both real depictions and simulated material within its definition of sexual exploitation of children and child pornography. The focus of the definition is on photographs that are deemed to be obscene or indecent, and this requires the depiction of explicit sexual behavior or the genitals of a child. This poses problems in terms of how we make sense of, and possibly legislate against, the large volume of sexualized material of children available on the Internet and through other media which do not meet this definition.

While there has been an increase in legislation over the last decade, it has not been harmonized across all states. A 2006 study by the International Center for Missing and Exploited Children demonstrated that of the 184 member countries of Interpol, 95 countries have no legislation at all that specifically addresses child pornography, and of those that do, 41 countries do not criminalize possession of child pornography, regardless of intent to distribute.

One issue of concern relates to digitally altered images (or pseudo-images) and virtual child pornography. In the United States, the constitutionality of virtual child pornography remains a critical issue. In 2002, a majority of the Supreme Court struck down portions of the Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996, stating that the category

of virtual child pornography created without real or identifiable minors was unconstitutionally overbroad. It might be thought that these pseudophotographs complicate our understanding of the problem and challenge our understanding of harm. Harm, however, need not always be harm of a specific child. In the United Kingdom, a government task force has been considering the issues raised by computer-generated images in drawings and cartoons that show graphic depictions of sexual abuse of children or childlike characters, and it plans to bring forward legislation with regard to this new offense. Researchers such as David Oswell have argued that the crime of possession, making, or distribution of child pornography (whether virtual or not) is a crime not only against a particular child, but against all children.

Exploitation Through Child Pornography

While it has been suggested that very few children appear to be exploited through child pornography, this is an underresearched area. Children are rarely asked whether a camera was used as part of any sexual abuse, and while police records routinely cite the number of images seized in the conviction of the offender, they do not indicate the number of children abused or provide an adequate understanding of how child pornography is part of a cycle of sexual exploitation. In 2005, ECPAT International (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) produced a contribution to the United Nations Study on Violence Against Children that, for the first time, documented evidence that all children were potentially vulnerable to harm through the new technologies, not only those who had access to the Internet. The publication detailed studies of children from Mexico, Nepal, the Czech Republic, the Philippines, India, and Moldova, all of whom had been implicated in a range of sexually abusive activities that included the production of child pornography. What is apparent from these studies is that little is known as to what factors leave these children vulnerable, what resources are available to them, and what happens to the images that are produced. Factors identified as playing a part in the production and distribution of child pornography include poverty, social disruption, corruption, an acceptance of abusive practices, and a willingness of

others to exploit. In addition, the increasing exposure of children to pornography and to media that can facilitate harmful behavior might cause harm to a child. This may include young people's having the opportunity to create harmful or illegal content, particularly through webcams and camera phones, as well as to engage in sexually problematic behavior toward other children.

The lack of knowledge about children being abused through photography is reflected in the relatively small numbers of such children who have been identified. Where identification has taken place, there is little consistent empirical data, although the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children suggested that as of September 2008, 1,660 children (73% female and 27% male) had been identified through distributed and non-distributed images. It is unclear whether the differences between the number of female and male children identified reflects the actual distribution of images currently circulating on the Internet. A Dutch study in 1992 analyzed the content of 1,065 published child pornography magazines that had been in circulation prior to the change of law across a number of European countries. They calculated that a conservative estimate would be that 6,000 children were associated with child pornography in the magazines. The division of photographs in the sample suggested that 42% were pictures of boys, with more girls appearing in extreme images. In 2008 an Australian police report describing the gender, ethnicity, and age of the victims portrayed in child pornography images examined by investigators suggested that they were mostly White, Westernized females between 8 and 12 years old. Asian children were the next most common ethnic group, and there was a comparative absence of indigenous Australian children.

Consequences of Exploitation Through Child Pornography

At present there is very little information about what happens to children therapeutically when they have been identified as being subjected to abuse through the production of child pornography, and the information that is available concerns specific countries (such as Germany and Sweden). Psychosocial approaches to treatment and recovery of children tend to be dominated by therapy

that may be thought of as culture bound and disregarding the importance of differing developmental needs and systemic contexts. There are four substantial studies (all but one of which predate the Internet) that have sought to examine the impact of child pornography. The studies examined children's involvement in pornography and sex rings, child pornography production in the context of child prostitution, children exposed to both the production of pornography and intra- and extrafamilial abuse, and in the context of ritual abuse.

All of these studies are broadly similar in the accounts that they give of the symptoms the children produced during the abuse (e.g., physical symptoms such as urinary infections and genital soreness, as well as behavioral symptoms such as sexualized behaviors). However, it is difficult to disentangle the consequences of abuse from the consequences of being photographed. Carl-Göran Svedin and Christina Back provided responses from their sample of children that included restlessness, depression, hunger, exhaustion, concentration difficulties, and aggressive behaviors. Earlier studies also suggested that children who were exposed to longer periods of abuse suffered more intense emotional reactions, such as feelings of isolation, fear, anxiety, and emotional withdrawal. The studies cited above do not specifically deal with the affect that the production of child pornography has on sexually abused children. Nor are there more than anecdotal accounts of how children perceive the fact that images of their abuse are distributed through the Internet.

Bengt Söderström, a psychologist working with children who have had images of their abuse distributed via the new technologies, notes that the disclosure of being abused and photographed has different facets to it. The child's cognitive perception of the abuse is made especially difficult because the child constantly needs to defend himself or herself from facing the fact that photographs were taken. Söderström suggested that the picture taking in itself is an issue almost separate from the abuse experience. That photographs have been taken of the abuse makes it difficult for the child to control how the information is disclosed or to limit what is disclosed. Adults who have contact with the child will often assume that the photographs portraying the most abusive activities will

be the ones that will affect the child most. However, it is often the case that images that are not illegal, which portray the child with clothes on but that were taken by the abuser, are equally or even more disturbing, since these images are part of the entire experience of abuse and may remind the child of how the perpetrator has violated his or her trust. This makes discussion about the abuse and related photographs difficult.

What is clear from these studies is that the abused children exhibit a pattern of enforced silence. Children appear reluctant to disclose the abuse, and it appears that the recording of the abuse exacerbates, and in some cases prevents, disclosure. Even when confronted with the visual evidence of the abuse, children continue to limit disclosure, telling people only what they already knew. In 2003 the Swedish authorities were faced with an investigation of a number of children whose images had been traced elsewhere in the world and were eventually identified as coming from Sweden. When interviewing the children, the same resistance to acknowledging that they were the subjects of the images was found. Mimi Silbert had earlier coined the phrase *silent conspiracy* to describe this. It is unclear as to whether the sense of shame and humiliation, often reported in these studies, relates to the photography itself or the fact of disclosing it to others. It may also be that children fear being thought to be complicit in the abuse or photography through the evidence of, for example, their smiling faces in the images. Tink Palmer has suggested that probably the greatest inhibitors to disclosing what has occurred is the humiliation that children feel regarding who may have seen their images and their fear of being recognized. They feel they have been caught in the act.

In her study of children abused through prostitution, Silbert noted that the long-term effects of being photographed are being more debilitating than short- or medium-term effects, and that these effects are compounded when children are involved in more than one form of sexual exploitation. The effects may also be exacerbated by the knowledge that others may see or distribute the films. Such feelings have been described as psychological paralysis. This is also accompanied by the knowledge that such photographs may be used to exploit other children and that, in the context of the Internet, they will never go away.

Intervention

After the famous case in Sweden was uncovered, Svedin and Back from the youth psychiatric clinic at the University Hospital in Linköping reached an agreement whereby the police would inform the clinic when they were able to identify any child via the seizure of images. This provided unique possibilities for investigating how children are recruited and what children remember of their participation in relation to the actual course of events depicted in pictures and/or videos. It also sheds light on the psychiatric health of children. The report in 2003 included 30 children. The study highlighted the shame of the children, and that this shame also contributed to the continuation of the relationship with the perpetrator. The children actively sought contact with this adult, with whom they had an emotionally significant relationship in which they were invested. Of the interviewed children, only two of them began to talk spontaneously, and there were five others who eventually gave a fairly complete account without being shown the pictures and without the investigators saying that they knew what had happened (from the seized material). Five children denied that anything had occurred. All the children's accounts were fragmentary, and the children showed great difficulty in talking about their contact with the suspected perpetrator. They often said that they did not remember what had happened. Nevertheless, it became apparent that what the children least wanted to remember had to do with the photography. It was shown that the more interviews in which the children took part, the more they were able to put into words what had happened.

This research has implications for the recovery of children sexually exploited through their involvement in the production of pornographic images and for those professionals wishing to assist them. As noted above, there is a general lack of expertise and experience among professionals wishing to meet the needs of children abused and exploited in this way. A recent German study suggested that many professionals feel helpless about their ability to understand the needs of such children, yet at times these professionals become part of a conspiracy of silence in their unwillingness to ask questions. It is necessary for police officers, social welfare workers, and child professionals to reevaluate their

working practices in the light of what has been learned. Palmer has suggested that there are three key areas that need to be addressed: managing the discovery/disclosure process and the investigative interview of the child, assessing the recovery needs for the child, and determining the nature and content of the ensuing intervention programs.

Response and Prevention

Efforts to deter the production and distribution of child pornography have tended to focus on educating children in safe Internet use by providing safety tools online and help lines and education packages for school settings and on targeting offenders by disrupting activities, criminalizing behaviors, and, in some contexts, offering therapeutic intervention. It is unclear what impact these have had on the use and distribution of child pornography. Within a criminological framework, Max Taylor and Ethel Quayle have explored ways in which the Internet itself might be thought to contribute to the commission of criminal behavior such as the trade in pornographic images of children. In doing so they identified a number of characteristics or qualities of the Internet that might be thought to facilitate the commission of criminal acts. Their discussion is framed within a conceptual framework informed by the rational choice perspective on offending, focusing on the environmental constraints and qualities of the Internet. It identifies in particular search activities as being a central rate-limiting activity in Internet crime, and how such an analysis might aid the development of preventive strategies. However, probably the greatest challenge to the prevention of the production and distribution of child pornography is our willingness to see images of abuse as simply pictures, distanced from the reality of the child's experience.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of; Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cybercrime, Prevention of; Pedophilia; Situational Crime Prevention

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CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICES

Child Protective Services (CPS) is a governmental agency under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court that is responsible for investigating allegations of abuse and/or neglect for children under 18 years old. This entry provides a brief history, governing laws, the investigative process, and the goals of CPS.

History and Governing Laws

The statutory basis for governmental intervention stems from the legal principle of *parens patriae*, which gives the court the right to act as a parent of a child when the parent is unable or unwilling to

do so. As an affiliate of the court, CPS is responsible for ensuring a child's safety and well-being. CPS is governed by U.S. federal and state laws, which outline definitions of child abuse and neglect and organizational operating procedures (e.g., response time to alleged allegations, case management and follow-up, confidentiality restrictions, conflicts of interest, and court and appeal processes). The differences in state laws contribute to organizational variations across state lines. Despite these differences, there are four main steps to the investigative process.

Investigative Process

The first step is the Intake, which involves receiving a report or allegation that a child has been harmed in some way. In some cases, a mandated reporter (e.g., school and day care personnel, social workers, medical and mental health practitioners, law enforcement and fire fighters, clergy, to name a few) will call CPS. In other cases, a concerned family member, friend, or neighbor will report the alleged abuse. During the Intake, CPS will gather as much information as possible regarding the alleged abuse, the abuser, and the alleged victim. Although the call is anonymous, the reporter is asked to identify how he or she learned about the alleged abuse, why there is a suspicion of abuse, and any information pertaining to the child, including where he or she lives and goes to school, family dynamics, and if the child has siblings.

The next step involves determining if the reported allegations meet the legal definitions for child abuse and/or neglect as specified by state law. Once CPS determines that the reported case meets these statutory requirements, then a case is opened. At this point, CPS will assess and investigate the case. The investigative process involves substantiating whether or not the allegations are true by talking with the child, family members, and those who are associated with the child (e.g., school or day care personnel, neighbors, and others). In most states, this includes a home visit to assess the child's living situation. During the home visit, CPS will look at the conditions of the home to see if the child has adequate food, clothing, and shelter. The CPS worker will also observe interactions between the parent or guardian and the

alleged child victim and others within the home. After the investigation is completed, CPS must determine whether the alleged abuse is substantiated (true) or unsubstantiated (not true). If the allegations are unsubstantiated, the case is closed. Once a case is substantiated, a report is made to Juvenile Court indicating recommended actions on behalf of the child. The goal of the recommendations is to establish an action plan to ensure the child's safety and well-being. Some possible actions taken for the child and/or his or her siblings include emergency removal from the home and placement in a safe environment, medical and mental health care, and referrals to other social service agencies. If the abuser is a parent or guardian, this individual may be required to attend anger management classes, a behavioral modification program, substance abuse treatment, parenting classes, job training, and/or any other program deemed appropriate by CPS. The Juvenile Court will make findings of jurisdiction (who has authority over the child) and disposition (the decision of the court). If the court determines that emergency removal is necessary, the child is adjudicated and becomes a ward of the court. CPS is then responsible for the care and custody of the child until he or she can be placed with another family member. If there are no family members and/or the family is unable or unwilling to care for the child, the child is placed within the foster care system. If there are multiple siblings, the preference is to keep all of the children together. The child will remain under the court's custody until there is sufficient proof that the child can safely return to the parent or guardian. Once a child is removed, CPS will create a reunification plan to help the family reunite. If the case does not require emergency removal, CPS will work with the family to determine appropriate referrals and programs to prevent future acts of child maltreatment.

The third stage involves case management, evaluating the situation, and updating the court. CPS is required to review the case periodically. The frequency of the follow-up is determined by the court. During the evaluation period, the CPS worker may alter the action plan based upon the needs of the child and family. During the entire process (removal, reunification, and family maintenance), the CPS worker will evaluate the situation and update the court regarding the status of the case.

The final stage involves closing the case, which occurs after CPS conducts a final evaluation, often including a home visit to ensure that the child is no longer in danger. During the evaluation, the CPS worker assesses the situation based on several criteria, including family functioning, household stability, and the child's access to nutrition, health care, education, and shelter. Upon completion of the evaluation, when CPS determines that the family no longer needs follow-up services, as the action plan has been successfully completed, the case can be closed. Case closure also happens when the family's rights to the child are terminated through adoption by another adult who is then responsible for the permanent care and custody of the child. A case will remain closed unless another report is made and the process begins again. Throughout the entire process, the overarching goals of CPS are to protect and ensure the safety and well-being of the child and improve family functioning in a nonpunitive and rehabilitative manner.

Bernadette T. Muscat

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment, Measurement of

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CITIZEN PATROLS

Citizens patrolling their neighborhood have been a staple of police efforts to enhance crime prevention and community cohesion. Citizen patrols serve as the “eyes and ears” of the police, and provide a visible sign of a defended community to deter potential lawbreakers. They are a component of grassroots and top-down efforts to stimulate or preserve community efficacy, often sponsored by or coordinated with other crime prevention activities, such as Neighborhood Watch.

Citizen patrols are voluntary activities, unpaid, usually conducted during the hours when street activity is at its peak and police patrol capacities are stretched thin. Most involve some visible symbol, like the Orange Hats of Washington, D.C., that provide a token of legitimacy and distinguish the patrols from other persons abroad in public space.

Historical Precedents

Though citizen patrols have deep historical roots in the English system of obligatory service in the watch and ward, the advent of professional policing in the early and mid-20th century diminished their importance severely. American history had slave patrols and committees of vigilance that performed similar duties under limited circumstances. A combination of social changes, including the end of slavery and the settling of the West, led to their demise, although the lynch mobs that punished alleged violations of the Jim Crow race laws represented a more sinister permutation for many years.

Modern Revival

The concept was revived in the wake of the rising crime rate and general dissatisfaction with police performance in the 1960s. The professional policing movement had staked its claim to crime control on the basis of three things: the deterrent effect of police patrol, the rapid response to reports of crime to catch criminals in the act, and relentless investigation of completed crime. Scientific investigation of these activities during the 1970s undercut each of the claims. The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment cast doubt upon the deterrent effect of patrol. A four-city study of response time

found that citizen delays undercut the effectiveness of police response to most calls. The Rand Corporation’s study of detective work in California police departments revealed that most investigators’ time was spent on routine case preparation tasks; less than 5% of criminal apprehensions resulted from “detective work” as portrayed in the popular media.

In response, Herman Goldstein proposed to move police response beyond its incident-driven tactical mind-set into a more problem-oriented strategic approach. Under financial duress, the police department in Flint, Michigan, experimented with a renewal of foot patrols to supplement rapid motorized response policing. The community policing movement arose from those two main thrusts, and a host of less publicized local initiatives. Two assumptions distinguished community policing from the professional policing model. The first was that the community’s views were an important element in prioritizing police operations, which effectively led to greater attention to minor problems of disorder and incivility.

The second foundation of community policing was a renewal of the proposition that citizens have an important role to play in the defense and maintenance of their own communities. Drawing upon crime prevention concepts, particularly Oscar Newman’s “defensible space” propositions, the police began to work in concert with community residents to articulate viable roles for citizens to play.

Neighborhood Watch provided the framework for police–community cooperation, and Newman’s concept of natural surveillance was inherent in its mission. Citizen patrols were a natural outgrowth of the new partnership, creating a mechanism of visible, assertive surveillance to supplement the more passive watching envisioned by Newman.

For newly created community policing efforts in socially unorganized areas, the citizen patrols had a secondary benefit. They provided a vehicle for greater interaction between and among residents who shared common concerns of safety and community viability. As Neighborhood Watch meetings broke down the veils of anonymity, citizen patrols allowed neighbors to have more frequent interactions, learn more about the other “good guys,” and solidify social bonds. They also served as a recruiting device for neighborhood groups, informally spreading the word and thus creating

renewed hope that citizens could do something to take back control of their neighborhood.

For their part, the police had a long history of urging the community to be the eyes and ears of the police by reporting crimes and suspicious conditions. The creation of citizen patrols was a logical, organized extension of that general exhortation.

The police were not universally in favor of citizen patrols, however, and some of the early efforts were ad hoc campaigns mounted by citizen groups without police assistance, sometimes in the face of active police discouragement. Some police agencies did tolerate the initiatives, however, and encouraged them without offering overt sponsorship or logistical support. A few jurisdictions took ownership of the concept, organizing and coordinating the patrol efforts, providing training and official liaison as a way of bolstering their larger community policing initiatives.

Concerns

Potential negative consequences attend citizen patrols in crime-ridden neighborhoods, and accounted for part of the police reluctance to promote patrols. The most serious is the potential for violence directed against patrol members by the criminal element, particularly the street-level drug dealers whose business is a primary target of patrol activity. Police were also concerned about a resurgence of vigilantism, citizens unaware of the requirements and limits of the law taking unwarranted actions based on moral viewpoints but fundamentally at odds with the requirements of law. Both retaliatory violence and lawsuits were possible consequences of ill-considered citizen actions, and police sponsorship would open the city to financial responsibility for volunteers' errors.

Police were also concerned that citizen patrols would flood the police with reports of minor behaviors, drawing scarce resources away from the serious problems that demanded police presence. These concerns were addressed by training programs conducted by police liaisons that covered police operations as well as legal requirements. Police-sponsored patrols are almost always predicated upon a "no intervention" rule: the patrols' responsibility is to show the flag and to call for the police when their presence alone is insufficient to deter unwanted behaviors. (Citizens' academies,

with their more expansive exposure to the police role and areas of community support, were often an outgrowth of the early training efforts.)

On the street, some of the initial concerns about confrontation were assuaged over time. Residents proved to have a good sense of who "the players" were in their neighborhood, and often a better sense of how to approach them than did the police—especially if the players lived in the neighborhood themselves. Often police threats were less persuasive than the patrols' quiet dialogues centering on respect for the neighborhood, which forged mutually tolerable accommodations. While citizen patrols might not eliminate activity like drug sales and prostitution, they could go a long way to mitigating the more abrasive public behaviors that attended the illicit markets.

Over the long term, citizen patrols came to share the concerns that attend most crime prevention activities: maintaining interest past the group's initial formation, recruiting and orienting new members, and sustaining members by spreading the burden of donated time and effort equitably. The hours when the patrols are needed tend to be during the evening, after the residents return home from work, and on weekends.

Not every organized citizen group works in concert with the police. Some have been openly antagonistic to the police. During the 1980s, the American Indian Movement used citizen patrols to shadow the police patrolling Native American neighborhoods, with the intent to capture any police brutality on videotape. In Chicago and other cities, parents in inner-city neighborhoods have formed convoys to walk their children safely through the gauntlet of drug sellers who line the streets near schools.

Impact

It is difficult to measure the impact of citizen patrols on crime, as their activities are often part of an extensive menu of intensive police-community endeavors. The visible presence of neighborhood guardians should serve as a deterrent, lowering reported crime. The possibility exists that they will report more suspicious incidents to police, elevating the call load and the initial reports of crime. The greatest contribution that citizen patrols make to crime prevention may be to empower

residents. Their efforts are seen not only by potential offenders, but also by other residents who may have been too fearful to join the initial community organizing efforts. The enhancement of feelings of community efficacy cannot be measured by direct analysis of crime rates, but they have long-lasting positive effects for communities.

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See also Crime Prevention; Neighborhood Watch Programs

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CIVIL ABATEMENT

Civil abatement constitutes a purposive application of civil regulatory law to crime prevention goals. It encompasses a wide range of tactics, from code enforcement to licensing, and from boarding up (or demolishing) derelict properties to issuing injunctions against gang members. Though it is an enforcement action, it does not target criminal law breakers, but nominally respectable citizens. Ultimately, civil abatement strives for a type of general deterrence, extending informal social control through nongovernmental entities who nevertheless exert a localized influence over the conduct of potential criminal offenders.

Philosophically, civil abatement measures belong to the routine activities wing of criminology. The expanded understanding of crime as an event involving offenders, victims (or targets), and guardians illuminated new possibilities to disrupt opportunities for crime to occur. Civil abatement places responsibility upon the owners and managers of places, whether commercial or residential in nature,

to maintain strict standards for their premises. Such a climate is believed to have a shaping influence on the environment, and both direct and indirect influences upon the behavior of their clients and patrons.

Unlike the “broken windows” hypothesis of James Wilson and George Kelling, civil abatement does not depend upon the actions of the public police acting on the lawbreaking and the marginally disruptive. Instead, it focuses on respectable intermediaries whose sphere of influence over the behavior of potential lawbreakers is more immediate than is the attenuated deterrent impact of the criminal sanction.

The movement to civil abatement as an intervention technique also represents a shift in philosophy regarding the distinction between private enterprise and public responsibility. Landlords long maintained that their responsibilities were limited to the private contractual relationship between themselves and their renters. Business owners claimed that their responsibility for client behavior ended at the door of their establishment. Both asserted that crime prevention was the responsibility of the tax-funded public police, not private persons.

Civil abatement refutes those “not my responsibility” claims. It reflects a growing trend in regulation of conduct that has serious, if unintended, consequences for the public. It creates new responsibilities for business owners and managers to promulgate and enforce rules of conduct for their clientele, whether renters, patrons, or visitors.

Civil abatement is most effective when it is an organized, coordinated campaign instituted by civic government, such as the Beat Health program of the Oakland Police Department in California. When police target a drug location for civil abatement, it coordinates police actions with the city’s SMART (Specialized Multi-Agency Response Team), whose members are inspectors for the various civil code enforcement agencies. Civil abatement can also be implemented on an as-needed basis by individual police officers and small units, as was done in Minneapolis, Minnesota, by the RECAP unit. Invocation of the process by individual officers often is more difficult, since it creates additional work for the regulatory agencies and runs the risk of bringing political pressures against the agencies and their employees.

Origins

Until the 1980s, civil regulatory law and criminal law rarely intersected. The one area where the two strains of law intersected was alcohol and beverage control, because the impact of alcohol upon criminality and uncivil behavior was well documented. Liquor law inspectors (by whatever title they were known) had a specific responsibility for enforcing laws regulating the business practices of any establishment with a liquor license. Included in their mandate were the standards for selling and serving (particularly for not selling to minors, intoxicated persons, and persons whose past behavior under the influence led to their being banned). In this, their inspection duties overlapped with those of the municipal police, who would routinely walk through bars and check in on liquor stores to monitor behaviors there. The purpose was to discourage disruptive behavior by patrons (who would carry those behaviors out into the public streets at closing time), and also discourage bartenders from “bending the rules” in favor of intoxicated patrons.

Nominally, the two spheres were separate. Liquor inspectors had the power to suspend an establishment’s license, but generally could do so only for egregious behavior. Although they often had police authority, liquor inspectors were responsible for covering a wide territory, and would concern themselves with the conduct of patrons only in extreme circumstances. By contrast, the police lacked the ability to close a bar except in extreme circumstances (and then only temporarily), and referred liquor law violations to the liquor inspectors when stronger action was needed. In practice, the two sides often developed a close working relationship: The liquor inspectors wielded the legal clout, and the local police had strength of numbers to back up the inspectors in difficult situations.

Modern Evolutions

In the 1980s, the development of computer technology coincided with new philosophical strains in the policing community. Computers gave the police the ability to move beyond paper records and rudimentary pin maps, and to examine their activity patterns more closely and link calls for police services to other municipal data. At the same time, Herman Goldstein’s call for problem-oriented

policing merged with the community policing reform movement, bringing the police out of their law-enforcement isolation, broadening their vision, and increasing the demands upon them.

Police had long known that demands for their services were greatest in a limited number of areas: those with poverty, transient populations, persons with multiple social problems (mental illness, drug abuse, alcoholism), a concentration of persons released from prison or under controls as sex offenders, and other social ills. Computer technology allowed the police to link their 9-1-1 calls to individual properties, to ownership and land use patterns, and eventually to complaints to other regulatory bodies.

In community meetings, police found that neighborhood concerns extended far beyond the robbers and drug dealers the police considered important. The police came to understand that drug-dealing was linked to lax management practices, substandard housing, the sporadic nature of municipal services in low-income areas, and many other conditions outside the purview of the criminal law. At the same time, police officers came in contact with their counterparts in the agencies with the power to take action in the other areas. Local partnerships evolved, and the foundations for civil abatement were laid.

The Obstacle of Routinization

Because the perceived need for regulation arose at different times for specific conditions, the regulatory functions of municipal government tend to be isolated, working in “stovepipes” of their own making. The normal course of their duties is routinized, and their work is organized around a schedule of processing new applications for licensing, conducting routine (usually annual) inspections of their licensees, and investigating complaints and allegations of noncompliance.

Routinization included a regular schedule of inspections (to manage the workload by spreading it across the calendar) and notices of impending inspections sent to the licensees (a bureaucratic courtesy that facilitates the discharge of the inspection on the first scheduled attempt). A grace period is usually granted to correct any deficiencies found during the annual inspection. The majority of licensees conduct their businesses in accord with the

requirements of their licenses: Violations tend to be minor and easily corrected, so routine checks by the regulatory agencies are all that are necessary.

A pernicious minority of owners of problem properties routinely ignored standard business practices, allowing the properties to decline, oblivious to the activities going on there. Absentee landlords—whether individuals living in the suburbs or a conglomerate headquartered 1,000 miles away—invested little in the physical condition of their properties and less in their operations. Upon receiving notice of the coming annual inspection, they would make minimal, often cosmetic repairs to the physical property in order to meet the minimal requirements of the inspection. Any violations found during the inspection would be corrected in perfunctory fashion or appealed, effectively putting off any need for improvement for another year.

Civil abatement provisions coalesced when the police and other civic authorities recognized the relationship between substandard business practices and crime and disorder. When the police identified a problem property based upon the activities of the residents (most likely drug activity), they also found that the problems were highly resistant to the traditional interdiction of search warrants and arrest. Developing the basis for search warrants and conducting raids was labor intensive and time consuming. Offenders released on bail would immediately resume their activities, prolonging their court appearances, and the corrective influence of the raid upon conditions in the neighborhoods was negligible. The police could not maintain a crime-suppressive presence at every property; a more consistent influence was needed to obtain different results.

Building asset seizure and forfeiture into the drug laws created a stronger tool for enforcement. Because it constituted a deprivation of property, it fell under the Fourth Amendment and was regarded by many prosecutors as a last resort. The specter of eventually losing one's property for tolerating certain activities of residents created a new dimension for regulation, however, and provided room for the police and civil authorities to take lesser actions.

A considerable gap exists between the "private contract" defense of landlords and others, and the reality of business as practiced by slumlords. Legitimate landlords require some sort of credit check and background check for their prospective

tenants, and require certain behaviors as part of the contract (the lease). Slumlords tend to accept anyone with the deposit and first month's rent in hand or a Section 8 voucher that guarantees the slumlord a hassle-free income stream without ever coming in contact with the tenants. The first type of tenant is likely to be a drug dealer; the second may not be a problem individual, but the probability is increased that the tenant will have additional social problems and no social capital. Neither type of tenant is likely to make demands for better conditions, and any requests these tenants make can be safely ignored. Civil abatement changes that assumption of no-work income.

Targeting a property for civil abatement is usually a police-initiated activity, but not always. Local neighborhood groups have used the civil process to sue landlords for unsightly or unsafe conditions, in order to force the landlords to rehabilitate properties or change tenant standards. Drug sales, which have an inordinate negative impact on the surrounding neighborhood, have been a prime source of selection, but other conditions have similar potential.

When a property comes under the aegis of civil abatement, it is visited without prior notice by a team of inspectors from multiple regulatory agencies—Housing, Code Inspection (electrical and plumbing), the Health Department, among others—accompanied by police officers. The resulting inspection usually turns up a raft of violations, ranging from occupancy by persons not on the lease to substandard maintenance that constitutes both health and safety risks for the occupants. In the case of serious violations, the property may be condemned immediately and the residents removed. The usual outcome, however, tends to be a ream of violations—each bearing either a civil penalty or a documented requirement for expensive repairs (with a monetary penalty for noncompliance).

For their part, the police will document the people found at the residence during the inspection, and check for criminal records and outstanding warrants. Their presence signals to the residents, the owners (and managers, if any), and the neighborhood the enhanced power behind police requests for corrective measures at other properties.

Some property owners will take steps to correct the deficiencies, including hiring managers and instituting the lease and background check measures

requested by the police (or demanded by local ordinance). Others find it easier to sell the property: If they sell to another slumlord, the cycle begins again, but if they sell to a more responsible owner, the police have an opportunity to help create another crime-free establishment.

Although civil abatement is largely a police-initiated endeavor, other avenues of redress are available. In the past, neighborhood groups have filed lawsuits against landowners in order to close crack houses, shooting galleries, and other dens of iniquity. Banning orders have been levied against street prostitutes and others engaged in criminal acts. Los Angeles created an ordinance that permits authorities to ban gang members from certain areas based on the gang's unlawful activities, not the individual's. Perhaps the most widespread civil abatement provision applied to individuals in America today is the ordinances that ban sex offenders from living within a certain radius of schools, child care centers, bus stops, playgrounds, and other places where their potential victims gather.

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See also Community Policing; Crime Prevention

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CIVIL LITIGATION

When someone is a victim of a crime, it is considered a crime against society, in the form of violating the laws of the state or federal government. Thus the government, represented by the prosecutor's office, may file charges against an offender for violating society's laws. The victim's role in a prosecution can vary from minimal, in which the victim cannot or will not cooperate with the prosecution,

to heavily involved, in which the victim seeks to press charges and is present and participates throughout the adjudication process. Once the prosecution is over and the offender is either convicted or acquitted, the criminal justice process is generally over for the victim. However, victims are able to seek other avenues of relief in the form of civil lawsuits against the offender.

A civil lawsuit can be filed by the victim (or, if the victim is dead, by the victim's family) to recover some of the losses that were incurred as a result of the crime. Victims also may pursue civil lawsuits if they feel that justice was not served by the criminal justice system; for instance, if the offender was never charged or was acquitted of the crime, or if the offender's sentence seemed too lenient. However, victims are able to file civil lawsuits regardless of whether or not "justice was served" by the criminal prosecution. Thus a victim may file a lawsuit on the basis of personal injury incurred during a crime. For example, someone who was assaulted may incur large medical costs as a result of the assault, and suing the offender in civil court may compensate him or her for those costs. In addition, the family of someone killed during a crime may file a lawsuit on the basis of wrongful death.

Differences Between Civil Lawsuits and Criminal Prosecution

Civil lawsuits differ from criminal prosecutions in a number of ways. First, as mentioned above, criminal prosecutions are brought by state or federal governments for violations of their respective laws. Civil lawsuits are filed by private citizens for injury inflicted during the course of a crime. Whereas the prosecutor acts on behalf of the victim in a criminal prosecution, it is the victim's responsibility to file a civil lawsuit if he or she so chooses. The victim takes a more active role in a civil lawsuit than he or she does in a criminal prosecution. A criminal prosecution and a civil lawsuit are mutually exclusive, meaning that either one can occur in the absence of the other. For example, a victim may be satisfied with a criminal prosecution or may not want to spend time and money on a civil lawsuit; thus, a civil lawsuit will not be initiated. If the victim wishes to pursue a civil lawsuit, courts have ruled that these lawsuits in addition to

criminal prosecutions do not violate an offender's double jeopardy rights, which only apply to successive criminal prosecutions.

A second difference between civil punishments and criminal prosecutions is the terminology used. In criminal prosecutions, the government, represented by the prosecutor, is labeled "the state" and the offender is labeled the "defendant." When criminal charges are filed against the defendant, the case name reflects both parties in the case (e.g., *State v. Smith*), but does not include the victim's name. In civil lawsuits, the victim's name appears in the case name, since the victim is filing the civil action against the offender. In these cases, the victim is labeled a "plaintiff" and the offender is labeled a "respondent" or "defendant"; however, this is not the same as a criminal defendant, but rather, is someone who is defending himself or herself in the lawsuit. Thus the case name reflects both parties in the lawsuit (e.g., *Jones v. Smith*). In addition, if an offender is convicted in a criminal prosecution, he or she is found "guilty" of the charge and will be subject to "punishment" (e.g., prison, jail, probation). In a civil lawsuit, if an offender is held "liable" for the injuries caused by the crime, he or she will be subject to a "penalty" in the form of monetary compensation that must be paid to the victim or victim's family.

Another difference between civil lawsuits and criminal prosecutions is found in the due process provisions that apply. Criminal prosecutions are considered more punitive than civil lawsuits, in that offenders may be subject to deprivation of life, liberty, or property. With civil lawsuits, offenders are only subject to deprivations of property. As such, there are more due process requirements found in criminal prosecutions. One such requirement is the burden of proof. In criminal prosecutions, the burden of proof is "beyond a reasonable doubt." This means that a prosecutor must provide evidence of the offender's guilt, and that evidence must show beyond a reasonable doubt that the offender is guilty. This is usually defined as a "moral certainty" or 95% certainty. In civil lawsuits, victims must provide evidence of the offender's liability only by "a preponderance of the evidence." This is usually defined as "more likely than not" or 51% certainty.

Other due process rights are limited in civil lawsuits. The offender has the right not to take the

stand and testify during a criminal trial, but the offender may be forced to testify in a civil case. In addition, an attorney can be provided for the offender in a criminal trial if he or she cannot afford one, but the offender has no constitutional right to appointed counsel in a civil trial. Finally, evidence that is illegally seized by law enforcement may be excluded at a criminal trial, but may be brought out in a civil case.

Damages

As mentioned earlier, if an offender is found liable in a civil case, he or she may be required to pay monetary compensation for injuries sustained by the victim during the crime. This compensation is called "damages" and takes two forms: compensatory damages and punitive damages. Compensatory damages can encompass an actual dollar amount that represents the losses suffered by the victim. If a victim is injured in the crime and seeks medical attention, compensatory damages will be awarded to the victim to pay for the medical bills. Compensatory damages may also be awarded if the victim was forced to miss work due to the crime; thus, the damages will compensate the victim for lost wages. In some cases, however, compensatory damages are an estimated value of the "pain and suffering" or "mental distress" felt by the victim. It is said that compensatory damages are used "to make the victim whole again." Punitive damages are usually much higher than compensatory damages and serve to "punish" the offender for the harm done. Although not a criminal punishment, like fines, punitive damages may be awarded to teach the offender a lesson or to warn others that crime does not pay.

Punitive damages have been the subject of lawsuit reform in recent years, with juries awarding punitive damages in the millions of dollars to some victims of crime. It is argued that, whereas compensatory damages put an actual dollar amount on injury, punitive damages are subject to the whims of juries. For instance, juries in jurisdictions with higher crime rates have been shown to be antioffender, awarding millions of dollars in punitive damages to the victim. Victims of similar crimes in other jurisdictions may not receive the same amount of punitive damages. Further, research has shown that there are what is perceived as "worthy" and

“unworthy” victims, and this can influence a jury’s willingness to award damages. For example, a suburban mother of two who is a victim of a robbery may be awarded more in punitive damages than a robbery victim who is homeless and living in the inner city. Thus, the awarding of punitive damages—and the amount awarded—is a subjective determination on the part of the jury.

Problems Associated With Civil Litigation

One problem regarding damages—both compensatory and punitive—is that many offenders cannot or will not pay the amount specified. If offenders cannot afford to pay damages, a compromise may be reached in which the offender and the victim agree on payment or other settlement. If an offender simply refuses to pay damages, the court can institute garnishment actions (in which the court will impose a lien on the offender’s wages and will collect the damages on a weekly or monthly basis), or the offender’s real and personal property may be seized and sold at auction to pay the damages. Another alternative is to hold the defendant in contempt of court until the damages are paid. Thus if the defendant still withholds payment, he or she can be held criminally responsible for failure to pay. Despite this, a number of assets are not subject to collection by the courts. An example of this is found in the O. J. Simpson case. Although Simpson was acquitted in a criminal trial of murdering his ex-wife and her friend in 1995, he was found liable for those murders in a civil trial that was instituted by the victims’ families. The jury awarded the victims’ families more than \$8 million in compensatory damages and \$25 million in punitive damages. However, most of Simpson’s assets were in pension and retirement accounts, which cannot be seized for use in paying civil damages.

Another problem associated with civil lawsuits is their cost—for victims, the court system, and society. Lawsuits are costly for the victim because victims must hire lawyers to assist them; this does not occur with criminal prosecutions, where the prosecutor acts on behalf of the victim. Lawsuits are also costly for the court system, as it has seen an increase in civil litigation over the past decade. Society also pays for civil lawsuits. An example of this would be when lawsuits filed by victims of drunk drivers result in an increase in auto insurance premiums.

Usefulness

Despite the problems associated with civil lawsuits, they serve many useful purposes. Thus, if the offender does pay damages, it helps the victim recover some of the financial costs of the crime. For many victims, civil lawsuits also provide a sense of vindication and personal justice, especially if a criminal prosecution was not undertaken or did not have the outcome the victim wanted. In fact, some researchers argue that vindication is the primary motivation for victims’ filing civil lawsuits. Related to this is the issue of accountability, in that a judgment against an offender indicates that he or she is the responsible party in the action, even if no punishment results. Civil lawsuits can also bring about meaningful change in policy. For example, a number of lawsuits have been filed in recent years by those who were victims of police use of excessive force. Judgments in favor of plaintiffs in these cases have led police departments to review their use of force policies and to institute better training to ensure that incidents such as these do not happen again.

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See also Punitive and Compensatory Damages; Restitution; Third-Party Lawsuits; Victim Compensation

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CLOSED-CIRCUIT TELEVISION

Closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras are one of the most high-profile and indeed controversial security measures available to help prevent victimization. Locating cameras in areas that then transmit

images to a central base enables operators to keep watch over different places at the same time. The logic is that offenders, knowing they are being watched, will refrain from committing an offense. Meanwhile, law enforcement, including private security, is able to assess situations to decide if, when, and how to intervene, and the images can also help with postincident investigation. The problem is that although CCTV appears to be a practical security measure, the evidence on its effectiveness in reducing victimization is mixed. This entry examines some of the research findings and explains key factors that determine what makes CCTV effective.

Overview

CCTV has been responsible for catching some high-profile offenders (and some less high-profile ones, too). Some are caught on camera as they commit the offense, and the image of them doing so is used to identify them and to help support the prosecution case. Sometimes the cameras capture evidence left by an offender at the scene, such as a fingerprint, that can be followed up and subsequently provide evidence against a suspect. Sometimes the cameras pick up a license plate, placing that vehicle in the area at the time of the offense, and this can help to connect suspects to scenes. Similarly, images can be used to eliminate people from suspicion by showing that they were elsewhere or did not fit the characteristics of the person that the police know committed the crime.

From this very simple synopsis it is not difficult to see why CCTV appeals to law enforcement. It can be a very useful tool in the fight against crime. It has other uses, too. For example, retailers can check whether customers who say they were injured when they slipped in a store really did slip; it helps protect them against malicious liability claims. This can help business owners to obtain lower insurance premiums. Beyond these, CCTV has other potential uses, sometimes controversial ones, such as monitoring the behavior of employees to ensure they comply with company policies and expected levels of conduct. Indeed, the whole issue of CCTV presenting a challenge to individuals' right to privacy is a major one. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, this has been comparatively circumspect, but in many others it

has been a major reason for the restricted use of CCTV in public space. Important though this issue is, and it really is a major factor, the focus in this entry is on the role of CCTV in preventing victimization, or at least in attempting to do so.

It is important when discussing CCTV to clarify what is being discussed. Often researchers do not do this, implying that CCTV systems are similar, but they are not. They vary greatly in terms of coverage, density of cameras, and type and quality of transmission and recording methods; therefore, they vary in the number and quality of the images—as well as in the competency of operators, and their supervision and management, the relationships of these people with those who act on the images, and so on. Some cameras and some systems are intelligent but badly used and managed; some rudimentary systems provide good images that are used effectively. There are plenty of reasons for systems to be different (quite independent of the type of area or context they operate in), and understanding these sorts of details about CCTV is important.

Effectiveness

The research evidence paints a somewhat mixed picture. Even those studies with a minimum level of rigor have reached different conclusions. Indeed, a summary of the research findings would suggest that sometimes CCTV works, sometimes it does not, and sometimes the effects are neutral. The usual measure of effect is upon crime rates, but this is problematic with regard to CCTV. While it may seem logical that cameras will deter offenders and therefore reduce crime, this is not the only possibility. Cameras can also be responsible for noticing more offenses than previously were noticed. Or they can give the public the confidence and/or incentive to report more offenses. This, logically, will bring more offenses into the public gaze and to police attention, resulting in more offenses being recorded by the police and consequently an increase in the crime figures. Put simply, the crime rates going up could be an indication that cameras are successful in focusing attention on more of the “dark figure of crime” (unreported crime). Of course, there are always problems in whatever measures are used, but it is important to bear this limitation of CCTV in mind.

Looking at what types of offenses are affected by CCTV can be informative, although clearly this needs to be viewed in context. For example, where images from cameras located in car parks are being measured, the main impact is usually on offenses involving cars. In schemes focused on town and city centers, more varied types of offenses may be targeted. Generally though, crimes of violence are less likely to be reduced by the presence of cameras than are crimes of financial gain. One reason for this is that violent crimes are more likely to be fueled by alcohol and high emotions, which affect people's ability to think about the consequences of their actions.

But crime figures are not the only measure, as public perceptions also are important. Interestingly, recent U.K. national evaluation results show that across all areas surveyed there was a reduction in the perceived effectiveness of CCTV just after installation, compared to earlier results. Support was still high (from 69% to 96% across areas), but not as high as it had been. The national evaluation findings in the United Kingdom enable the effectiveness of CCTV to be put into perspective. Of the 14 schemes, 6 showed a reduction in crime, although in only 2 of these were the differences with the control area statistically significant. However, in one of these there were confounding factors that could also explain the reduction, so in only 1 area out of 14 was there evidence of a CCTV success story, and this was in a car park scheme. There were 2 schemes that used redeployable cameras, which can be moved about the area to meet changing requirements, but these were focused on very short-term needs and did not have an impact on crime levels.

But does CCTV make people feel safer? Here, too, the findings are mixed. When asked about CCTV before its introduction into an area, the public generally believe that CCTV will make them feel safer. After the event, research has suggested that the results are not as good as the public thought they would be. One Scottish study argued that all CCTV did there was make the people who already feel safe feel even safer, and it had little impact on those who felt unsafe. The U.K. national evaluation found that while feelings of safety increased after CCTV was installed, in only 3 of 12 areas was the increase greater than in control areas, and in none was this statistically significant.

So what will make people feel safe? Noticing the cameras in the first place is one thing; however, they are often unobtrusive. And believing that there will be some sort of response (especially from the police) is another. But the national evaluation results suggested that the biggest determinant of whether people feel safer had much less to do with CCTV—not least because there was little difference between experimental and control areas—than with the level of crime that people experienced. In short, if you want to make people feel safer, then the best way is to cut crime, and if CCTV or for that matter any other measure does not do that, then it is unlikely to be successful at making people feel safer let alone be safer.

It has often been said that using CCTV merely displaces crime elsewhere (spatial displacement), but the results on this are mixed. Its presence seems to displace crime more in some areas with some types of crime than in other areas, although there are no easily discernible patterns across studies. Sometimes crime is displaced to areas not covered by CCTV, as offender accounts confirm, or the presence of CCTV results in less serious offenses, a good outcome rather than a bad one.

There is one other group to consider in the context of whether CCTV reduces victimization, and this is the offenders. There is no doubt that CCTV is a risk that has to be managed, but many offenders have not found it a major one. Some were put off by CCTV or proceeded more cautiously, but many said that they are able to get around CCTV by wearing a disguise or by ensuring that they do not look at the cameras directly. Some noted that they have been caught on camera before, but the images were not good enough to support a prosecution, and subsequently the cameras were much less of a deterrent. Shoplifters pointed to the lack of total coverage of stores and the availability of blind spots. Some thieves noted that when they are stealing they have to worry about anyone seeing them—especially those close by, after all they could intervene—and CCTV did not change things much. Unsurprisingly, the offenders most likely to point to the success of CCTV as a real threat were those who had been caught on camera and the image was good enough to force them to plead guilty or be found guilty.

Overall it has to be said that there are problems in interpreting the research on the effectiveness of

CCTV. It has already been noted that often research does not make clear what types of systems are in place. What is known is that there is often implementation failure, which means schemes are not working as effectively as they could be (and in the worst cases, not working at all). But often research does not specify what other interventions existed at the same time, and there is rarely a focus on CCTV where it is not the main intervention but merely a supporting one. Clearly, it would be good to know the effects in these cases. Further, evaluations involving comparisons of what is happening in different areas are never easy. Isolating the effects of any one measure at a point in time is complicated because what goes on in areas is rarely static.

Key Factors

For CCTV to be effective it needs to be introduced in response to a specific problem and to be the right solution to that problem. CCTV needs to be a part of a strategy and be coordinated with other measures that are being used. Most often what is required is an effective response to suspicious circumstances generated by images, and this means that there needs to be effective communication with responders, often the police or private security. But research suggests that sometimes the police don't trust CCTV operators and are too busy with work generated from other sources. Making CCTV intelligent involves not just creating technically advanced cameras, but also providing operators with information to help them target the right places and suspects. Various types of watch schemes can be helpful here. The CCTV operation itself needs to be guided by a strategy and objectives. It also requires people trained in the requisite skills—and there are definite skill sets associated with being an effective operator that are frequently underestimated—who are properly managed and focused on delivering a quality service to meet meaningful outputs. There is quite a lot involved in making CCTV work effectively at reducing victimization, and much of the evidence suggests that we have not got it right yet.

Martin Gill

See also Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention, Domains of; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Lighting

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COGNITIVE–BEHAVIORAL THERAPY

Cognitive–behavioral therapy (or CBT) is a psychotherapeutic approach that attempts to change the *cognitions* (i.e., thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, or self-talk) that are influencing problem behaviors. CBT is based on the premise that our thoughts (and not situations, events, or people) cause our feelings and behaviors. As such, the goal of CBT is to employ strategies to identify and monitor the cognitions that maintain problem behavior, and to replace these maladaptive thoughts with more adaptive (i.e., realistic and useful) ones. The historical roots of CBT include the development of behavioral theories at the beginning of the 20th century (i.e., early experimental work on classical and operant conditioning), as well as the emergence of social learning theories and cognitive therapies in the 1960s.

The term *cognitive–behavioral therapy* is used to refer to a collection of specific strategies that share a number of defining themes and common characteristics. CBT interventions are now commonplace in corrections, and the empirical evidence clearly supports the effectiveness of CBT with offender populations.

Common Themes and Characteristics

Cognitive–behavioral therapy is generally considered to be an umbrella term for a number of diverse techniques that merge concepts from behavior therapy and cognitive psychology. Nevertheless, Michael Spiegler and David Guevremont have noted that CBT interventions share four defining themes. First, CBT is committed to the *scientific approach*, in that it requires precision in specifying target behaviors as well as empirical evaluation in monitoring client progress. This reliance on data is perhaps one of the primary reasons that CBT is considered to be an evidence-based approach to the treatment of many conditions. Second, CBT is considered to be *active*, in that clients are required to engage in planned interventions in order to change behaviors. For example, clients will often be asked to examine and record their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors during daily activities or specific situations. Clients are also taught new coping skills, and they have the opportunity to actively practice these skills through role-play (rehearsal). Moreover, clients often receive and complete homework assignments. Third, CBT focuses on the *present maintaining conditions* of problem behaviors. In other words, this psychotherapeutic approach focuses on the “here and now” by employing techniques and strategies to change current factors influencing problem behaviors. Fourth, CBT is based on *theories of learning*. In essence, this model contends that the emergence and continuation of most problem behaviors occurs primarily through learning. Thus, to change problem behaviors, an individual must learn new behaviors. While the important role of heredity and genetics is recognized, CBT interventions focus on creating learning experiences for clients that replace old (maladaptive) cognitions and behaviors with new (adaptive) ones.

Spiegler and Guevremont also have noted that CBT interventions share several characteristics. First, treatments are often delivered *in vivo*, or in the client’s natural environment. This is an important component of CBT in that it encourages the generalization of new learning outside of the treatment setting. For example, therapists often train “support therapists” (or influential individuals in the client’s life) to assist with monitoring problem behaviors and implementing intervention strategies.

In addition, clients are often encouraged to take responsibility for the change process by practicing procedures under the guidance of the therapist. This is often referred to as the *self-control approach*. Moreover, CBT treatments are often *individualized* or tailored to the unique characteristics of the client and to the maintaining conditions of his or her problem behavior.

Second, CBT interventions are typically delivered in a *stepwise progression*—they begin with simple, minimally threatening tasks and progress to harder tasks. To illustrate, many structured curricula teach basic social skills (e.g., active listening) before instructing clients on more challenging or complex social skills with multiple steps or components (e.g., conflict resolution or problem solving). Similarly, clients might be asked to practice a new coping skill in less threatening or “easier” situations before applying the skill to more difficult ones. This is also referred to as *graduated rehearsal*.

Another common characteristic of CBT interventions is that treatment is designed to be *brief* and *time limited*. In fact, CBT generally involves fewer therapy sessions and less overall time in comparison with other psychotherapies. It should be noted, however, that the length of treatment often varies with the problem being treated; it is not uncommon for more complex or severe problems to require additional time and sessions. To illustrate, Samuel Turner, Deborah Beidel, and Rolf Jacob reported that the average number of hours required to treat specific phobias (considered to be a less complex condition) was 13.4, compared with 46.4 for obsessive-compulsive disorder (considered to be a more complex condition). In the field of corrections, research on the appropriate “dosage” of treatment is still underdeveloped. The results of meta-analyses (or quantitative syntheses of the literature) have suggested that the intensity of treatment should be varied by the risk and need level of the offender, and should last between 3 and 9 months. This makes CBT a practical approach to the treatment of offenders, given the constraints associated with delivering interventions within the context of the criminal justice system. A more recent study conducted by Guy Bourgon and Barbara Armstrong suggested that 100 hours of treatment is sufficient for offenders who are assessed as moderate risk or possess few

criminogenic needs, whereas 200 hours of treatment is required for offenders who are assessed as high risk or possess multiple criminogenic needs. For offenders who are both high risk and possess multiple needs, more than 300 hours is likely needed.

It is also worth noting that CBT approaches stress the importance of developing a therapist–client relationship that is based upon openness, warmth, and empathy, with a firm but fair application of reinforcement contingencies. Ongoing research in the area of corrections also underscores the importance of the quality of the therapeutic relationship between the offender and the agent of change. For example, Jennifer Skeem and her colleagues surveyed probationers mandated to psychiatric treatment and found that the quality of the therapist–client relationship predicted future compliance with rules (i.e., fewer probation violations and revocations).

The advantages of a good therapist–client relationship are numerous. For example, it enhances clients' positive expectations about treatment, increases homework and treatment compliance, and improves the reinforcement value of the therapist's praise and approval. Spiegler and Guevremont describe the therapist–client relationship as a “necessary but not sufficient condition of treatment,” meaning that, while the therapist should foster a collaborative effort with the client, it is not the focus; the therapist must also possess the requisite knowledge and skills to implement competent intervention strategies consistent with the CBT approach.

Application to Offender Population

There are three general classes of CBT commonly applied to offender populations. While these general classes of intervention strategies are briefly introduced in what follows, it should not be considered an exhaustive list. It is also important to note that these techniques overlap, and specific strategies are often combined into *treatment packages* in order to address the individual needs of offenders.

1. *Operant conditioning.* Most behavioral treatments with offenders are based on the principle of operant conditioning, whereby prosocial behavior

is immediately reinforced and antisocial behavior is punished or ignored. This is often referred to as *contingency management*. For example, many correctional settings employ token economies in which offenders earn points for engaging in prosocial behaviors. Points can then be exchanged for back-up reinforcers. Classical conditioning is also used in correctional settings, as in the treatment of deviant sexual behaviors or substance abuse, but these applications are more limited and less common.

2. *Social learning.* Social learning programs rely extensively on modeling appropriate behaviors so that offenders can learn through observation and practice. Planned modeling activities often involve defining the behavior, demonstrating the behavior, and then having the offender engage in behavioral rehearsal to develop a sense of self-efficacy.

3. *Cognitive therapy.* Cognitive therapists employ a variety of techniques, such as cognitive restructuring, problem solving, and moral reasoning, to target offenders' antisocial attitudes and values.

Empirical Support for Use With Offenders

The use of CBT has proliferated over the past 25 years, and it continues to evolve as a set of techniques. The continued growth and expansion of CBT is attributable, at least in part, to the fact that this approach has received considerable empirical support in the treatment of a variety of clinical and nonclinical problems, including psychotic disorders, mood disorders, anxiety disorders, personality disorders, parenting skills, substance abuse, and criminal behavior, to name only a few. Within correctional settings, CBT has been most successful when it has been used to target the criminogenic needs (i.e., attitudes, behaviors, personality factors, and life circumstances that contribute to criminality) of higher-risk offenders. In other words, CBT programs are designed to teach offenders prosocial skills that will reduce criminal behaviors. It has become commonplace for CBT program strategies to be used in prisons and community-based correctional facilities, although program integrity is a concern in these settings. It should also be noted that CBT is used in individual therapy as well as group settings.

One of the first meta-analyses on the effectiveness of CBT with offender populations was conducted by D. A. Andrews, Ivan Zinger, Robert Hoge, James Bonta, Paul Gendreau, and Francis Cullen. This research group reviewed a total of 124 treatment comparisons and found that behavioral treatments produced a substantially greater average effect on recidivism in comparison with nonbehavioral treatments ($r = .29$, $k = 41$ vs. $r = .04$, $k = 113$). More than 20 subsequent meta-analyses have compared the effectiveness of various treatment modalities with offender populations, and the results have *consistently* favored cognitive-behavioral interventions over other treatment modalities. For example, Paula Smith, Paul Gendreau, and Kristin Swartz recently summarized the results of meta-analyses in the area of corrections and found that approximately 73% (or 16/22) of meta-analytical studies on the effectiveness of CBT produced estimates greater than $r = .15$. Using the binomial effect size display (BESD) statistic, an $r = .15$ can be interpreted as a 15% reduction in recidivism for the treatment condition over the control condition. In contrast, “other” (i.e., nonbehavioral) treatment modalities were associated with much smaller reductions in recidivism (mean r values ranging from .01 to .19). In fact, Smith and her colleagues determined that 88% (or 7/8) of these estimates were less than $r = .15$.

Paula Smith

See also Offender-Based Programs; Treating Violent Offenders

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COGNITIVE MAPPING

Cognitive mapping, also referred to as mental mapping, is an activity undertaken by all species. This activity may be thought of as a coping mechanism that is used to help us decide where we need to go within our environment and how we should get there. Though the first study of cognitive mapping was published in 1913 by C. C. Trowbridge, the roots of academic exploration of cognitive mapping are commonly placed in cognitive psychology. In studies of the cognitive abilities of rats, Edward Tolman found the time the rats took to get to the food source in a maze decreased rather sharply and quickly, indicating that the rats learned the layout of the maze. In other words, they formed a cognitive, or mental, map of maze to facilitate their finding subsistence. Though geographers often claim that cognitive mapping is a subfield of geography, contained within behavioral geography, cognitive mapping is best understood as a component of the field of ecology.

Ecology is the study of how organisms, such as humans, adapt to an ever-changing and sometimes hostile environment. Because of our social, biological, and cultural needs, we have routine activities that we perform within our environment. Our environment, however, is very complex, and we must have a method of organizing all of this environmental information. Therefore, environmental cognition (cognitive mapping) is as old as life itself

because we must perceive our environment in order to survive within it. This entry defines the process of cognitive mapping, the output of cognitive mapping (the cognitive map), and how cognitive mapping may be used to understand crime and victimization.

The Process of Cognitive Mapping

Cognitive mapping begins with the acquisition of spatial knowledge. Kevin Lynch has outlined the three fundamental components of our spatial knowledge: landmarks, activity nodes, and pathways. Landmarks are discrete locations within our environment, such as an intersection, a building, or some other identifiable object within our environment; activity nodes may be thought of as areas in which we spend our time, such as shopping malls or markets, entertainment districts, or industrial districts; and pathways are the ways in which we move from activity node to activity node and landmark to landmark. Because the information we gather for the landmarks, activity nodes, and pathways is spatial, we are subsequently able to form the topographical relationships of these components to create cognitive maps.

The Cognitive Map

The cognitive map, also referred to as the mental map, is a representation of our environment used to guide the ways in which we move through that environment. Thus in order to get to work we must move from one activity node to another activity node, and the best method of such a movement is along a particular pathway. Consequently, cognitive maps simultaneously define and limit our actions.

Stephen Kaplan lists the four elements that are the minimum requirement for our cognitive maps to be functional. First, we need to be able to recognize where we are and identify “common” objects within the environment; such common objects would be particular types of buildings, roads, and other pathways. Second, we need to know what leads to what and where; in other words, how should we travel from one place to another—we need to understand locations, direction, and distance. Third, we need to be able to learn and modify our cognitive maps as necessary, because a

static cognitive map quickly becomes nonfunctional, particularly because of changes in our experiences within the environment. Fourth, based on any new information, we need to be willing to take new or alternative courses of action; in other words, we need to be willing to use our new updated cognitive map, not sticking to our old ways despite new spatial information.

As outlined by Roger Downs and David Stea, cognitive maps acquire, code, store, recall, and decode information regarding the relative locations or places within our environment. Because cognitive mapping is a process, cognitive maps are in a constant state of flux. However, particularly because many aspects of our environment change slowly, cognitive maps are relatively fixed for extended periods of time. Cognitive maps are subject to change, but only when new spatial information we deem essential for our survival is obtained. Our current cognitive maps are also necessarily incomplete because they only contain information relevant to each individual. As such, cognitive maps are a distorted view of reality (our perceptions) that are altered through new primary information (direct experience) as well as new secondary information (spatial knowledge obtained from others or data such as maps and the media). Cognitive mapping involves gathering information about not only the location and items within our environment but also the events and experiences that occur within that environment, and the latter may distort our perception of reality.

The Cognitive Map as a Cartogram

A cartogram is a form of spatial visualization that purposefully distorts standard planimetric maps of our environment. This distortion, however, is performed to convey the importance of particular spatial information. For example, a relatively small geographic area that contains a very large number of people (an urban center with many high-rise buildings) can be expanded to represent the volume of people in the area rather than the geographic area, and there will be a corresponding reduction in the size of areas that contain very few people. A cognitive map operates on a similar principle: an individual's spatial knowledge. Those places for which an individual has a lot of spatial

knowledge are represented in that individual's cognitive map as being rather large, whereas those places for which an individual has very little spatial knowledge are represented in the cognitive map as being small.

This analogy is instructive for understanding why our cognitive maps are always incomplete, and why cognitive maps are relatively unique to each individual. Not all people have the same degree of spatial knowledge for all places. Therefore, different areas of individuals' cognitive maps are disproportionately large and small. Moreover, even if two (or more) individuals have similar spatial knowledge regarding a particular location (the actual physical environment, such as buildings and roads), their experiences within that same place have been (and are) different such that no two individuals can have the same distorted view of that environment.

Because we have different degrees of spatial knowledge of the locations within our environment, we do not frequent all locations within our environment. This is why our cognitive map both defines and limits our movements; whenever possible, we go to and move through places we know. This characteristic of our behavior has implications for crime and victimization.

Cognitive Mapping and Crime

The behavior resulting from cognitive maps affects both victimization and offending patterns. Once we leave the relatively protective environment of the home, we are much more vulnerable to criminal victimization. Therefore, because our cognitive maps define where we spend most of our time, they also define where we are most likely to become victims of crime. With regard to offending, once the decision to offend has been made, potential offenders will search out and evaluate targets using their cognitive maps. Just like any other activity, the search for criminal targets occurs within the portions of the environment that are most familiar to the offender. Only if suitable targets are not found or exhausted will a potential offender expand his or her horizons.

Paul and Patricia Brantingham formulated their geometric theory of crime using concepts very similar to those of the cognitive map. Invoking the

concepts of activity nodes and pathways, they theorized about our awareness and activity spaces; awareness space consists of the places for we have spatial knowledge and activity space consists of the places we move through and spend our time. As such, awareness and activity spaces would be the areas on our cognitive map that are disproportionately large. Though this is an oversimplification of the geometric theory of crime, when the activity spaces of a potential offender and potential victim intersect, there is great potential for criminal victimization. In other words, if the disproportionately large areas of a potential offender's cognitive map intersect to a significant degree with the disproportionately large areas of a potential victim's cognitive map, the probability of criminal victimization is greater. This greater probability is present because the offender and victim spend significant portions of their time in close proximity to each other, operating within the same area. It is important to note that spatial knowledge is not necessarily positive; rather, spatial knowledge may very well be negative, meaning that an individual does not feel comfortable at a particular location.

Cognitive Mapping and the Fear of Crime

If an individual does not feel comfortable in a particular place, it is often stated that the individual has a fear of place. When that fear is related to crime, it is a fear of crime. This fear of crime is part of our cognitive maps and is related both to the objective aspects (physical environment) and our individual experiences (prior victimization, for example).

As outlined by Patricia Gilmartin, perceived and actual distances depend on people's perception of the safety of a neighborhood. This holds for most people. There are also meaningful differences in the cognitive maps of men and women, young and old. These differences manifest themselves through differential levels of fear and perceptions of risk. Generally speaking, women and the elderly limit and/or alter their routine activities more than do men and the young, respectively. Women and men, young and old, feel safe and unsafe in different places at different times of the day. These different fears of crime, as all components of the cognitive map, are based on both primary and secondary

information. The end result is a vastly different cognitive map of the fear of crime for different groups of individuals. Consequently, cognitive maps are at once unique to individuals and shared by different groups of individuals.

Martin A. Andresen

See also Cognitive–Behavioral Therapy; Crime Mapping; Fear of Crime; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Hot Spots of Fear; Prospective Crime Mapping

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COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUS LEGISLATION, FEDERAL

The involvement of the federal government in how institutions of postsecondary education, including trade schools, colleges, and universities, deal with crime on their campuses has expanded greatly since the early 1990s in response to high-profile incidents of violence involving campus communities. The general focus of this activity has been to provide for the greater disclosure of security information so that campus community members can make informed decisions about avoiding and preventing criminal victimization.

Since 1990, the federal government has adopted laws requiring institutions to disclose information about crimes occurring on their campuses and about their security policies, and to afford certain rights to the victims of sex crimes. The government has also permitted institutions to disclose more crime-related information from educational records and expanded sex offender registration guidelines to capture information about campus enrollment and vocational status.

The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (Clery Act), first enacted as the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990 and amended in 1992, 1998, 2000, and 2008, has been the primary means of federal involvement in campus crime issues. It requires institutions to report crime statistics, alert the campus community to ongoing threats, disclose security policies through an annual security report, and, if they maintain either a police or security department, keep a public crime log. Both public and private institutions must comply with the Clery Act's requirements in order to be eligible to participate in the student financial aid programs authorized by the Higher Education Act of 1965. As of 2008 this included more than 6,000 individual institutions with 9,638 campuses.

Crime Reporting

Statistics

The Clery Act requires institutions to annually report statistics for certain serious crimes occurring on campus, on public property within and adjacent to campus, and on certain noncampus properties, including remote classrooms and student organization housing. The reporting protocols are based on those found in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, but they include several major differences. Most notably, institutions are obligated to collect and report crime data not only from campus and local police but also campus security and other campus officials, such as a dean of students. In addition, the act requires institutions to report the broader categories of forcible and nonforcible sex offenses that are drawn from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), as opposed to the narrower category of rape used by UCR Program. Institutions must also report criminal homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and arson as well as arrests or disciplinary referrals for liquor law violations, drug law violations, and illegal weapons possession. Three years' worth of statistics for these crimes, as well as hate crimes, are disclosed to current and prospective students and employees in an annual security report. Statistics are also submitted to the U.S. Department of Education each year and publicly disclosed on a searchable Web site.

Ongoing Disclosures

In addition to crime statistics, the Clery Act also requires institutions to make disclosures to the campus community on an ongoing basis. Every institution is required to issue timely warnings when a crime that must be reported in the statistics is considered to present an ongoing threat. Institutions that maintain a police or security department are also required to maintain a public crime log recording every crime reported to the police or security department, not just those reportable in the annual statistics. The public crime log is required to be updated within 2 business days and must be open for

inspection by any member of the public during regular business hours.

Policy Disclosures

Victims' Rights

In response to the wide scope of acquaintance rape and other forms of sexual assault in campus communities, the Clery Act was amended in 1992 to require institutions to adopt a sexual assault policy that addresses educational programming and affords victims certain basic rights. The "Campus Sexual Assault Victims' Bill of Rights" provisions require institutions to change a victim's academic and living arrangements after a sex crime if such accommodations are requested and reasonably available, among other things. If an institutional disciplinary proceeding is held in a sexual assault case, the accused and accuser are entitled to the same opportunity to have others, such as an attorney, present and to be unconditionally notified of the final results.

Security Procedures

The Clery Act also requires institutions to disclose statements of campus security policy in seven other areas in addition to sexual assault. Institutions must disclose summaries of their policies concerning crime reporting; the security of and access to campus facilities, including residence halls; the status of campus law enforcement; security awareness programming; crime prevention programming; drug and alcohol policies; and where information about registered sex offenders enrolled or working at the institution may be found such as a state Web site. Each of the required disclosures is included in an annual security report that must automatically be made available either on paper or online to current students and employees by October 1 of each year, as well as to prospective students and employees upon request.

Privacy of Educational Records

When the Campus Security Act was first adopted by Congress, it was found that approximately 80% of campus violence was student-on-student;

in response, Congress amended the federal law, the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), that governs the confidentiality of educational records so that there could be greater public disclosure of campus crime information. Congress initially permitted the disclosure of institutional disciplinary results to the victims of violent crimes but in 1992 restructured FERPA so that it would no longer restrict the disclosure of campus law enforcement records. In 1998 Congress further amended FERPA to permit the public disclosure of disciplinary results in cases of alleged violent crimes where there was a finding of responsibility.

S. Daniel Carter

See also Campus Crime, College and University; Campus Policing and Security; College and University Campus Legislation, State; Intimate Partner Violence; Megan's Law; National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUS LEGISLATION, STATE

With passage of the Student Right to Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 (20 USC 1092[f]; now known as the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act), Congress set federal policy concerning how postsecondary institutions should respond to campus crime and security. The Clery Act requires that all postsecondary institutions

eligible to receive federal financial aid prepare and make publicly available each year a security report containing information such as crime statistics for the campus, institutional policies for addressing on-campus sexual assaults, a description of the jurisdiction and authority of the campus police/security department, and other information. Given that states often follow the lead of Congress by passing statutes designed to address the same policy issue, be it public school education, immigration, or the "war on drugs," it would seem reasonable to assume that states would pass their own campus crime legislation.

In the case of campus crime and security, Michael C. Griffaton argued the states are uniquely situated to address the problem. Griffaton noted that while Congress could mandate *general* policies relating to campus crime, a *state* could pass legislation calling for specific policies, such as mandating that all colleges and universities compel incoming freshmen to complete an "orientation" about campus crime. Further, the states could bring additional sanctions against institutions who failed to comply, such as revoking their state-level accreditation or withholding state financial aid from them.

Because little systematic analysis of state-level campus legislation has been published, not much is known about these statutes. Griffaton found that a few states had passed such statutes and their provisions strongly paralleled those found in the Clery Act. More recently, Security On Campus, Inc. classified state-level statutes and identified which states' statutes fit into one or more the categories:

- Campus Crime Statistics Reporting Laws—Pennsylvania, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, California, New York, Massachusetts, Delaware, Wisconsin, Washington, Virginia, Connecticut, Texas and Kentucky
- Campus Crime Log Laws—Massachusetts, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Tennessee, California, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky
- Off-Campus Crime Reporting Laws—Tennessee and Georgia
- Campus Sex Offender Registration Requirements—California and Tennessee
- Campus Courts Disclosure Requirement—Tennessee

- Joint Investigation of Campus Murders and Rapes—Tennessee, South Carolina

As can be seen from the above scheme, there is wide variation in the substantive content of state-level campus crime legislation. Tennessee's statute, for example, contains provisions addressing multiple aspects of campus crime and security, while West Virginia's statute apparently addresses only the issue of campus crime "logs"—publicly available records of reported crimes occurring on campus.

In a recent comprehensive study of state-level campus crime legislation, John J. Sloan and Jessica Shoemaker not only identified states that had passed such legislation, but also assessed how closely the statutes adopted both the language and key provisions found in Clery. Specifically, Sloan and Shoemaker were interested in whether the state statutes required postsecondary institutions to (1) disseminate a multifaceted annual report on crime and security at the school, (2) annually report their campus crime statistics, (3) keep publicly accessible daily crime logs, (4) provide "timely warnings" to the campus community of crimes occurring on campus, (5) report the power and authority of campus police/security officials, and (6) report policies relating to on-campus sexual assaults. Finally, they also examined whether state legislation included sanctions for institutional noncompliance, and if so, what form they took.

Sloan and Shoemaker determined that, as of late 2006, 31 states (60%) had passed what appeared to be Clery-type legislation that could be divided into two categories: "true" Clery-type statutes that were relatively comprehensive in their provisions and "enabling legislation" that states passed and that made it possible for colleges and universities to create campus police/security departments and define their powers. Sloan and Shoemaker identified 19 states as having "true" Clery-type legislation (California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin), and 12 states that had passed the less comprehensive "enabling legislation" (Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Montana,

North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Texas).

Further analysis by Sloan and Shoemaker revealed that among the 19 states with "true" Clery-style legislation, two states' statutes (those of California and Pennsylvania) contained at least five of the seven key Clery provisions, eight states' statutes contained at least three provisions, and four states' statutes contained two Clery provisions. None of the states included provisions for sanctions for institutional noncompliance. Thus, of the 31 states Sloan and Shoemaker initially identified as having passed Clery-type legislation, very few states' statutes could be considered comprehensive in scope, and 12 states had statutes that provided the legal framework necessary to create campus police/security agencies on college campuses.

Sloan and Shoemaker ultimately concluded that because so few states had actually passed even halfway comprehensive statutes, along with the fact none included sanctions for institutional violators, state-level campus crime legislation represented little more than "symbolic public policy" and would likely have little substantive effect on how postsecondary institutions addressed issues of crime and security on their campuses.

John J. Sloan

See also College and University Campus Legislation, Federal; School Violence

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Web Sites

Security On Campus, Inc.: <http://www.securityoncampusinc.org>

COMMUNITY ANTIDRUG PROGRAMS

Community antidrug programs are efforts by citizens to thwart drug activity in their neighborhoods, usually in response to the inability of the government and law enforcement to control crime and illegal drug sales in their neighborhoods. This entry begins with an overview of illegal drug selling, then focuses on the issue of outdoor drug sales, and concludes with a discussion of citizen-based strategies for combating such drug sales, including some examples of successful programs.

Illegal Drug Selling

Illegal Drug Use and Its Consequences

Illegal drug use in the United States poses a serious threat to public health and safety, and has a wide range of pernicious effects on individuals, families, and communities. From 1985 to 2001, national surveys found consistently that Americans list “drugs” among the top 10 problems facing the country. Illegal drug use can lead to life-altering and frequently fatal consequences, including overdoses, infectious diseases (e.g., HIV disease, hepatitis, and tuberculosis), premature aging, accidents, and crippling addictions. Illegal drug use also places a tremendous strain on the nation’s health care system and increases the cost of health care for all Americans. Rampant illegal drug use and sales further accelerate the spiral of decline in inner-city neighborhoods that are already isolated and impoverished.

Demand Reduction

For nearly a century, the federal government has engaged in an array of enforcement activities to stem the production, distribution, and sale of illicit substances. Overall, these efforts have failed to reduce the demand or supply of drugs. Moreover, they have led to deleterious collateral consequences. Still, these efforts have persisted despite the lack of evidence supporting their effectiveness. Most antidrug strategies are implemented at the street level; they are usually

conducted by special units of police officers and involve the arrest of low-level drug sellers and people in possession of small quantities of illicit substances.

Since the 1980s, an overwhelming emphasis on law enforcement strategies to combat illegal drug use and sales has resulted in dramatic increases in the nation’s arrest and incarceration rates. The enforcement of drug laws has been highly rigorous, extremely punitive, and exceedingly expensive, both in criminal justice and in social costs. During the first half of 2006 alone, the war on drugs cost federal and state governments more than \$30 billion. In addition, drug law enforcement activities have contributed substantially to the costs of building and maintaining prisons, the number of which has increased fourfold in the past 20 years.

Outdoor Drug Sales

Drug Profits

The sale of illegal drugs in the United States is extremely profitable, earning an estimated \$60 billion, and catering to at least 16 million customers annually. In underclass communities with scant economic and employment opportunities, the drug trade offers one of the few options for a steady income. Drug sales in poor neighborhoods are more likely to occur in open-air drug markets—on streets and in parks—whereas drug sales in suburban neighborhoods are more likely to take place indoors, in private settings.

Neighborhood Disorder

Street corner drug selling and its corollaries are highly disruptive to neighborhood safety and stability. Outdoor drug markets, characterized by a steady stream of pedestrian and car traffic, are frequented by nonresident and indigenous drug users, who transit the neighborhood for minor purchases. The people who live near these drug markets view drug buyers as unwelcome interlopers who make it extremely difficult for them to leave home or park on own their property without experiencing inconvenience or risking potential conflicts with drug buyers or sellers. Open-air drug

sales may force residents to remain locked in their homes as prisoners of fear.

Flagrant drug markets depend heavily on the ability of customers to patronize a well-known, consistent, and safe location to complete their drug transactions. Drug sellers are careful to choose spots that are easily accessible to customers and have several escape routes that help protect them and their customers from law enforcement authorities or rival drug dealers. Open-air drug markets are commonly found on littered streets with empty lots, abandoned buildings, liquor stores, and take-out food establishments. They thrive on poorly lit streets and in dark alleys, and are often situated near public housing developments where drug sellers can hide from the police or their drug-selling competitors.

Local drug buyers sometimes loiter on the streets, using their drugs before they leave or haggling with sellers about the cost and quality of the substances. These disputes can turn violent and affect innocent bystanders who are unwittingly and unwittingly caught in the conflict. Those who want to earn money to purchase drugs might perform sexual acts near the site of drug selling. They might also engage in sex acts with drug sellers in exchange for the substance. Thus, outdoor prostitution becomes another disruptive criminal activity that reduces the quality of life in neighborhoods plagued by flagrant drug markets.

One of the most threatening aspects of drug sales to community safety is the systemic violence that occurs among drug sellers who are fighting with one another to control the local drug market. This violence is most likely to erupt into pitched battles when sales are controlled by rival street gangs, which is common in large urban areas and when a new drug is introduced into the market.

Police Tactics to Combat Outdoor Sales

Open-air drug sales are easier for police officers to investigate and target for sting or reverse-sting operations than are private, indoor drug sales. In sting operations, the police pose as drug sellers in established sales locations; customers are arrested shortly after the purchase. In reverse-sting operations, police officers pose as customers; following the transaction, officers arrest the sellers and confiscate their cache of drugs and money as evidence. Undercover operations

are more likely to be conducted in unstable and loosely knit lower-class neighborhoods rather than in more stable and close-knit middle- or working-class neighborhoods, where the undercover officers would be more conspicuous.

As noted above, public drug sales are highly disruptive to the social order in poor neighborhoods; hence, they elicit a plethora of calls for police services. Arrests are a gauge of police performance and effectiveness at both the individual officer and department levels. Neighborhood sweeps of drug sellers, in which police saturate the streets and arrest several people complicit in the drug trade, and sting operations that net numerous arrests of buyers and sellers, bring public and media accolades to the police. Therefore, the concentration of drug enforcement efforts in poor neighborhoods makes tactical sense and signifies greater police responsiveness and sensitivity to residents' concerns about safety and public order.

Despite these massive efforts and expenditures, little evidence supports the conclusion that the passage and street-level enforcement of stringent drug laws through sweeps and buy-and-bust operations have reduced illegal drug use and sales or any other types of crime. The effects of these strategies are generally short-lived and result simply in the displacement of drug selling from one street corner to the next. Frustrated by police inability to control crime and drug sales in their neighborhoods, citizens have taken the lead in launching community antidrug programs based on generic community crime prevention models.

Citizen-Based Antidrug Strategies

Community Crime Prevention

Community crime prevention programs built their foundations during the Johnson Administration. Thus crime reduction became one of the top priorities of community organizations. The popularity of the community programs stemmed from the public's realization that the police alone are unable to control crime and must depend on citizens to supply them with the information necessary to solve crimes. In fact, research showed that simply putting more police on the streets and improving crime-solving technology was not enough to lower

crime, which grew at unprecedented rates from the 1960s through the early 1990s.

Community crime prevention programs were implemented in the 1970s to prevent street crime and residential burglary. These programs were based on the principle of informal social control, which suggests that crime reduction is a by-product of social processes, such as the rigorous enforcement of social norms, the inculcation of a stronger sense of community, and the empowerment of citizens to solve their own problems (collective efficacy). They were also based on the opportunity reduction approach to crime prevention, which encourages residents to adopt deterrent measures to reduce their vulnerability to criminal victimization. Determined citizen activities to combat crime and disorder embodied widespread sentiments, such as “citizens have to be the eyes and ears of the police,” “by themselves, the police are losing the war against crime,” and “it’s time we fought back to regain control of our neighborhoods from the criminals and the dope dealers.” Community crime prevention programs assumed various forms that included resident patrols, block watch programs, property-marking projects, home security surveys, and police-community councils.

Program Theory and Practice

With the emergence of flagrant drug markets in the mid-1980s and early 1990s, community crime prevention programs began to focus on the eradication of street corner drug sales. The direct involvement of community residents in antidrug initiatives can be an effective strategy for combating outdoor drug selling. Community antidrug programs encourage residents to regain a sense of informal social control and collective efficacy, both of which lower crime and increase residents’ feelings of safety and belonging. By joining community antidrug programs, residents are expressing their duty to protect themselves, their families, and their neighbors from criminal activities and other disruptive and deviant behaviors that decrease residents’ well-being and freedom.

Citizen-based antidrug initiatives employ an assortment of tactics to interfere with drug sales; these vary in terms of their aggressiveness and dependence on law enforcement. For example,

citizens who belong to traditional Neighborhood Watch Programs call the police or anonymous tip lines whenever they witness drug sales. Others provide police with more detailed reports about drug transactions, which can be delivered during beat meetings—a component of community policing programs. Such programs encourage citizens and police officers to work in problem-solving partnerships to combat drug sales. Beat meetings also allow civilians to hold the police accountable for their actions (or inactions) in thwarting drug sales in the community.

A few citizens have engaged in independent activities to interrupt drug transactions. These include slowly driving past outdoor drug markets and calling attention to the drug dealing by broadcasting a running commentary of the activities through a megaphone. This public harassment steers both customers and sellers away from the site, the success of which depends, in part, on preserving the surreptitious nature of the business enterprise. Such noisy disruptions can also compel the police to take action.

Another proactive and potentially dangerous antidrug approach is for residents to record the license plate numbers and descriptions of the vehicles of drug buyers, calling the information into the police immediately so that they can arrest the buyers with the drugs still in their possession. Other citizen-initiated antidrug efforts consist of less conspicuous but highly coordinated neighborhood patrols. In these programs, civilians identify hot spots of criminal activity and drug selling, and communicate the locations of the troublesome areas on police-band radios.

Successful Programs

Implemented in diverse communities during the 1980s, four extraordinary citizen-based antidrug programs showed that they can be an effective mechanism for increasing the willingness of residents to report drug transactions and join the police in cooperative efforts for controlling crime and drug dealing at the street level. These programs produced significant, positive changes in citizens’ perceptions of crime, social cohesion and control, and signs of physical decay in the neighborhood. Notable among these are Operation Push-Out-the-Pusher in Miami, which encouraged

citizens to call the police to report drug-related information and to forge partnerships with police officers working in narcotics units; Operation Results in Seattle, which used mobile citizen patrols in areas of drug selling; Let's Clean It Up in Philadelphia, which established a phone tree for reporting drug activity; and Citizens on Patrol in Baltimore, which used CB radios to inform police about suspected drug sales.

Program Limitations

Already besieged by many other social and economic challenges, low-income, high-crime communities, where visible drug use, drug sales, and signs of disorder are most prevalent, typically struggle with launching and sustaining antidrug projects. In general, community anticrime programs are most successful in affluent, stable, residential communities with less severe crime problems. In most poor neighborhoods, only about 10% of community residents actually participate in such activities. Many people do not become involved in antidrug programs because of apathy, distrust of the police, denial of the drug problem, tolerance for drug use, or fear of retaliation from drug sellers and gang members. Nonetheless, proactive citizen attempts to take back the streets from drug dealers can exert a favorable influence on the quality of life in urban communities even when undertaken by a small number of residents.

Arthur J. Lurigio and Justyna Lenik

See also Citizen Patrols; Crime Prevention; Drug Use Forecasting/Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring; Neighborhood Watch Programs; Substance Abuse, Prevention of; Substance Abuse, Treatment of

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COMMUNITY POLICING

Community policing “reforms” have sought to provide the police with greater public acceptance and political grounding. These reforms were created over time and came together in the 1990s under the umbrella of “community policing” (which is also called community-oriented policing). At that time, it had become clear that other 20th-century police efforts—the “wars” waged by the police on crime, drugs, and youth participation in violence—were not working as intended. Herman Goldstein, arguably the architect of modern community and problem-oriented policing, suggested that the police often emphasized means over ends—that is, arrest over community safety, or the number of calls for service responded to as opposed to the underlying problems that produced the need for those responses. This means-ends inversion resulted in the police and the public talking past one another, with the police concentrating on effort and the public on effect.

Moreover, Goldstein emphasized that the police acting alone rarely had sustainable results. That is to say, the police rarely touched the “root” problems of crime and social disorder, responding instead to “branch problems,” visible crime, and social disorder in public settings. Without attachments to other institutions of social control (e.g., the community, civic groups, other government agencies, and the like), the police were often relegated to the role of “picking up the pieces” after

events had already occurred. Reactive policing was shaped more by the public's willingness to call the police than by police-derived interventions. And, when the police sought to become more "proactive" in their crime prevention and suppression activities, they invariably confronted a level of public resistance to what was perceived as "police overzealousness."

Goldstein's ideas shaped a generation of reform that emphasized a broader communal role for the police, and particularly the use of partnerships and problem solving. The idea of community policing emerged from Goldstein's critique—it represented a sharp detour from conventional police crime-attack approaches, and it set the stage for decades of experimentation on police practices.

Thinking About Policing History

Throughout modern history, policing in democratic societies has observed a palpable tension between police extension of formal social control into communal life and the level of acceptance that the general public accords the police in making such extensions. Generally speaking, the community wants visible, civil, and unobtrusive policing, wherever possible. The police, however, are asked to intervene often in the civic life of individuals, and sometimes in that of groups. The attempt to balance proactive police action and civic legitimacy was discernable throughout the 20th century, which was the period when policing became more formal. This was the case in the United States as well as much of the Western world.

At differing intervals throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the overextension of police interventions has resulted in large-scale civic protest. In the period preceding the Civil War, the police often served as slave patrols. In big cities the police were also most responsible for dealing with large waves of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Here the police had an important role in providing order and safety in immigrant tenements in large U.S. cities like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston. At the beginning of the 20th century the police were used to break union organized strikes and enforce management and property laws. From this period into the 1950s, the police were also used to enforce racial segregation and Jim Crow Laws. In each of

these periods, the police in the United States were often distant from those policed, and were often pitted against the disenfranchised and newly arrived immigrants.

In the 1960s and 1970s the police were confronted by a powerful youth culture, the civil rights movement, and antiwar protests whose participants' goal was "taking it to the streets." This resulted in an era of unprecedented civil disobedience. In the 1970s and 1980s the police "war on drugs" witnessed an era of the most aggressive police interventions, often in the poorest neighborhoods. The "war" rhetoric has been part of the domestic scene in the United States for many generations, having gained prominence in the Johnson administration as the "war on poverty." This was then extended to a "war on drugs" that continues today. Since the 1980s, the war metaphor has been extended to gang activity and violence as well. Thus the latter half of the 20th century witnessed a growing gulf between the police and those policed, most especially when those policed were persons of color.

In the late 20th century and moving into the 21st century, policing in Western democracies has had to more fully confront the incongruities of past policing practices, namely those that seemed to further alienate the public from the institution of policing. Beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present, the police as a social and formal institution have been the target of ongoing reforms and change. These reforms came together in the 1990s under the umbrella of community policing.

Roots of Community Policing

The roots of community policing can be found in the late 1940s and into the 1950s, when police leaders and academics began to focus on police race relations. Gordon Allport and Louis Radelet argued that improvements in race relations, especially with the police, required a closer examination of prejudice itself, as well as thinking more broadly about police and community relations. Racial communities had been long segregated in American society, and by 1960 these communities often became the places in which urban riots erupted, typically following some overt police action.

Radelet and his successors argued that the police needed to build bridges with communities,

especially communities that were racially and economically segregated from mainstream American society. This conception of police and community interaction, and indeed the overlapping social control roles of these groups, comported well with ideas introduced by Sir Robert Peel a century earlier during the formation of the Metropolitan Police of London in 1827. These included the statement that “the police are the public and the public the police,” meaning that the police in Britain were rooted in a rather homogeneous society where the police and public accepted the legitimacy of law and government policing in practice.

From their inception in the mid-1800s in cities such as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, among others, the police struggled with public acceptance. The role of the U.S. police in enforcing slavery and property rights, and in dealing with the waves of migration that occurred from the late 19th century into the 20th century, as well as police ties to the emerging political machines forming in major cities across the United States, left the public quite wary of the local police.

In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, race relations, particularly in the United States, were quite difficult. Crime in urban communities was often associated with the poorest and non-White sections of cities, and police actions taken in these communities often precipitated massive social disorder. The National Commission on Civil Disorders of 1968 attributed much of the urban strife that cities witnessed to actions taken by the police, which ignited large-scale riots and social disorder. However, the commission was careful to state that the police actions alone did not account for massive rioting, but rather, that it was deep frustration with racism that was often enflamed in these communities by police actions. The tensions between White and Black America were pronounced, and the divisions deep.

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, the police and academics searched for ways to make the police more effective and the community more sensitive. Studies of police patrol practices and criminal investigations showed that the police were less effective than previously thought, and assessments of police and community interactions often portrayed the police as socially distant and more often than not disdainful of minorities. Increasing drug crime and violent crime in the

mid-1980s called attention to thinking about new ways of policing. Experiments in “team policing” in the 1970s and 1980s spawned a wave of research on alternative policing modes, such as foot patrol and community policing.

Since the late 1980s, community policing and problem solving have grown rather exponentially, with significant federal investment in both. That investment included a commitment by the Clinton Administration to put 100,000 community police officers in America’s cities and towns, and the creation of an office for community-oriented policing (COPS) that has invested more than \$9 billion in community policing programs.

Elements of Community Policing

At its base, community policing is focused on three things. First, it seeks to move the police from a reactive approach to addressing crime and community disorder to one that emphasizes prevention. Much of 20th-century policing was rooted in notions of deterrence and apprehension. Under this orientation the police often reacted to crime situations after they had occurred, and applied a limited range of interventions, such as saturation patrol or aggressive street tactics, to address visible crime problems occurring in public places.

Second, in moving to a preventive approach, community policing seeks to better understand and then address discrete community crime and social order problems. Historically, the police were rather unanalytical about their approach to dealing with these issues. Ideas about the effects of random patrolling suggested that the police were not deployed for prevention, or for deterrence, for that matter. Random patrolling was simply that—random. However, targeted patrolling, on foot or in vehicles, with community partners could see the connection between what crime was occurring (any why) and what the police and others could do about it.

Third, under the community policing philosophy and practice the police are expected to develop a range of partnerships between the police and civic groups, other government agencies, and, where appropriate, the private sector. Such partnerships are meant to broaden the information coming to the police and the range of interventions that may be available to address discrete problems.

Moreover, such partnerships may also suggest that institutions other than the police actually may be more effective in preventing or addressing specific kinds of crime and social order problems.

Thus community policing seeks to better align the police with their community, the government, and organizations in order to prevent crime and to ensure that communities feel and are safe. This is done through a more open process of communication, and the development of strategies and programs that mobilize and leverage community participation in the crime and social order discourse.

Community policing is an umbrella concept, which has also spawned several allied policing strategies, including problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing. Each seeks to make the police more analytical in what they do to address crime and social order problems, and each seeks a broader array of partners with whom the police can work to address these issues.

Effectiveness of Community Policing

This question has proved difficult to answer. During the 1980s and 1990s and into the 21st century, when there was considerable investment in community policing strategies, programs, and tactics, there was not a corresponding rigor in the assessment of these efforts. In some ways the advocacy for community policing approaches outstripped thorough analysis of the consequences and impacts of such a strategy shift for the police.

Nonetheless, in evaluating the effectiveness of police strategies and tactics, the National Research Council had this to say about community policing:

It is particularly instructive that community policing strategies may be effective . . . the research available suggests that when the police partner more generally with the public, levels of citizen fear will decline. Moreover, when the police are able to gain wider legitimacy among citizens and offenders, non-experimental evidence suggests that the likelihood of offending will be reduced. . . . There is greater and more consistent evidence, although it is based on non-experimental studies, that focused strategies drawing on an array of non law enforcement tactics can also be effective in reducing crime and disorder. (pp. 250–251)

Interestingly, while it is difficult to measure and demonstrate the crime control capacities of community policing remain problematic, the “community building” and “fear reduction” impacts of such efforts are clear. And these are the areas on which community policing was originally conceived to have the greatest effect. That is to say, the crime control functions of community policing are difficult to establish independent from a renewed civic attachment to the legitimacy of the police. If the police are to be effective, they must first be accepted and seen as legitimate by those being policed.

Perhaps what can be said about community policing in contrast to more conventional police strategies is that it performs about as well as the “crime attack” model, while incurring few of its negative ramifications. Research on community policing suggests several things.

First, community policing has been difficult to implement fully in police agencies, as the structures and cultures of the police have been difficult to substantially alter. For nearly a century, policing in the United States embraced a crime-control and crime-attack posture. Communities were not seen as a central partner to policing; rather, communities—particularly racial and poor communities—were the targets of police interventions. The mind-set of crime attack and the police organizational structures that have grown up around that idea have been difficult to reshape. While police departments across the United States preach the philosophy of community policing, their structures and cultures are not entirely supportive of such fundamental changes in policing.

Second, since many of the anticipated outcomes of community policing interventions involve the perceptions and feelings of the community, the measurement of these effects has been difficult to understand. In some important ways, community policing has been about social affect—the way communities feel about themselves and “community quality of life.” How communities become more self-reliant and engaged through community policing and other social interventions is not particularly clear, yet we do know that, generally speaking, socially disorganized communities lack the capacity to resist crime.

Third, the history of assessment of community policing includes studies with little scientific rigor, making the findings achieved less compelling. As

previously indicated, the advocacy for community policing often outstripped rigorous analysis of how such efforts were conceptualized and implemented and the effects of such implementation. Today, police research has moved more toward evidence-based arguments and the need to clearly evaluate policing strategies consistent with scientific method.

Finally, community policing was implemented in late 1980s and beyond, in an environment in which crime was already declining, which has made assessing whether the decline in crime is associated with community policing or other larger social trends more difficult. There is an old adage that when crime goes down it has many parents, but when it goes up it is an orphan. Such is the case with the advent of community policing as a major strategy for the police across America. Disentangling the effects of the economy, social shifts in population, the decline in those between the ages of 14 and 24, and the like from what the police do in social communities is a difficult process. Nonetheless, improvements in community assessments of social capital and community levels of organization provide opportunities to link such changes to the interventions of the police, and hence the contributions that community policing can make to increasing community orderliness and safety.

Future of Community Policing

Early in its development, community policing was criticized as being more rhetoric than reality. As community policing was first promulgated as a “philosophy” rather than a coherent set of practices, shifts in rhetoric associated with a changing policing world substantially preceded intended and actual changes. In the early stages of its development, and indeed continuing well into the 21st century, community policing was seen as an “umbrella concept” incorporating concerns for community engagement, proactive policing, and problem solving.

Over the past several years, community policing has been shown to have important effects on public perceptions of neighborhood safety, as well as to increase public acceptance and even support of local police. Community policing’s impact on crime and its allied program of problem solving have been less clearly demonstrated, but when the

police do concentrate on specific crime or social disorder problems in a restricted area of the community, they do have a modest impact on these concerns, albeit often for a limited time. This said, it is clear that community policing does have an impact on improving community assessment and a “voice” in defining crime and social problems most affecting the communities it serves, and that assessment of improvements in community quality of life and police practice generally improve under community policing.

As the United States and other Western democracies have indeed shifted the police role to include matters of internal security, the connections between the police and those policed are likely to once again be strained. The partnerships and other connections that the police have made in the community via community policing are likely important hedges in how those tensions play out in the coming years. In that sense, community policing may indeed be an important mediating factor in such relationships.

Jack R. Greene

See also Problem-Oriented Policing

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COMPARATIVE VICTIMOLOGY

The term *comparative victimology* means the analysis of victimological subthemes like victim behaviors, victimizations, victim rights, and victim services, which are the same or unique in different cultures, societies, and nations. This perspective helps victimologists understand to what extent the victim behaviors of individuals or groups are universal and common to all humans and to what extent they are by-products of different physical and social environments.

This entry discusses the concept's two terms, *comparative* and *victimology*; the origins of the comparative approach; and how comparative victimology has been applied. It concludes by describing how the concept affects victimology today and will likely affect it in the future.

Definition

The words *comparative* and *victimology* require clarification separately and then as a complete concept. In academia, "comparative" concepts become better regulated through disciplined analysis. Through the process of induction and deduction, abstract information is collected and analyzed and allows scientists to learn unique forms of pioneering knowledge and speculative inquiry. In the social sciences, the word *comparative* usually refers to an evaluation between and among social forces, individual behaviors, groups of persons, research methods, public policies, theories, cultures, and so on. Perhaps the most common application of the word *comparative* in the social sciences is to research, especially to explain the similarities and differences in cross-cultural, cross-societal, and cross-national findings. These forms of information processing allow social scientists to discover facts about human social life that can be generalized to all people. The power to discriminate is greatly enhanced by the disciplined collection and synthesis of information expanding understanding and resulting in knowledge.

Historical Perspectives

Criminological Roots

The word *comparative* in criminology involves the analysis of how criminal behaviors, criminal laws, and justice practices are unique or the same in different cultures and societies. One of the earliest calls for a comparative criminology was made at the International Congress on Criminology of 1960 in The Hague, by Sheldon Glueck. He asked for more than just comparing different countries; he wanted research that could be replicated and intended to expose causal universals irrespective of cultural differences between countries. One of the early manifestations of Glueck's call was the major work produced by Herman Mannheim in 1965 that drew together criminological research, theories, and practices from countries such as the United States, Britain, Germany, France and Italy; it also included works from other countries, especially in Europe. The value of this comparative work has become legend and has created a rich resource of information within the field of criminology. Thus

the “comparative criminology” tradition can be seen in such publications as the *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation and Comparative Criminology* and the book *Different Responses to Violence in Japan and America* by John P. J. Dussich, Paul C. Friday, Akira Yamagami, and Richard D. Knudten.

Victimological Roots

The term *victimology* is understood by most laypersons as having to do with victims. Sometimes they erroneously use it to mean victimization or victim services. Since the term *victimology* in the English language is only about 50 years old, it has not permeated all educational institutions adequately. The origin of the word *victimology* comes from its two parts, *victim* and *logy*. *Victim* comes from the Latin word *victima*, which refers living creatures sacrificed for religious purposes. *Logy*, from the Greek word *logos* (which was derived from the verb “to speak”), is often associated with divine wisdom, study, or science. Today, among international victimologists, the term *victimology* is defined mostly from the victim’s perspective. Some limit this definition to *crime victimology*; others refer to victimizations caused by humans—*human victimology*; and still others have embraced Mendelsohn’s concept of *general victimology*. This victimology, not so concerned with the victimizing force, studies all types of victims, theories and research used to explain victimizations, victim behaviors, analysis of laws, policies, and interventions and programs for helping victims recover. It includes victims of crime, traffic accidents, abuse of power, human rights violations, wars, and natural phenomena. Within the field of scientific victimology, these three perspectives exist side by side and are understood by their respective proponents not as confusions in logic, but rather, as decisions to embrace a wider or lesser range of victims and violent forces.

Pioneer Works

One early comparative victimological study was presented by Vahakn N. Dadrian at the First Symposium on Victimology, which compared the common features of the genocides of the Armenian and Jewish people. Another comparative study was the cross-national victimization research conducted

by Jan van Dijk of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, with Pat Mayhew of the British Home Office and Martin Killias of Laussane University in Switzerland. These victimologists created the International Crime Victimization Surveys (ICVSs). The surveys, which began as a project of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, were limited to developed nations; however, later the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), led by van Dijk, greatly expand the ICVSs to also measure victimization in developing countries and in Eastern Europe. Unique research methods were created to account for the challenges of different languages, national practices, cultures, and laws. The aforementioned victimologists, plus Anna Alvazzi del Frate, John van Kesteren, and Ugi Svekic, measured frequency of victimizations, details of the victim’s experiences, and perceptions of safety, policing, and prevention across the globe. One of the recent major follow-up studies using the results of these surveys was published by Paul Nieuwbeerta, who edited a comprehensive book, *Crime Victimization in Comparative Perspective*, which provides a rich source of findings from across the world. Another comparative victimological work, by Marion Brien and Ernestine Hoegen, compared 22 European criminal justice systems to evaluate victims within the framework of criminal law and procedures. An important contribution to this literature was the extensive synthesis by Hans Joachim Schneider of victimological developments in the world during the three decades since the First International Symposium. A more recent comparative survey is the European Survey on Crime and Safety (EU ICS) by van Dijk and his colleagues, which in large part used the methods and instruments for comparative surveys from the ICVS’s work.

Applications

Examples of comparative victimology can be found in the extensive cross-cultural studies that have been conducted over the 50 years since Benjamin Mendelsohn’s seminal article introduced his concept as the science of victimology in a Swiss journal in 1956; and, especially since the First Symposium on Victimology held in Jerusalem in 1973. In the short existence of this new discipline, victimology has been greatly enriched by the hundreds of books,

newsletters, research notes, and articles that have used the comparative approach to study the wide range of victimological phenomena. Some examples of journals that reflect the comparative victimological approach are *Victimology: An International Journal*, started in the United States by Emilio Viano; *Victimología*, begun in Argentina by Hilda Marchiori; *The International Review of Victimology* founded in England by John Freeman; and *The International Perspectives in Victimology*, started recently in Japan by John Dussich. Some examples of books that reflect the comparative victimological approach are the German volume *Viktimologie: Wissenschaft vom Verbrechensopfer* (Victimology: Science From Crime Victims) by Hans J. Schneider; *Victims and Society*, edited by Emilio Viano; *Critical Victimology: International Perspectives* by Rob Mawby and Sandra Walklate; *Support for Crime Victims in a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Ezzat Fattah and Tony Peters; and the Spanish work *Victimología: Estudio de la Víctima* (Victimology: The Study of Victims) by Luis Rodríguez Manzanera. Because of comparative research, the field of victimology has learned much about the behaviors surrounding victimization and its key associated themes, such as victims' rights, vulnerabilities of persons, prevention strategies, victim services, victim advocacy, victimization recovery, and so on. The World Society of Victimology is the international organization that personifies the comparative victimological approach in its mission, newsletters, symposia, symposia proceedings, committees, and structure. This society was proposed by Mendelsohn in his early writings and became a reality at the Third International Symposium of Victimology held in Münster, Germany, in 1979. Its members come from a wide range of nations, which is reflected in its executive committee and its subcommittees, especially its United Nations Liaison Committee and its International Courses Committee.

Future Directions

The field of victimology is continuing to mature, and it requires the extension of the disciplined inquiry that comparative victimology provides. Thus researchers are compelled to further study victims—prior to, during, and after victimization. A major text dedicated to comparative victimology

is needed to synthesize the growing number of findings that have evolved over the past 30 years. Comparative victimology needs more refinements of the instruments and greater applicability in gathering data from countries that have not been accessible to previous surveys and by countries that have had success with promising programs. More international evaluations of services and interventions from different countries also are needed. These types of research are now being conducted at the National Crime Victim Research and Treatment Center, in Charleston, South Carolina; Tokiwa International Victimology Institute in Mito, Japan; and the International Victimology Institute in Tilburg, the Netherlands. Victimological theories based on comparative victimology, rather than borrowed from comparative criminology or other disciplines, may result from research conducted in the near future and play a significant role in helping solve the victimological problems facing humanity today. In addition, wider adoption of principles based on the 1985 United Nations' Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power may give rise to new laws, new policies, and new programs on behalf of victims. Finally, new standards likely will be embraced by all nations to support international legal instruments like the one currently being proposed by the World Society of Victimology that is known as the Convention on Justice and Support for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power.

John P. J. Dussich

See also International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS); Public Perceptions of Victims; Victimization Surveys; Victimology; Victims' Rights Movement, International

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COMPASSION FATIGUE

Crime victims suffer psychologically from their traumatic experiences and their consequent increase in vigilance. But rarely is there attention to the psychological trauma of those who care for and care about these victims of crime. These caregivers are not only family members and dear friends who provide personal support on a regular basis; caregivers of crime victims also include the police, 9-1-1 operators, victim advocates and others in the criminal justice system, emergency medical technicians, nurses, and other medical professionals who care for crime victims. They often suffer from a special form of psychological trauma: compassion fatigue (CF).

Definitions

Compassion fatigue is the fatigue that results from compassionate caregiving to help relieve the distress of others. This type of fatigue is caused by the built-up stress (compassion stress) from the memories and emotions of responding to suffering without having

fully relieved the suffering. Compassion fatigue is synonymous with secondary traumatic stress and similar to the traumatic stress experienced by those who survive violent crimes; it is the stress that results from helping a traumatized or suffering person; it is the natural and consequent behaviors and emotions resulting from knowing about a traumatizing event experienced by a significant other.

Professionals who work with crime victims who have experienced trauma may themselves become indirect victims of the trauma. More specifically, the negative effects of secondary exposure to traumatic events are the same as those of primary exposure, including intrusive imagery, avoidance of reminders and cues, hyperarousal, distressing emotions, and functional impairment. In addition, compassion fatigue may result in significant disruptions in an individual's sense of meaning, connection, identity, and worldview, as well as affect tolerance, psychological needs, beliefs about self and other, interpersonal relationships, and sensory memory.

Theory

In order to facilitate the healing process, caregivers working with traumatized populations, including but not limited to crime victims, often share the emotional burden of the trauma, bear witness to damaging and cruel events, and come face-to-face with the reality of terrible and traumatic acts in the world. Compassion fatigue results from the demand placed on the professional to understand the traumatized person in order to help him or her. The transmission of trauma from helped to helper is believed to occur through the gateway of empathic response. This fundamental element of helping is a function of the helper's empathic ability as well as direct exposure to the traumatized and a motivation to help them. The resolution of traumatic stress often requires that the traumatized person engage in a process in which they slowly, vividly, and repeatedly relive the event. Through this process, the professional is repeatedly exposed to vivid trauma imagery, and thereby secondarily exposed to the traumas experienced by the crime victim.

Prevalence and Risk and Protective Factors

CF has been empirically documented in professionals who work with crime victims in fields such as

law enforcement, domestic violence, sexual assault, and child welfare. Exposure to traumatized individuals is the primary risk factor for CF. For professionals, level of exposure to traumatized clients is more important than length of exposure, in that higher proportions of traumatized clients in caseloads and higher proportions of time spent in trauma-related clinical activities are more predictive of CF. In addition, younger professionals and those with less experience are at increased risk for CF, and professionals' own trauma history, particularly in childhood, also is a significant risk factor. Professionals who use social support and positive coping strategies experience fewer symptoms of CF. More specifically, active coping, seeking emotional and instrumental support, planning, and humor are associated with lower levels of CF. Conversely, negative coping strategies, such as drug or alcohol use, aggression, and withdrawing from others are associated with higher levels of CF.

Minimizing the Effects of Compassion Fatigue

The first step in preventing or ameliorating compassion fatigue is to recognize the signs and symptoms of its emergence. By learning about the potential effects of CF and continually monitoring for the presence of symptoms, professionals may be able to prevent the more negative aspects of CF. In addition, there are a number of self-care strategies that professionals can implement to reduce the impact of CF, such as engaging in leisure activities, exercise, meditation, spending time with loved ones, and seeking personal psychotherapy as needed. Prevention of CF also requires that organizations implement proactive strategies. A supportive organizational culture in which caregivers are able to validate feelings and readily have access to support teams is essential. Professionals must feel safe to openly talk about the impact of their work with traumatized individuals. Further, the organization must recognize CF as a natural consequence of serving crime victims, rather than as a deficiency of the professional.

Brian Bride and Charles R. Figley

See also Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Survivor Patterns; Victimology

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COMPSTAT

From its genesis on a napkin at Elaine's in New York, Compstat (or "Comstat," as it is sometimes pronounced) has revolutionized policing. Developed for New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton by Jack Maple and John Miller, Compstat was the end result of what Maple believed to be simply what police agencies needed to do to fight crime.

Compstat as originally conceived and used today focuses on four principles:

1. Accurate, timely intelligence
2. Rapid deployment
3. Effective tactics
4. Relentless follow-up and assessment

The first principle—accurate, timely intelligence—refers to gathering the data, that is, the numbers for every place in the city on a daily basis. It also refers to mapping the crimes. Both approaches allow police agencies to use analysis, intelligence, and information to determine what's happening, where, when, and who might be involved.

For Maple, the second principle—rapid deployment—was to be "concentrated, synchronized and focused" (Maple & Mitchell, 1999, p. 32), requiring the various components of a police agency to talk

with each other, to share information, to talk about the hot spots, patterns, trends, and so on, that come from accurate, timely intelligence.

The third principle—effective tactics—is whatever is needed to “reduce crime or improve the quality of life” (Maple & Mitchell, 1999, p. 32). This principle, coupled with the first two, encourages innovation on the part of “the boots, the bosses, and the suits.” It allows for decentralized decision making and for each precinct to do what works for its crime situation and set of officers. Relentless follow-up and assessment is the glue that holds everything else together. It requires precinct commanders to be competent and to know what is happening in their sphere of influence and control, why it is happening, and what their game plan is for attacking it. This gave rise to the Compstat meetings that have been depicted in a number of movie and television shows. Perhaps the most negative depiction was in *The Wire*, in which precinct commanders were grilled incessantly about any and everything happening in their precinct, the stress causing many to upchuck both before and after a meeting.

In New York City, in just 2 years of using Compstat, crimes in all categories were reduced significantly and morale in the organization greatly improved. Cops were allowed to return to the practice of their profession, to do what they were trained to do, only this time armed with the information needed to make a significant and serious dent in all manner of crime.

Compstat provides a framework for accountability up and down the command chain. It also allows police to transfer of information horizontally and vertically, which they do routinely during every day at every level.

More important, Compstat makes a dent in crime. When it is applied properly, crime decreases. But its effect is not only on crime. Compstat is based on the idea that if serious crime is dealt with quickly and efficiently, the police are then better able to deal with the bulk of their tasks, such as order maintenance and other community problems that might be related to public safety. Compstat, then, not only deals with crime, but in dealing with crime also deals with a wide variety of other social disorders, many of which might lead to crime if left unchecked.

In addition, Compstat allows officers to return to being proactive rather than reactive. With the four principles feeding into each other, policing

takes a more assertive and proactive approach, holding all of the parties accountable for results. Law enforcement leaders, armed with accurate and timely intelligence, are expected to develop and implement a plan of action. Like decision makers in other fields, they sometimes need to make decisions without having complete information. This is accomplished by allowing the patrol officers not only to have input into how to attack the problem but also to have the freedom to try new things. Patrol officers are empowered to solve problems. Using the Compstat approach, all officers in the department also are allowed and even encouraged to take risks and even to fail. As Thomas Edison said, “Every wrong attempt discarded is another step forward.” Compstat allows for these steps forward.

When Compstat is implemented properly, there should also be an increase in morale, as everyone in the organization is given the right information to solve problems. When Compstat was implemented in the New York Police Department (NYPD), no one ever got in trouble for crime rates going up; what got them in trouble was when they (the commanders) either did not know the rates were up or did not have a plan to address the problem. Compstat is a huge morale builder, as the officers at every level know that they are being given the tools to solve problems while at the same time being supported in their mistakes and rewarded for their successes. Compstat allows for integration to occur across and within police agencies.

Compstat is not just for the NYPD, however—it’s for policing everywhere. It addresses all types of crime in all types of cities, and has been successful wherever it has been tried. Compstat allows police officers to engage in doing policing, and when that happens we know that police *can* and *do* make a difference. Compstat is part of that difference.

Jeffrey P. Rush and Thomas J. O’Connor

See also Community Policing; Crime Mapping; Crime Prevention; Problem-Oriented Policing; Prospective Crime Mapping

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COMPULSORY HIV TESTING

The HIV pandemic in the United States is widespread, and it poses an unprecedented threat to the general public as well as to the incarcerated. Many preventive measures have been enacted to restrict the spread of this infectious disease. Major HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns have placed emphasis on the benefits of HIV testing of all citizens, with the topic of compulsory HIV testing being widely discussed. This entry provides definitions of HIV, describes HIV testing methods used in the general population and in prisons, and examines the potential ethical impact of compulsory HIV testing.

Definitions

The human immunodeficiency virus, widely known as HIV, infects and destroys vital cells in the immune system and often progresses to AIDS (the more serious acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) within 10 to 15 years of infection. With the introduction of antiretroviral treatment methods, patients diagnosed with AIDS can be expected to live 5 years or even longer—if they have access to adequate health care. However, the only guaranteed defense against HIV/AIDS is prevention.

HIV testing is one of the main components in the campaign for HIV prevention. Testing centers are located across the United States in clinics, hospitals, schools, and correctional facilities. Free testing is available at most locations; however, some health insurance policies will cover the cost in the event of an emergency. These testing centers have varying policies on patient confidentiality, depending on national, state, and regional regulations. Different locations may also offer different methods of testing. The *ELISA test* and the *EIA test* are standard antibody blood tests that are given to patients and are also used to screen the blood supply used for medial transfusions. *Rapid testing* is also a blood test conducted in a single batch, yielding results in

less than 10 minutes. *Home test kits* can be purchased that use a finger-pricking device mailed to testing centers for analysis. *Urine-based tests* and *oral tests* can also be ordered and conducted by a physician upon request. When these tests show positive results, the blood is further analyzed using the *Western blot test* for HIV confirmation.

Upon receiving a positive diagnosis of HIV, patients are encouraged to seek counseling. Through a process known as Partner Counseling and Referral Service (PCRS), most health care providers offer assistance in tracking down patients' previous partners who may have been exposed to or infected by the patient. Despite all of these available and relatively inexpensive testing methods, it is believed that at least 25% of the U.S. population who have contracted HIV are unaware of their infections.

HIV Testing in the General Population

According to the *HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report* published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 31,217 people were diagnosed with HIV in 2006. The Kaiser Family Foundation conducted the *Survey of Americans With HIV/AIDS* in 2006 and reported that 48% of United States adults have been tested for HIV at some point in their life. This same study revealed that 17% of the people tested in 2006 did not receive their test results or refused them. In response to the HIV pandemic, the CDC has proposed routine HIV screening offered in all health care settings on multiple occasions, with emphasis on universal screening of pregnant women. This screening was recommended to void any opt-out policy, making the testing mandatory for all pregnant women. The Kaiser Family Foundation reported that in 2004, four states required HIV testing of pregnant women unless they refused to be tested, and another thirteen states were required by law to offer testing.

As testing becomes less controlled (e.g., no pre-test counseling and without specific written consent), human rights activists argue that compulsory testing would be an infringement of individual rights, especially when counseling and written consent are absent. Due to the controversy surrounding this prevention method, policies supporting compulsory testing include opt-out standards.

HIV Testing in Prisons

The threat of HIV is higher among incarcerated populations than other populations due to their high-risk lifestyles. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, the overall estimated rate of AIDS in the prison population in 2006 was .46%—more than 2½ times the rate of the general population of the United States. Florida was first in fatalities, with 26 AIDS-related deaths in 2006. The high reported rates of prison rape pose one of the greatest risks to the spread of the virus. Measures have been taken to help hinder the spread of the virus, including condom dispensing, provision of clean injecting equipment, and methadone maintenance treatment. Each of these measures is controversial. For example, sex in prison is generally against prison rules, so it seems contradictory for the prison administration to provide condoms for illicit activity. Furthermore, these methods have not proven to have great success, and some state legislators have consequently urged heightened measures of precaution. In 2007, the Texas attorney general ruled that the Texas Board of Criminal Justice can now mandate HIV testing among new inmates upon prison entry. Advocates for compulsory HIV testing of prison inmates assert that the HIV-positive inmates would receive proper care, and that more accurate data on the spread of the disease could help researchers estimate the population being infected in prison.

Future Prevention

Compulsory HIV testing is a preventive measure being explored to help bring an end to the pandemic caused by HIV. One of the greatest methods used to capture public awareness has been celebrity endorsement. CNN reported in 2006 that former president Bill Clinton was lending support to compulsory HIV testing of people in high-risk areas of infection. The Clinton Foundation has worked to lower the costs of instant tests for HIV and for antiretroviral drugs. As Clinton said, "This is a public health problem; it's not about rich and poor. AIDS affects the social stability of a country and it is inconceivable that you can drastically lower rates of infection with testing."

Human rights activists fear the stigma and discrimination brought about by the AIDS culture, despite the existence of antidiscrimination statutes.

Discrimination and ostracism may be particularly severe in closed societies such as prisons and jails. With an estimated 40,000 people diagnosed with new infections each year in the United States, the risk of infection is great for many people, and especially for those who become incarcerated.

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See also Rape; Rape, Prison; Rape Law Reform

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CONFLICT TACTICS SCALE (CTS/CTS2)

The Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) and Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2) are quantitative measures that were developed to study violence and conflict between family members. The CTS was an important research development because it

was the first quantitative scale developed and used for measuring violence against intimates.

Development

The CTS was developed throughout the 1970s by sociologist Murray A. Straus and his colleagues at the University of New Hampshire (UNH). Richard J. Gelles was an important early collaborator. Straus and Gelles had done qualitative research on family violence prior to developing the CTS, and this informed the development of the quantitative measures for use in large, statistically representative samples. The use of large representative samples to study violence within the family was an innovation in the social sciences at that time. Earlier research had overwhelmingly utilized smaller nonrepresentative clinical, shelter, or criminal samples.

Straus and Gelles were interested in measuring the prevalence and incidence of family violence, which they hypothesized was more pervasive than commonly believed; was triggered by dynamics inherent in the family but exacerbated by other stresses; and was engendered by interpersonal interaction within relationships. This research orientation is frequently referred to as the family violence or family conflict approach.

The CTS was used in the 1970s in the first federally funded representative sample study of family violence in the United States. Since then, the full CTS, CTS2, and their subscales have been widely used in research in the United States and many other countries. The CTS is the most widely used tool in large representative samples of violence within the family or against intimates. The CTS owes its influence in part to the early federal funding for research on violence within families that supported its development and continues to support its application today. According to the Department of Health and Human Services' Computer Retrieval of Information on Scientific Projects database, since 1975, Straus's Family Research Laboratory at UNH has continuously received National Institutes of Health (NIH) National Research Service Award Institutional Research Training Grants (T32 grants) to support graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. No other scholar of, or research approach to, violence against intimates or family members has received such consistent funding from the United States government.

Variations

In addition to the CTS and CTS2, there is the Conflict Tactics Scales: Parent-Child Version, which is used for quantifying conflict tactics used by parents and children. That tool includes scales for the following: nonviolent discipline, psychological aggression, physical assault, weekly discipline, neglect, and sexual abuse. This entry focuses on the CTS and CTS2, although some of its content may apply to other versions of the scales.

Specifications

The CTS measures violence by counting conflict tactics. Conflict tactics, as conceptualized by the authors of the CTS, are methods of managing or responding to conflicts or anger between family members or intimate partners. The CTS is theoretically rooted in conflict theory, which sees conflict as inevitable because people have differing personal interests and agendas. Because conflict theory sees conflict as engendered by the interaction of two people, the CTS is designed to count tactics used by both parties. However, both parties are not surveyed. Instead, the questions are asked in pairs, with twinned items asking about conflict tactics the respondent has used and tactics a partner has used against him or her. This method of assessing partners' behavior is practical because it increases the safety of respondents, cuts down on research costs, and facilitates CTS administration in other ways—such as saving time and allowing greater response rates. The standard time frame covered by the CTS is the previous year, but the authors present other time limits as possibilities, including a lifetime, the past 6 months, and since the beginning of a program or intervention.

The original CTS included 38 multiple choice questions representing 19 conflict tactics divided into three categories: reasoning, verbal aggression, and violence. The CTS measured nine violence tactics, six verbal aggression tactics, and three reasoning tactics as well as the item "cried," which was not intended to be scored. The CTS may be self-administered as a written survey or administered in an interview format facilitated by research staff or clinicians. Although the results can be scored by the presence or absence of each tactic, the standard scoring provides an 8-point scale that divides responses by frequency, ranging from never

to more than 20 times. The conflict tactics within each category are designated as either more severe or less severe based on the authors' presumptions about the harmfulness of the tactic.

The revised CTS, or CTS2, was developed by Straus, Sherry L. Hamby, Susan Boney-McCoy, and David B. Sugarman. The CTS2 is comprised of 78 questions, including 39 tactics in twinned pairs addressing victimization and perpetration. The items include revised versions of the original scales, slightly adjusted and organized into the categories renamed negotiation, psychological aggression, and physical assault. The CTS2 includes 6 items about negotiation, 8 items about psychological aggression, and 12 items about physical assault. CTS2 also added two new scales. Six new items are about injury and seven are about sexual coercion. Like the original CTS, scoring is based on eight response options divided by frequency and the items are designated as more severe or less severe. The estimated time to administer the full CTS2 is 10 to 15 minutes. When shortening the CTS2 to save time, Straus recommends omitting the injury and sexual assault scales rather than asking only about victimization or perpetration. Omitting these scales leaves the original scales, which Straus refers to as the core scales, on negotiation, psychological aggression, and physical assault. Alternatively, a shortened version of the CTS2 is available which includes all the scales but fewer items on each. The short version can be administered in 3 minutes. Straus cautions that using shortened versions results in reporting decreased by about half.

Context

Knowledge of the context in which the CTS is used is important to understanding its significance. Family studies research using the CTS is frequently contrasted with what is loosely termed feminist research, which places relatively more emphasis on power relations, gender, and social inequality. Both family conflict and feminist approaches acknowledge that gender differences persist. However, there are significant differences between these research, theoretical, and epistemological orientations. While Straus and his colleagues acknowledge gendered inequalities between women and men in places, critics note that these inequalities are not considered at

measurement nor, increasingly, in the conclusions drawn by family studies scholars using the CTS. Family studies research is also contrasted with crime research, which consistently finds marked sex differences between women's and men's violence perpetration and victimization and much lower rates of violence. Crime surveys such as National Crime Victimization Survey and the National Violence Against Women Survey are the other major representative quantitative studies on violence against intimates. These and other crime studies have been extensively assessed elsewhere, but are generally regarded as limited by their emphasis on the most severe forms of violence. These are the three major approaches to research on violence between intimates. All of these approaches to the study of human violence find greater harm to women from male intimates than the reverse. All scholars of violence state that their goal is the elimination or reduction of violence.

Critiques

The CTS and CTS2 have been widely criticized as well as widely utilized. Straus has repeatedly noted the limitations of the CTS as covering only a limited set of acts; using unrealistic response categories; underreporting; covering only the current intact relationship; and not linking injuries directly to assaults. He has repeatedly rejected several other critiques of the CTS as ideological or erroneous. Critics have noted that unlike the many other tools and methods for measuring and studying violence, the CTS consistently finds equivalent rates of violence for women and men. Straus and his colleagues claim the consistent findings of the CTS are due to the superiority of the tool and their theoretical approach. However, critics argue that results that are so divergent from shelter, medical, crime, homicide, and other research—including quantitative research with items on the context, meaning, and motives of violence, as well as the qualitative literature—must indicate a serious measurement problem. While no one advises against using the CTS items, many scholars advise that in order for the CTS to yield meaningful or comprehensible results, other items must be used alongside it.

Critiques of the CTS cluster around issues with reporting, sampling, context, meaning, motive, and outcomes of violence. While Straus has commented

on underreporting, and has remarked that men underreport their violence relative to women, he addresses this problem by asking women about women and men's behavior. However, critics contend that this does not solve the problem, because women and men underreport men's violence and overreport women's violence, especially in the intact couples included in CTS-based studies. Sampling issues include the failure of large random survey studies to capture the kind of violence that most people think of when they hear the terms *domestic violence*, *spouse abuse*, *wife beating*, and *intimate partner violence*. Scholars have noted the disparities in the average number of violent incidents reported by CTS studies using large random samples versus shelter samples. Context concerns include the failure of the CTS to include information about the context of the conflict tactics in a particular relationship as well as in the larger cultural context in which dramatic differences between men's and women's violence are extensively documented. The historical context of the legitimization of men's proprietary violence against spouses and children is not captured by the CTS. The cultural context in which women and men normalize and legitimate men's violence against women is also omitted. Meaning concerns stem from other research that finds that credible threats of violence are just as effective as individual violent acts at controlling a partner, as well as research that documents that conflict tactics have very different meanings for women and men. Concerns about motives include the failure of the CTS to discern between offensive and defensive violence. Such a distinction is a courtesy that scholars extend to victims of all other forms of violence, and many argue that it is essential to meaningful understanding of what has transpired. Finally, many scholars argue that the outcomes of violence matter in terms of human experience, well-being, and survival. Outcomes are especially important given scarce resources allocated to prevention, education, and services. The CTS can yield important and meaningful results with the addition of measures of context, meaning, and outcomes.

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See also Abuse, Spouse; Calculating Extent of Victimization: Incidence, Prevalence, and Rates;

Domestic Violence; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence

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CONJUNCTION OF CRIMINAL OPPORTUNITY THEORY

The conjunction of criminal opportunity (CCO) theory is a framework designed to draw together the major, immediate causes of criminal events,

and in parallel, the major “families” of intervention principles deployable to block, weaken, or divert those causes, thereby preventing crime. It serves theoretical, academic purposes; the development and management of practice knowledge; and practitioner education. This entry first explains the origins of the CCO framework and describes it, then examines alternatives to it, the varieties of crime covered by the theory, and future developments as CCO continues to evolve.

Origins

In the 1990s an attempt was made to classify several thousand crime prevention projects implemented through the U.K.’s Safer Cities Programme. One purpose was to put “like with like” when evaluating project impacts. The diversity of those projects was challenging. They covered a range of institutional settings and preventive methods, and no single existing framework could handle their complexity or breadth. Likewise, even using detailed entries from the program’s management information system, determining exactly what the individual projects were endeavoring to do proved difficult. There was no universal, rigorous, and consistent schema or language that could be used to describe the preventive interventions—and no systematic map of preventive possibilities. Terminology for causation and prevention was confused, unclear, and overlapping, with spurious contrasts such as “situational versus social.” This not only inhibited retrieval and replication of success stories, it also constrained the realization and monitoring of each original project as it unfolded.

Exacerbating the confusion was the fragmentation of the field of crime prevention into situational and offender-oriented territories, with their own languages and theories, as well as into institutional settings such as “enforcement and judicial-based” and “civil” prevention (i.e., changes made in everyday life, such as the ethos of schools or the layout of parks). This generated spurious contrasts such as “prevention versus deterrence.” Even within situational prevention, the main theories were (and remain) poorly integrated, so each novice practitioner must assemble them afresh.

Therefore, it was decided to design a new framework: one that was inclusive of types and theories of crime, and types and contexts of prevention, and

based on a suite of clear and consistent definitions. The focus was to be on the immediate, or proximal, causes of criminal events, whether originating in offenders or crime situations. Distal, or remote, causes (e.g., children’s early upbringing, aspects of social structure such as inequality, or market forces such as those that made copper piping expensive and therefore worth stealing) were important. But they were too varied and complex, and often too hard to measure and define, to supply the basis of a theoretical and conceptual framework.

Contemporaneously, Nick Tilley was introducing a scientific realist perspective to the crime prevention domain. This emphasized the importance of understanding, and manipulating, the causal mechanisms that underlie preventive interventions. According to this perspective, the key question is not simply what works, but what works in what context and how—using what causal mechanisms. So, closed-circuit television in car parks might work simply by scaring offenders off, or by facilitating detection and arrest. Only the second mechanism is potentially durable (the offenders soon ignore the cameras if nobody catches them), so it is important for practitioners to know which is operating. They must also tune the intervention to their context, because mechanisms are quite delicate, in that only the right combination of circumstances triggers them. This means that understanding and reproducing mechanisms is vital for replication of “success story” projects. In effect, the CCO framework offers a universal mechanism map of the causal preconditions that must come together for a crime to occur. The mechanism perspective has enabled CCO theory to center on analytic causal and contextual factors rather than simply being a superficial listing of causes and a “natural history” of preventive methods.

The framework was assembled from familiar theories of crime causation, including rational choice theory, crime pattern theory, and routine activities theory. The last was in effect from the start, with the questions posed including “*How* is the target suitable?” and “*Why* is the offender likely?” Since these “situational” theories intentionally contained only minimalist reference to offenders, psychological and interpersonal aspects of criminals were taken from theoretical writings such as those of David Farrington. Seeking an exhaustive map of causes led to identification and

filling of gaps, out of which came such concepts as “crime promoters” and “offender resources.”

From these beginnings, what became the CCO framework evolved iteratively while it was applied to classify descriptions of several thousand Safer Cities projects, and progressively extended or refined as new kinds of cause or intervention were encountered. Eventually the framework stabilized at 11 generic causes and equivalent intervention principles, as described below. Moreover, what began as classification produced a framework with much wider potential, as interest was growing in the education and training of a new cadre of crime prevention and community safety practitioners in the police and beyond, and in equipping them with tools for a demanding job. To reflect this wider applicability, the original 1998 proximal circumstances framework was rebranded the “conjunction of criminal opportunity” theory. By 2003, the development of the CCO theory within this practitioner and program delivery context had led to an accretion of “preventive process” elements that were eventually “hived off” to a separate (and equally deliberately designed) process model, the 5Is framework, which is equivalent to SARA of problem-oriented policing but contains more detail.

Definition

CCO theory, like routine activities theory, is an ecological model of the immediate causes of criminal events centering on human agents acting out particular roles in a particular setting.

Agents

The *offender* is the one agent without whom a crime by definition cannot occur. Offenders are covered in more detail below. The other agents about to be described, and the physical setting, are the situation *for the offender*. These agents can play one of two roles in the causation of crime.

Crime preventers are people who make criminal events less likely by their mere presence or actions, such as surveillance of strangers, supervision and (more distally) socialization of their children, or using window locks. Preventer roles can be undertaken in various institutional or noninstitutional settings; examples include police patrols, vigilant employees, neighbors chastising neighbor’s children,

or “good citizens” reporting hazards. Preventers can act before the criminal event (securing their car), during it (repelling assailants), or afterward. Regarding the last, the prevention will strictly speaking not affect the current crime, but it may involve action to fix a vulnerability before the next offense, arrest of the current offender, and perhaps deterring other offenders. However, offenders’ *anticipation* of such responses to their crimes also may serve to prevent the current instance.

Crime promoters are people who, by contrast, play roles that actively increase the risk of criminal events, with varying degrees of intentionality and responsibility. They include someone accidentally provoking the (potential) offender; a “friend” encouraging the offender to avenge an insult; a fence buying stolen goods or supplying weapons; or simply someone leaving his or her laptop visible when parking the car. The aim of much prevention is to change the careless promoter into the careful preventer.

Note that *victims* do not directly feature here, although unsuccessful preventers may become victims. Victims are not only enacting active *roles* in which they seek to limit, repair, and recover from the harms of the criminal event (and participate in investigatory and justice processes), but may also be the *targets* of violent crime.

Entities

Entities are the “things” in crime situations. The *target* of crime may be a person or object that is inherently criminogenic, that is, vulnerable, valuable, or provocative. (The person as target is considered in passive terms; active human provocation is covered under the promoter role.)

The target may be located in a *target enclosure* such as a safe, locked rooms, or gated compound. Enclosures are characterized by structural features such as periphery, boundary fence, access doors/gates, and interior. Each of these may have criminogenic properties (or criminocclusive ones—reducing the probability of crime).

Enclosures are situated in turn in a *wider environment*. This could be a shopping mall, park, transport interchange, or housing estate. The environment (whether wide or the interior environment of an enclosure) can be characterized by two distinct sets of properties. The *instrumental* environment relates to the goals of offender and preventer. The

extent to which the physical layout (like sightlines and barriers), lighting, and so on affect the balance of tactical advantage between, for example, stealth and surveillance, ambush and awareness, pursuit and escape, respectively favoring one or other party. The *motivating* environment covers how many attractive targets the environment contains. As noted by Richard Wortley in his description of situational “precipitators,” the environment may also supply physical conditions that directly prompt, pressure, or provoke aggressive actions (such as “collision points” at busy commuter stations), or that routinely contain crime promoters such as a ready audience for youth racing stolen cars, who may prompt, pressure, or permit the action.

The Offender

As noted, CCO theory adds greater psychological depth to the offender concept than do situational approaches, but it does so in as generic a way as possible rather than by adhering to specific psychological theories.

The offender side of crime causation starts with *predisposition to offend*—aggressive tendencies, antisocial attitudes, and so on which comprise a permanent potential for criminal behavior that is present, but not necessarily expressed, in all situations the (potential) offender encounters.

The next element is *resources to avoid offending*, which include both inhibitory capacities such as self-control and skills to make an honest living (and hence to make honest choices when confronted with tempting criminal opportunities).

Remaining offender elements move gradually away from omnipresent potential toward factors activated in particular situations. *Readiness to offend* comprises emotional or motivational states induced by current life circumstances (like unemployment, poor housing, and/or long-standing conflict) or recent experiences (like a stressful commuter journey, intoxication, or the desperate need for money for a drug fix).

Resources for offending empower offenders to tackle the risks and exploit the possibilities for instrumental crime and to realize expressive crimes such as revenge attacks. They range from facilitators like tools or weapons to skills and predispositions such as courage and strength, perpetrator techniques, knowledge of opportunities, and social

contacts accessing trusted resources as offered by fences or co-offenders. Offenders may also be aided by their ability to neutralize guilt or psych themselves up for an attack. Notably, whereas in much of the situational prevention literature, “opportunity” is considered a situational/environmental concept, the notion of resources makes it an ecological one. For example, an open window several floors up is only an opportunity to someone with strength, agility, courage, and maybe a ladder.

Decision to commit offense captures the offender’s immediate perception and anticipation of and response to the “rational choice” agenda of risk, effort, and reward, as well as reaction to situational prompts and provocations. The immediate decision (with familiar qualifications on rationality) will be influenced by the offender’s predisposition, resources to avoid and commit offenses, and readiness. Habits and more strategic career choices (to be a burglar, to be a criminal, and so forth) may also come into play and be influenced in turn by outcomes of individual attempts. *Perceived* risks, effort, and the like operate parallel causal mechanisms to their objective counterparts: The robust *appearance* of a bus shelter may discourage vandalism, or its robust *construction* physically resist attack.

Finally, *presence of offender in situation* is of course necessary, although that presence could be a telepresence, as in obscene phone calls, or “sending the boys ’round.”

Two Perspectives on the Offender

CCO theory incorporates two perspectives on the offender. On the one hand, offenders are seen as *agents*, with goals, decisions, and actions intended to realize them. On the other, they are themselves as much *caused* as causing, as a result of their early experiences and current experiences, as well as the operation of their cognitive processes, such as perception, motivation, and emotion. Recent formulations of CCO theory therefore refer to offenders as *caused agents*; likewise with preventers and promoters. CCO causes are illustrated in Figure 1.

Dynamics

CCO theory is a static, analytic picture of elements with the immediate potential to cause criminal

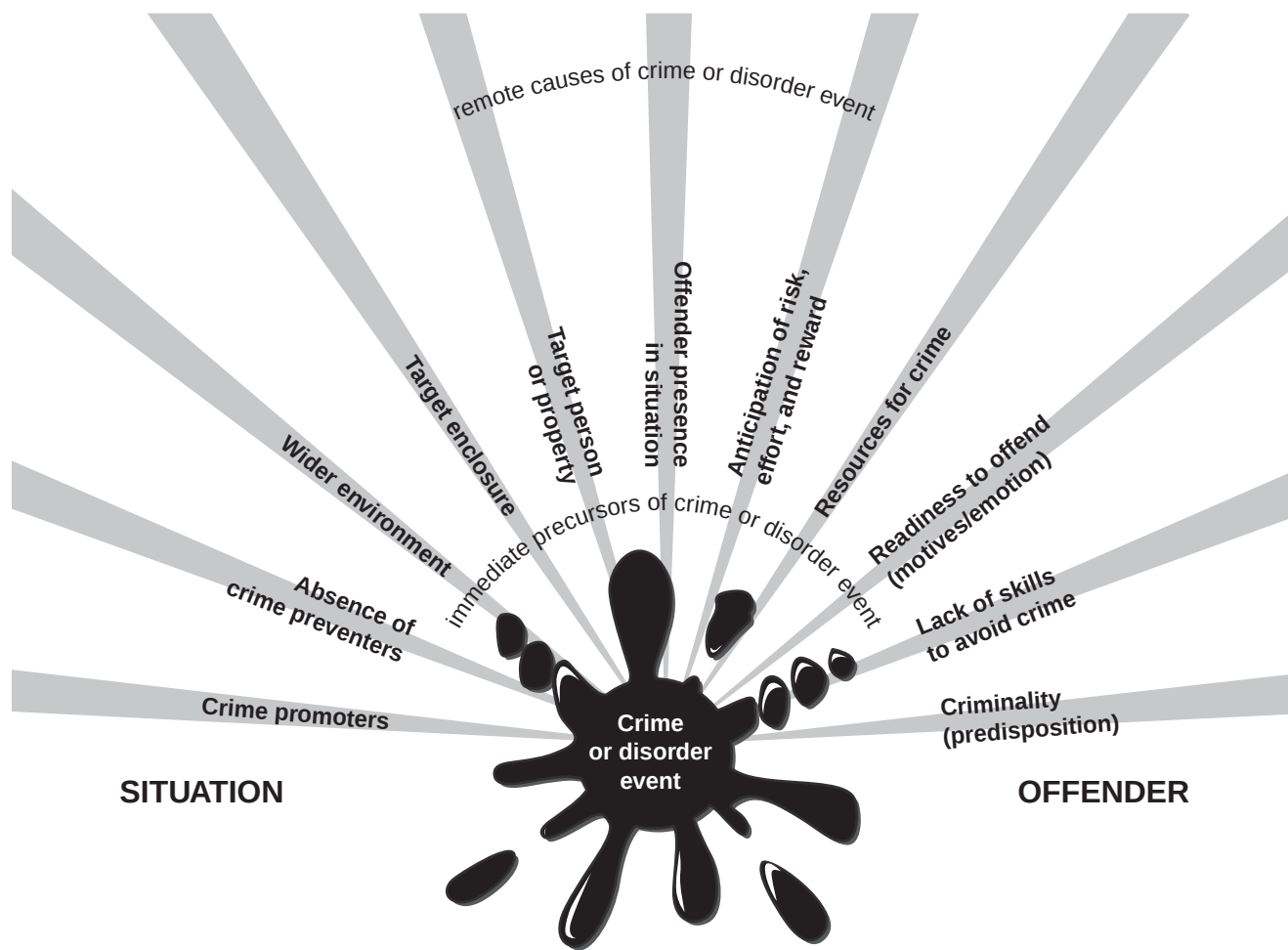


Figure 1 Causes of criminal events

Source: Copyright © Paul John Eklblom.

events. This is useful for many purposes, but it is also necessary, when focusing on causal mechanisms, to consider the dynamic, interactive nature of the conjunction. At one level this relates to offenders perceiving, being provoked perhaps, choosing, reacting and acting, applying skills and capacities to exploit the opportunity and overcome the risks of crime; to the preventers and promoters making equivalent contributions; and to the several players anticipating and adapting to one another's perceived actions. At another level, dynamics covers the processes whereby the elements of the conjunction come together: for example, the life-style routines of the players, market processes, people-flows on foot or in public transportation

(the “nodes and paths” of pattern theory)—all of which may count as crime generators. Of course, some offenders deliberately seek favorable places (defined as crime attractors); they may even actively plan to bring the elements of the conjunction together, as in a “professional” robbery or fraud.

Prevention

Crime prevention is about intervening in the causes of criminal events to reduce their probability of occurrence and any ensuing harm. The map of causes that is the CCO theory can therefore be overlaid by an equivalent map of intervention principles aimed at blocking, weakening, or diverting

those causes. This relationship is shown in brief in Table 1, and illustrated in Figure 2.

CCO theory can thus be used to articulate interventions in some theoretical depth. A practical intervention *method* may act via more than one mechanism—for example, creating an enclosure around an industrial estate may physically block the offender, deter through perceived risk, and aid preventers, who now only have to guard the access point, not the entire perimeter. The CCO approach encourages precision; for example, target hardening often relates to hardening the target enclosure, such as by making a house resistant to burglary.

Alternatives

A few alternative integrating theoretical frameworks exist within crime and crime prevention. The most familiar is probably the minimalist crime triangle—victim/target, location, offender—that originated within the problem-oriented policing

movement. This has been extended in recent years to allow crime preventer roles to influence each node; thus targets have guardians, locations have place managers, and offenders have handlers.

The “general theory of crime” of Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi combines propensity and opportunity in an equally minimalist way. A more complex newcomer is the situational action theory of P.-O. Wikström. This focuses on causal mechanisms, and offenders as agents perceiving and acting in particular ecological settings, but in addition explains how the environment influences the development of people’s crime propensities.

Varieties

CCO theory has been extended to cover various specific kinds of crime and criminal context. These include complex organized crime, cybercrime (CCO can be rewritten in cyberspace terms where the target is information, the enclosure is firewalled

Table 1 Basic causes and intervention principles

<i>Immediate Causes of Criminal Event</i>	<i>Possible Interventions in Cause</i>
Predisposition to offend	Reducing criminality through developmental/remedial intervention
Lack of resources to avoid crime	Supplying cognitive, social, work skills to avoid crime
Readiness to offend	Reducing this by aiding in control of disinhibitors (e.g., alcohol or stressors and provocations), legitimate satisfaction of psychological and social needs
Resources for committing crime	Restricting resources—tools, weapons, knowledge
Decision to commit offense	Deterrence (influencing perceived risk) and discouragement (influencing perceived effort in relation to reward)
Offender presence in situation	Excluding offenders from crime situation
Target property or person	Reducing target vulnerability, attraction, provocativeness
Target enclosure	Perimeter/access security
Wider environment	Environmental design and management to reduce motivating and instrumental properties
Crime preventers	Boosting preventers’ presence, competence, motivation, responsibility
Crime promoters	Discouraging and deterring promoters, converting them to preventers

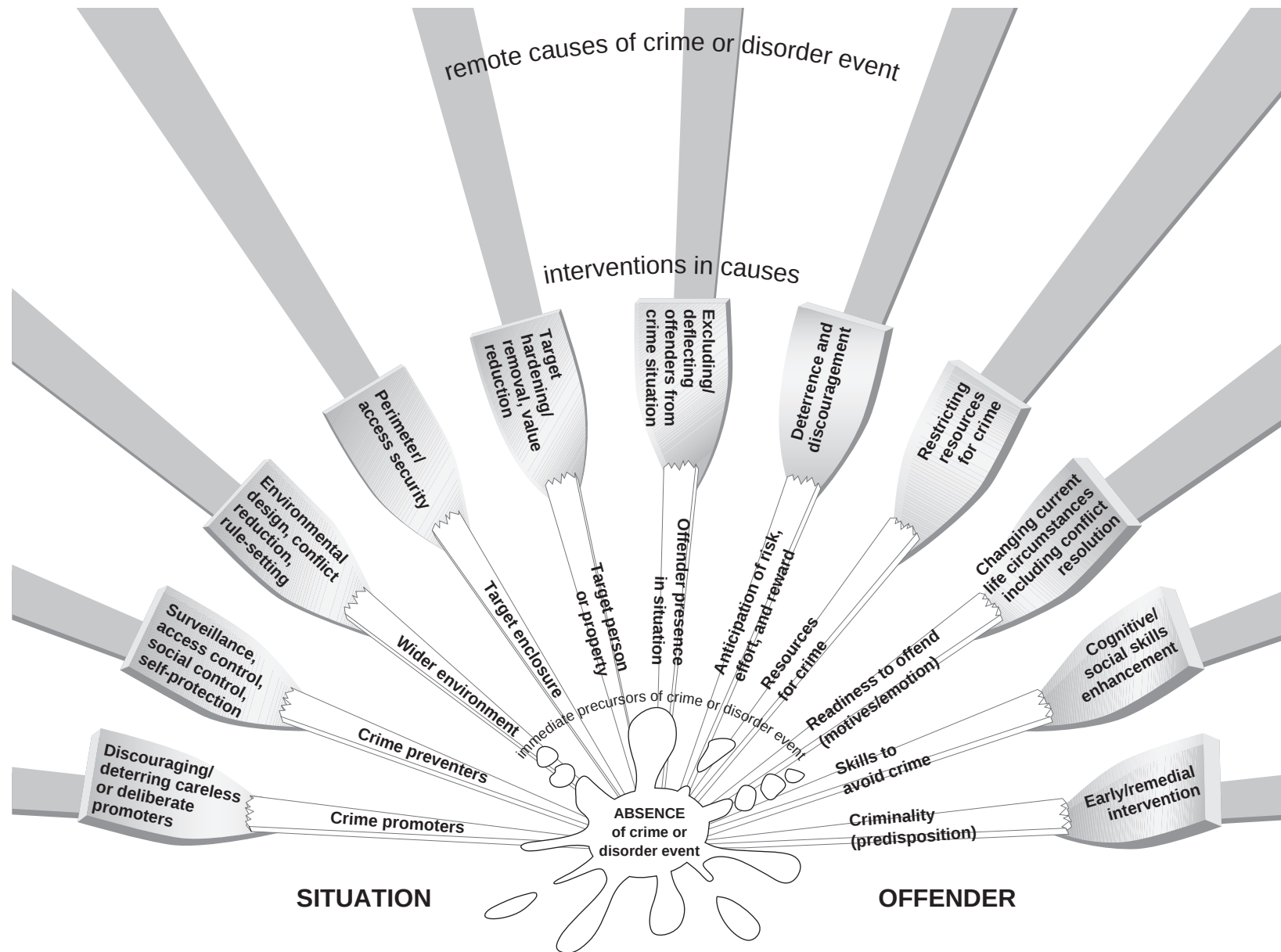


Figure 2 Intervention principles

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computer system, and so on), drug dealing, and terrorism.

Future Developments

Current work on the CCO framework centers on developing its dynamic aspect principally through use of scripts and “script clashes” (surveillance versus stealth, pursuit versus escape, etc.) and adapting the theory for use by designers of products and places. Exploration of its use as a basis for computerized crime simulation and crime impact assessment is also under way.

CCO is undoubtedly more complex than individual equivalents such as the crime triangle, although it offers compensatory simplification because it integrates all major theories of crime and its prevention in a single 11-factor framework. The key issues are whether that greater complexity adds greater value to practice and theory, and whether it is, or can be made, sufficiently user-friendly for practitioners to be prepared to use it.

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See also Crime Pattern Theory; Offender-Based Programs; Problem-Oriented Policing; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Safer Cities Program; Situational Action Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

Design Against Crime Research Centre: <http://www.designagainstcrime.com>

CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS ON VICTIMIZATION

Criminal victimization is a widespread social problem that has long been the subject of public interest and scholarly work. Discussions concerning victimization typically focus on the likelihood of being victimized. Specifically, what increases the odds that an individual will be the victim of a crime? While research shows there are certain characteristics of individuals (i.e., age, gender) that increase their chances of being victimized, it also shows that victimization is more likely to occur in certain types of neighborhoods. It is these social and physical neighborhood characteristics or contextual effects on victimization that are the focus of this entry.

Neighborhoods

A neighborhood can be simply defined as a physical area where individuals reside. However, it can be defined by more than just its physical boundaries, as it is also a community consisting of friendships, social networks, and collective life. This is referred to as a systemic approach to neighborhood organization. The belief is that both physical

space and community dynamics significantly contribute to identifying and labeling neighborhoods. If a neighborhood is a sociophysical area, then both social and physical characteristics of the neighborhood influence its environment.

Adopting the sociophysical definition of a neighborhood is important in understanding how certain neighborhood characteristics affect the neighborhood environment, and subsequently, victimization. Neighborhoods that are comprised of both formal and informal social networks are more likely than other neighborhoods to possess a sense of community. The belief is that residents of a community are going to share ideas of acceptable social behavior and general community standards. One such standard is to live in a safe, crime-free neighborhood.

The expectation is that residents who live in a neighborhood with a strong sense of community are able to act collectively and exercise informal social control, which provides them with a mechanism by which they can regulate the neighborhood environment. They are able to control the activities that occur in the area and the physical appearance of the neighborhood. It is important to recognize that both social and physical aspects of a neighborhood affect its environment, and it is the environment of a neighborhood that arguably influences victimization.

Social Environment of Neighborhoods

Researchers have argued that the social environment of a neighborhood is an important factor in victimization because crime is a result of a neighborhood being unable to regulate itself. This social environment is largely determined by relationships—relationships among residents and relationships between the residents and local institutions. These are the informal and formal networks that enable residents to act collectively and exercise informal social control. Neighborhoods that lack these networks are considered socially disorganized.

Socially disorganized neighborhoods often lack a sense of community, are comprised of weak institutions, have residents who do not know their neighbors, and include residents who do not know how or want to act collectively to solve problems. Socially disorganized neighborhoods are often characterized by ethnic heterogeneity, population turnover, lack of

social integration, and poverty. It is these four social characteristics of a neighborhood that have a significant influence on its environment.

Ethnic Heterogeneity

Ethnic heterogeneity refers to the ethnic composition of residents in a neighborhood. The degree of ethnic heterogeneity is important to consider, as it is argued that heterogeneous neighborhoods have higher victimization than do homogeneous neighborhoods. Because increased heterogeneity may lead to isolated groups within the neighborhood, heterogeneity potentially weakens the ability of a neighborhood to act collectively. In addition, ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods may face language barriers and moral and value differences. These differences not only increase the likelihood of isolated groups of residents, but also hinder the ability to solve problems across ethnicities. The multiplicity of ethnicities leads to groups being unable or unwilling to identify common goals and rules for the neighborhood; therefore, neighborhoods with more heterogeneity are also more likely to have more victimization.

Population Turnover

Population turnover is also referred to as residential mobility. The average number of years residents live in the neighborhood is important, as over time, residents of a neighborhood are more likely to build friendships, foster ties to local organizations, and develop a strong sense of community. Essentially, residents become invested in their neighborhood over the years. On the contrary, neighborhoods that are characterized by high population turnover are comprised of residents who do not necessarily have an interest in their neighbors or the local community. Transient populations are typically unwilling and uninterested in investing time or energy in a neighborhood that they do not intend to inhabit for very long. Thus, neighborhoods with high population turnover are less likely to have the informal and formal networks that allow residents to exercise informal social control in the area in an attempt to minimize criminal activity. Increased residential mobility, then, affects the social environment of a neighborhood in such a way that risk of victimization increases.

Neighborhood Integration

Neighborhood integration (cohesion) is a social characteristic of a neighborhood that focuses on the social interaction of neighbors and the involvement of residents in the local community. Integration can refer to interactions such as having dinner with the neighbors or simply agreeing to watch a neighbor's house while he or she is away. These types of interactions among neighborhood residents serve as social ties to the neighborhood and the local community; they also establish a foundation of communication. If residents are communicating or at least open to communicating, then they are in a position conducive to expressing and upholding community-oriented goals and norms. Neighborhood integration or even just an increase in social ties within a neighborhood contributes to the development of informal and formal networks within the neighborhood, and therefore, increases the likelihood of residents banding together in an attempt to control the neighborhood's environment.

Poverty

Poverty level can be assessed as a socioeconomic measure of a neighborhood's status. Specifically, poverty level is actually a household classification that is based on annual income. In 2008, the Department of Health and Human Services declared that a family of four whose household income is less than \$21,400 is classified as living below poverty level. Poverty affects neighborhood environments, in that neighborhoods that are characterized as impoverished are typically socially disorganized and exhibit visible signs of physical deterioration. Impoverished neighborhoods, then, arguably lack the basic mechanisms necessary for exercising informal social control—extensive formal and informal networks. In addition, these neighborhoods lack the visible signs of community standards because physical deterioration is evident and seemingly acceptable or tolerated by the residents. In sum, neighborhoods that are considered to be impoverished are often seen as lacking a general sense of community.

It should be noted that assessment of poverty level is arguably considered an overarching or umbrella measure that actually captures numerous other social characteristics of neighborhood life.

Physical Environment of Neighborhoods

Studying the physical characteristics of a neighborhood is important when considering its environment. The physical appearance of neighborhood buildings and streets and the public social activity evident in that space contribute to public perceptions of the neighborhood. Characteristics such as litter on the streets or loud, boisterous teenagers are often considered signs of physical and social deterioration of the community. These visible signs of deterioration are referred to as disorder or neighborhood incivility.

Incivility in a neighborhood indirectly affects victimization in that it influences both residents' and outsiders' attitudes toward the neighborhood. How the neighborhood is perceived is important because visible signs of deterioration, physical or social, are often equated to a breakdown of community standards on acceptable behavior. The neighborhood could be viewed as being out of control. Neighborhood incivility may also lead to diminished neighborhood cohesion as residents lose a sense of efficacy. If residents assume a direct relationship between physical and social deterioration and an increase in victimization, then they are less likely to feel empowered to act collectively.

Physical Disorder

Physical signs of disorder include litter, abandoned buildings, vandalism, graffiti, and poor street lighting. People often associate these physical characteristics in a neighborhood with the occurrence of crime. Littering and vandalism are in fact classified as misdemeanor crimes, and therefore, evidence of these substantiates that the neighborhood has been unable to regulate even the most minor criminal activity. If neighborhood residents are unable to collectively act to reduce or stop vandalism and littering, then they are also unlikely to act collectively to deter more serious crimes.

Social Disorder

Social signs of disorder include fighting, visible drug use, and unsupervised teenagers. Fighting and visible signs of drug use are viewed as signs of social deterioration, in that individuals who engage in these activities do not respect social norms. Both of these activities can also be classified as criminal.

The argument follows that individuals who engage in this type of behavior do not observe general social norms of acceptable behavior, and therefore, may be more likely to engage in additional, more serious forms of criminal activity.

The argument that unsupervised teenagers are a sign of social deterioration is similar. Statistics support the commonly held belief that youth are more likely than adults to engage in delinquent behavior. When supervision is lacking, teenagers are provided with an opportunity to engage in criminal or delinquent behavior. And unsupervised teenagers are associated with increased victimization.

Research Findings

Numerous studies have been conducted in an attempt to identify contextual effects on victimization. Many of these studies include both disorganization and disorder measures. These studies include different combinations of variables, depending upon the theoretical premise of the study, and the variables are not always measured or defined identically across studies. The findings generally indicate that neighborhood environments do affect victimization.

When generalizing discussion on the empirical support for contextual effects on victimization, it is important to remember that variables may be defined and measured differently across studies. One important example is disorder. Many studies find that disorder is a strong predictor of victimization. Disorder is an index measure, which means that it is comprised of different component variables. Thus, disorder may be defined as an index including poor street lighting, litter, vandalism, and visible drug use in one study; but in another study the disorder index may only include poor street lighting, litter, and vandalism.

Overall, there is empirical support for evaluating contextual effects on victimization. When what affects the chances of being victimized is assessed, individual characteristics are often the first consideration. Sociological theory and empirical research, however, suggest that individual-level characteristics alone do not fully explain victimization. Neighborhood environments do, in fact, affect victimization. Regardless of the biological makeup of individuals, contextual factors are going to influence victimization because individuals are

social beings. Thus it is critical to consider the environment in which they live.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Incivilities/ Social Disorder; Social Control and Self-Control Theory; Victimization, Theories of

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CO-OCCURRENCE OF VICTIMIZATION

Co-occurrence of victimization is a fairly broad term describing an individual's experience of multiple types of victimization. Although advances in research and practice in criminology largely address separate types of victimization (e.g., sexual assault, domestic violence, child abuse), there is considerable evidence that persons who experience one type of victimization are at risk for other types. Due to its association with severe psychological distress and posttraumatic stress disorder

(PTSD), co-occurrence of victimization is important to study; it is relevant for understanding all victimization experiences and for treating victims. Etiologically, it is important to recognize how and under what circumstances one type of victimization increases the likelihood of another type. Co-victimization is a consideration in treatment development, particularly when treatments targeting one type of victimization are less effective with co-victimized persons. Identifying the mechanisms underlying co-victimization can also inform prevention efforts, particularly with the goal of developing effective strategies to mitigate the risk of future victimizations.

Definitions and Explanations

Co-victimization generally is defined as multiple types of harm perpetrated by one or more outside sources. Self-harm, such as substance abuse and suicidal behaviors, frequently accompanies victimization and contributes to aversive consequences, but typically is not included in the definition of co-victimization. Childhood co-victimization, similar to childhood victimization more generally, can refer to the experiences of both boys and girls. Adulthood co-victimization, in contrast, frequently refers to some combination of women's experiences of intimate partner violence, sexual assault by a known assailant or stranger, and conventional crimes (e.g., robbery). Children who experience physical abuse may also experience neglect as well as exposure to interparental aggression. Similarly, adult female victims of sexual assault are at risk for intimate partner aggression. Co-victimization is particularly insidious when it occurs across the life span, with victimized children have a higher likelihood of being revictimized during adolescence and adulthood.

There are several theories for how one type of victimization increases the risk of other such experiences. Environmental explanations attribute co-victimization to characteristics of the perpetrator, or of the home and community contexts. Childhood co-victimization is likely if a parent perpetrates violence on the child and on the other parent. Or, there may be a contagion of violence in which one parent victimizes the other parent or older sibling who, in turn, victimizes the child. Environmental explanations also attribute co-victimization to

external factors, or "third variables," such as poverty, unemployment, and homelessness, which are associated with both family and community violence. For example, a large percentage of homeless youth are abused children who then turn to high-risk behaviors (e.g., exchanging sex for money) that put them at risk for revictimization. Alternatively, intrapersonal explanations suggest ways that victimization severely compromises the ability to function adaptively and thus increase vulnerability to other victimization experiences. PTSD symptoms of dissociation and avoidance following victimization may impair judgment regarding future danger and result in additional victimization. Engaging in aggressive and delinquent behaviors subsequent to child physical abuse may increase the likelihood of revictimization through gang membership, bullying, or crime.

Rates of Co-Occurrence

Data on rates of co-occurrence are highly variable, due to widely different measurement techniques, sample characteristics, and definitions of victimization. Based on a random sample from across the United States in 1995 and 1996, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) indicated that, for women first raped as minors, 18.3% were raped as adults; this rate is twice as high as the 8.7% who reported being raped as adults but not as children. Other NIJ studies suggest that experiencing multiple types of victimization in childhood or adolescence (e.g., the combination of sexual and physical abuse) is related to sexual abuse in young adulthood. In 2005, Smith Slep and O'Leary reported on patterns of co-occurring violence in representatively sampled families, and 22% of the families reported co-occurring patterns of physical aggression between the adult partners along with both parents aggressing against the child. Studies that use very broad definitions of victimization, including peer and sibling assaults, corporal punishment, witnessing of nonweapon assaults, and emotional bullying show much higher rates of co-occurring victimization.. Studies that use very broad definitions of victimization, including peer and sibling assaults, corporal punishment, witnessing of nonweapon assaults, and emotional bullying show much higher rates of co-occurring victimization.

Consequences

Research has generally shown that the greater the amount of victimization, the more the distress suffered by the victim. In studies of recurrent and co-occurring violent victimization, problems such as depression, anxiety, dissociative symptoms, health problems, underutilization of health care, and drug and alcohol abuse were worsened by increased victimization. Individuals who have experienced repeated or multiple types of violence are incrementally more likely than others to suffer psychological and physical distress and to require more time for recovery.

In children, the multiplicity of victimization types is related to greater trauma symptoms, which are sometimes more severe than the effects of multiple exposures to a single type. Children who witness domestic violence in addition to suffering physical abuse tend to suffer worse consequences than children who experience one of these alone. For adult female victims, the co-occurrence of sexual abuse, whether in the past or present, intensifies the difficulties caused by physical assault alone. Similarly, women who have been repeatedly sexually assaulted have worse mental and physical health outcomes than those who were raped once.

One concern for repeat victims is PTSD, which is often viewed as a link between co-occurring victimization and severe, adverse mental and physical health consequences. PTSD is traditionally defined as a reaction to a specific life-threatening event, so further research is needed to understand the experience of trauma in response to multiple and repetitive victimization experiences.

Treatment

Trauma-focused treatments, which are available for children and adults, offer relevant interventions for the co-occurrence of violence. These treatments typically address safety planning, psychoeducation, and coping skills for reducing stress. Nonetheless, little is known about what treatments are optimally suited to persons experiencing co-occurring victimizations, as treatments are often developed for one specific type of victimization (e.g., rape or domestic violence). Greater attention needs to be directed to assessing all victimization experiences, to developing strategies to avoid revictimization, and to

understanding the compounding and complicating nature of co-occurring victimizations.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Contextual Effects on Victimization; Domestic Violence; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Rape; Repeat Victimization

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CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Although there is no one definition of corporal punishment, it is generally described as the use of physical force with the intention of causing a person pain, but not injury, for the purpose of either correction or control of behavior. The term *corporal punishment* can refer to the act of striking another's body (e.g., spanking, slapping, caning, whipping), pulling or yanking a part of another's body, or throwing objects at another individual. However, the types of socially accepted corporal punishment, the prevalence of corporal punishment, and the population subjected to corporal punishment are continually influenced by changing cultural norms and public attitudes.

Historically, corporal punishment has been utilized for cases of adults by penal institutions and the military, as well as cases of children through juvenile courts, reformatories, schools, and parents. Today, however, the United States limits the use of corporal punishment to the disciplining of children, while most other Western countries have outlawed corporal punishment outright.

History

Corporal punishment is considered the oldest form of punishment known to humankind. Numerous acts of whipping and flogging can be found in the Old Testament, and the Laws of Moses reference the use of “up to forty strokes of the rod” as a punishment for a variety of offenses. In addition, King Solomon promised that parents who spared the rod would spoil their children.

In 1530, Henry the Eighth added the Whipping Act to English law as a punishment for vagrancy, whereby offenders would be tied naked to a cart and whipped in the marketplace until bloody. Whippings were administered for offenses such as peddling, being drunk on a Sunday, giving birth to a bastard child, and participating in or suspicion of witchcraft. In America, whipping was used as punishment for crimes of slander, theft, idleness, rioting, and prostitution and was used unmercifully as a punishment for slaves. It was not until the mid-1900s that the use of corporal punishment was deemed inhumane and thus terminated in the United States prison system.

Contemporary Use

Currently in the United States, corporal punishment is permitted solely in cases regarding children and may only be administered by parents or those acting in place of a parent such as a guardian or school administrator. Although the use of corporal punishment has been waning over the last several hundred years and has been outlawed in most of the Western world, corporal punishment is still used as a means of discipline for children in the United States.

Prevalence in the Home

According to Murray Straus and his colleagues, a large study by the National Family Violence Council found that a large percentage of American children

have been hit at some point by at least one parent, with males being hit more often than females. Parents’ use of corporal punishment often begins in a child’s infancy, reaches a peak when the child is around age 3 or 4, and then declines. However, about one in four American children are still subjected to some form of corporal punishment through their teen years (ages 15–17). Parental attitudes about acceptable types of corporal punishment seem to be changing, as more severe punishments such as throwing objects are on the decline.

Prevalence in the Schools

In 1977, in *Ingraham v. Wright*, the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on corporal punishment violating children’s Eighth Amendment rights, but on a 5–4 decision declared that schoolroom corporal punishment did not constitute cruel and unusual punishment. However, since the Supreme Court decision, 29 states have banned corporal punishment in U.S. schools, and states without corporal punishment bans have seen a continual decline in the use of corporal punishment in their school systems. As noted by Human Rights Watch, however, three states, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama, still consistently use corporal punishment at the highest rates.

Corporal punishment in U.S. schools is almost invariably applied with a wooden paddle to the student’s clothed posterior. A typical punishment constitutes two or three strokes, typically referred to as “swats” or “licks.” For decades, it was routine for corporal punishment to be administered in the classroom or directly outside the classroom in the adjoining hallway. It is now customary for corporal punishment to be delivered privately in an office, often by the principal or deputy principal or at least in his or her presence. It is very unlikely today for a student to be subjected to paddling on the spur of the moment and more likely to require bureaucratic protocol such as formal documentation and informing parents.

Opposition

Although corporal punishment continues to be accepted and supported by some American parents, there is a growing opposition movement working to stop its use both privately in the home and publicly by state actors. Opponents of corporal punishment

cite psychological and medical evidence linking the use of corporal punishment to harmful side effects such as hyperaggression and the acceptance of violence in interpersonal relationships. In addition, opponents point out disparities in the use of corporal punishment and claim that the public school system targets male and minority students.

Ultimately, corporal punishment is still an accepted part of child rearing that some American parents endorse as necessary to raising children. However, scholars and social service providers acknowledge that the very fine line between legal corporal punishment and physical abuse sometimes creates a barrier to protecting children. In addition, future exploration of the potential link between corporal punishment and interpersonal violence is paramount.

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See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Family Violence; Juvenile Offending and Victimization

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United States. After all, corporations embody the entrepreneurial initiative, creativity, and free market capitalism that American society embraces. Furthermore, corporations are a major factor in the nation's high standard of living, which is created through the production of numerous products for consumers. Yet these positive aspects of corporations are accompanied by negative aspects. Corporations have enormous resources that can be used to influence politicians and public policy to their benefit (e.g., monetary contributions, lobbyists). They are often controlled by their investors, which may lead to a culture of pursuing monetary success at all costs in order to please stockholders. As recently seen with the economic crisis of 2008, some corporations staunchly fight governmental regulations yet may call on the government for help when all else has failed.

Corporations are in a unique position that allows for unethical and illegal actions that can lead to victimizations at numerous levels. Corporate crimes are hard to investigate and prosecute because a single crime may be very complicated, involve several actors, and produce numerous victims. The victims of corporate crime may include the employees, consumers, competitors, and society in general. The FBI has estimated the costs of white-collar crime in general to be between \$300 billion and \$600 billion annually. Yet research on victims of corporate crime is limited. In fact, research on the victimization of white-collar crime in general is only now starting to receive attention in the mainstream victimology literature.

Distinguishing Characteristics

Corporate crime includes both violent and nonviolent forms. Corporate violence includes environmental crimes affecting society, unsafe products that harm consumers, and unsafe working conditions that harm employees. It differs from other types of violence in five basic ways. First, corporate violence typically consists of indirect harm. The corporation does not intentionally hurt others; rather, harm comes indirectly from the unintended consequences of improper policies and actions. Second, the motivation for corporate crime differs from that of conventional crimes. Corporate violence is motivated by the desire to maximize profits and minimize costs; the violence

CORPORATE CRIME

Corporations are rarely seen as offenders; rather, corporations tend to be held in high esteem in the

is a consequence of the crime rather than an intended outcome. Third, in corporate crime, causal relationships are hard to establish. Typically, the effects of the policy or action are separated in time from the harm, thus making it difficult to directly pin the policy or action on the harm caused. A fourth factor is that there usually are a large number of individuals collectively involved in corporate violence, whereas in other types of violence only one or a few individuals are responsible for the action. Corporate violence is not the result of one individual's decisions; rather, it is a collaboration involving decisions made throughout the process by numerous people in different departments, with their collective actions leading to the situation that results in the later harm. Finally, corporate violence does not receive the same response from the criminal justice system as other types of violence. For example, corporate violence is hard to prosecute for many of the reasons listed above (e.g., it may be hard to prove causation, involve numerous actors, involve lack of intent). Nonviolent corporate crime, however, generally involves vast political and economic consequences as opposed to physical harm. This is the type of crime that Edwin Sutherland focused on when he introduced the study of white-collar crime in 1939. Nonviolent crime typically involves corporate abuse of power, fraud, and economic exploitation. The following sections identify the toll of corporate crime on the various victims.

Corporate Crimes Against Society

Corporations can victimize society in numerous ways. Perhaps one of the most common forms of corporate violence against society is unsafe environmental practices such as the release of toxic chemicals and air pollution. It has been estimated that approximately 90% of hazardous waste is improperly handled and/or disposed of. Furthermore, pollution has been cited as the cause of the increase in the number of cancer cases in the 20th century. Pollution has also been linked to heart disease, genetic disorders, sterility, birth disorders, and other ailments. While companies that handle toxic chemicals are allowed to release a certain amount of the chemicals into the environment through various methods, there have been extreme cases in which companies have knowingly

or accidentally released amounts that exceeded acceptable limits. One such infamous example is that of the Love Canal and Hooker Chemical Corporation in Niagara County, New York, which is described below.

Hooker Chemical Corporation bought the Love Canal in 1940, drained it, and dumped 22,000 tons of highly toxic chemical waste into the canal, then buried it all under clay. The site was then sold to the Niagara School Board for a dollar. Concerned about future repercussions from the toxic waste, Hooker disclosed the contents of the landfill and inserted a clause in the deed that released the company of any liability and cautioned the buyer against any excavations on the property. Despite warnings, a community and a school were built on and around the property. Over a period of decades, schoolchildren and residents were exposed to noxious fumes and surfacing chemicals. Residents were experiencing adverse medical effects including rashes, burns, miscarriages, birth defects, liver ailments, emotional disorders, and cancer. However, a causal link between the medical ailments and the chemicals was never clearly established. The Department of Justice and the state of New York filed lawsuits against Hooker Chemical, and in 1994, the court found no cause to hold the company liable. In the end, several hundred families were evacuated from the area and Hooker paid \$20 million to the former residents. It is important to note that at the time (in the 1940s), Hooker's method of hazardous waste disposal was not illegal; while morally irresponsible, it was in line with disposal methods of the time.

In response to the Love Canal incident, Congress passed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) of 1980. CERCLA taxes all oil- and chemical-based companies and places the money into a fund to clean up hazardous waste sites. CERCLA identifies Superfund sites and requires the companies responsible for the pollution to aid in the funding of cleanup efforts. As of 2008, there were 1,650 federally identified Superfund sites in the United States, but CERCLA funds are running low and taxpayers may soon have to start paying for these cleanup efforts.

Society is also victimized when corporations fail to pay taxes or when a corporation defrauds the government. In such instances, the taxpayers pick

up the tab. For example, in 1998, 24 Fortune 500 companies did not pay taxes, which resulted in several billions of dollars of losses to the government. Furthermore, the U.S. government has been repeatedly defrauded by defense contractors who overcharge for products and supplies. In one noteworthy example, a defense contractor charged the government \$9,606 for an Allen wrench worth 12 cents. Taxpayers make up for these losses through the increase of taxes or the reallocation of tax money to other departments.

Corporate Crimes Against Consumers

Perhaps the most infamous case of corporate violence against consumers was the case of the Ford Pinto in the 1970s. The Ford Motor Company was the first company to ever be charged with murder. The Ford Pinto was built in response to competition from foreign markets in the late 1960s. In order to increase profits, Ford president Lee Iacocca ordered the production of a car weighing less than 2,000 pounds and costing less than \$2,000 to manufacture (the "Rule of 2000"). Because of the poor design of the Pinto, namely the location of the gas tank, rear-end collisions could cause the gas tank to explode while the body of the car shifted, jamming the doors and trapping occupants inside. Investigations found that Ford knew about this problem and made a calculated decision that it would be cheaper to pay civil damages (death suits) than to recall all of the cars and fix them. In the end, Ford paid millions of dollars in civil lawsuits, recalled and fixed all Pintos, and was acquitted on the criminal charges due to inadmissible evidence.

A more recent example of corporate violence against consumers in the form of unsafe products can be seen in products manufactured in China that have been tainted with melamine, a chemical used to make plastic and fertilizer. The Food and Drug Administration reported approximately 12,000 reports of animal illnesses related to the melamine contamination of popular pet foods. One year later, melamine-tainted baby formula from China resulted in six infant deaths and more than 300,000 illnesses.

Price fixing is a common form of nonviolent corporate crime against consumers that involves the artificial inflation of prices for goods and services. Price fixing has been done on various products from

shoes to video games, and even college educations. In 2000, Nine West paid \$34 million for illegally inflating the price of its shoes since 1988. Nintendo was fined \$197 million in 2002 for fixing prices on video games. In 1992, MIT (the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and eight other Ivy League schools were charged with price fixing of tuition. Frequently, price fixing is not a result of a conspiracy, but rather a result of parallel pricing in which an industry leader sets an inflated price and competitors adjust their prices accordingly; the former is illegal, the latter may be unethical yet not necessarily illegal. Price fixing is an interesting crime because victims generally do not know they are being victimized. Consumers unknowingly pay inflated prices, to the economic benefit of the corporation; individual losses may be small, but overall losses can amount to millions of dollars.

Consumers can also be victimized when companies engage in fraud and false advertising through the use of lies, deceit, and/or misrepresentation in efforts to entice consumers to purchase their goods or services. For example, Campbell's Soup was charged with false advertising when it was discovered that they placed marbles at the bottom of their bowls of soup during commercial shoots to make it appear that the soup was loaded with chicken and noodles. In another case, it was found that Beech-Nut Nutrition Corporation had earned an estimated \$60 million through the sale of "100% apple juice" that contained absolutely no apples.

Corporate Crimes Against Employees

Crimes against employees can occur in many forms, such as economic exploitation, unfair labor practices, creating dangerous working conditions, discrimination, and outright stealing from the employees. When Enron declared bankruptcy in December 2001 due to misrepresentation of profits and overwhelming debt, employees lost \$1.3 billion in retirement savings, as retirement accounts were largely invested in Enron stock. In the year leading up to bankruptcy, Enron stock values continued to decline, yet employees were not allowed to withdraw their retirement funds, when all the while Enron's CEO, Ken Lay, and other top executives earned hundreds of millions of dollars in salaries, stock options, and bonuses. In another case, Wal-Mart was accused of cheating employees out of hundreds of millions of

dollars by requiring them to work after clocking out with no additional pay while managers received bonuses for keeping labor costs down.

Not only are employees victimized through outright theft and economic exploitation, but employees may also be subjected to unsafe working conditions. In efforts to cut costs companies may cut corners when it comes to the safety and well-being of their employees. According to a press release by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 2008, there were 5,488 fatal work-related injuries recorded in the United States in 2007. While these numbers are down from previous years, it still represents 3.7 fatal work injuries per 100,000 workers. The construction business incurred the most fatalities of any industry in the private sector due to the nature of the business and the safety issues involved on the job. It was also found that nonfatal workplace injuries and illnesses in private industries declined from previous years. The nonfatal injury and illness rate in 2007 was 4.2 cases per 100 full-time workers. These numbers suggest that work fatalities and nonfatal injuries nationwide are down in almost all industries, which may signify safer working conditions overall, among other things.

Consequences

Corporate crimes not only have financial and physical consequences, but they also have heavy social consequences. These violations of trust hinder people's quality of life and perpetuate further feelings of victimization. Corporations are in a unique position to victimize people and society on numerous levels. Unfortunately, many reprehensible behaviors of corporations are unethical as opposed to illegal, which makes policing corporate crime a difficult task. Due to the nature of the offense, the number of people often involved, and the complexities of the actions, corporate crimes may be punished rather leniently if they are punished at all. In addition, many victims do not even know they have been victimized. Much of what is known about corporate crime victimization comes from case studies of incidents after the fact. What researchers have determined is that unlike conventional crime, corporate crime does not discriminate; everyone is at risk for corporate victimization.

Andrea Schoepfer

See also Exploitation by Scams; Future of Victimology; Internet Fraud; Methodological Issues in Counting Victims; Occupational Violence; Public Opinion and Crime Prevention, United States

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CORRECTION OFFICIALS AND VICTIMS

Victims have become an important focal point within correctional programs throughout recent

decades. It is important to note, however, that this has not always been the case. Correction officials have now instituted programs such as restorative justice and victim notification programs in order to increase the roles that victims play within correctional settings. This entry examines how these programs have increased the victim's role in correctional proceedings.

Restorative Justice

While restorative justice programs have been common throughout different countries for some time, they did not come into popularity in the United States until the 1990s. Until then the dominant philosophies within corrections had been rehabilitation, retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation. With the advent of restorative justice, correction officials have been given an alternative to the traditional forms of justice. The key concepts of restorative justice are to "restore" victims and have a more victim-centered criminal justice system. The process of restoring the victim includes (1) restoring the property lost or injury, (2) reinstating their sense of security, dignity, and sense of empowerment, (3) restoring deliberative democracy, (4) reestablishing harmony based on feelings of obtained justice, and (5) restoring social support from family and friends. While these programs boast wonderful ideals, research has shown that they have limited success with regard to offender recidivism. However, this does not mean that these programs are of little to no value.

Restorative justice puts its primary focus is on the victim, and it is seen by some as an extension of the victims' rights movement. Research has shown that victims express greater satisfaction with cases sent to restorative justice conferences than with cases sent to traditional court proceedings. Studies also have shown that the increased satisfaction with restorative justice proceedings is often due to the symbolic compensation given in the form of an apology. In addition, the majority of the victims surveyed experienced a reduction in fear and an increase in emotional restoration after participating in the restorative justice program.

Restorative justice proceedings are often held through mediation conferences, and are actually quite simple in the way they work. Typically, after an offender admits his or her wrongdoing, he or

she will be asked to participate in the conference. The offender is also asked to bring his or her loved ones as supporters to the conference. Once the victims agree to participate in the conferences, they are also asked to bring supporters with them. The conference proceedings are typically held in the community, as this is an essential part of the philosophy. Typically, the conference is mediated by a local judge or legal professional. At the beginning of the conference, there is a discussion of the crime that was committed and how it affected everyone in the room. This will typically focus on the victim's suffering as well as the stress that has been felt by the offender's family. Once everyone has reached a point of understanding, there is then a discussion of what needs to be done in order to "repair" the harm that has been caused. An agreement is signed that specifies what the offender has agreed to do to repair the harm and suffering that has been caused to the victim. Once this contract is fulfilled, both the victim and offender have been restored to their prior standing within the community.

Programs such as restorative justice have become increasingly popular with juvenile offenders; however, they are also used with some adult offenders. These programs have helped increase awareness within the correctional field of the needs of victims as well as their important role within correctional programs. While restorative justice is becoming an important way for correction officials to work with victims, other victim-centered programs have also emerged. For example, as a result of the victims' rights movement, notification programs are becoming a staple within corrections.

Victim Notification Programs

Currently, 43 states are involved, in at least some capacity, in a nationwide victim notification program. The most comprehensive nationwide program is the Victim Information and Notification Everyday (VINE), which provides victims with current, reliable information as to the custody status of offenders at any time. Using a database, victims can select a state and then search for an offender via offender ID number or name. When the offender is found, the offender's date of birth, current age, custody status, and location are provided. Once the offender is located in the database,

the victim can register to be notified via phone or email when the offender's custody status changes.

Programs such as VINE have become increasingly available to victims due to technological advancements. Of the 43 states with some form of program, 35 states include complete state records, while the other 8 include records from multiple counties. Historically, these programs were only available to victims of violent or sexual crimes; however, due to technological advances and the victims' rights movement, now the victim of any crime can secure the peace of mind of knowing the current custody status of the offender, as well as being notified when his or her release occurs.

Role of Victims and Correction Officials

The role of the victim has changed dramatically in the past several decades. Through the development of programs such as restorative justice, which seeks to help restore the emotional and financial losses of the victim, the importance of the role of the victim has increased exponentially. While correction officials have increased the role of victims through programs such as restorative justice, they have also increased their responsibility to victims. Programs such as victim notification have allowed victims to have an increased security with regard to potentially dangerous offenders. While victims were once not a central part of the criminal justice process, their roles have been forever changed due to a variety of circumstances. Correction officials now have a duty to respond and respect the role of victims within criminal justice proceedings. Programs such as restorative justice and victim notification are only two areas of many where correction officials are now fulfilling their new roles.

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See also Restorative Justice; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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CORRELATES OF VICTIMIZATION

Correlates of victimization refer to either the characteristics of victims—such as their age, race, and sex—or the contexts that are predictive or statistically associated with higher risk of victimization. Scientifically locating such correlates enables policy makers to target prevention efforts toward those persons or situations likely to be targets of crime. Victimization researchers are interested in these correlates as well, as they help with organizing into a conceptual framework those processes that might lead some individuals to have a higher risk of victimization than others.

If no correlates of victimization existed, that is, if victimization was essentially a random event, then there would be no need for victimization policy or theory. Everyone would have the same probability of becoming a victim, with chance determining which individuals in fact fall prey to offenders. In this case, no action or omission by a person, or personal or situational characteristics, would influence the likelihood or level of victimization one way or the other. The data reveal that this perception about victimization is simply not true. The first systematic look at who is likely to become a crime victim began in the early 1970s with the National Crime Survey (or NCS, and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey, or NCVS). These data sources, and many others that have emerged since the 1970s, have provided an increasingly clear picture of factors that are predictive of victimization. We know that individual victims of crime tend to be disproportionately young, male, and African American. Research over the past several decades has also uncovered many other personal and situational factors that elevate the risk of victimization. Note that these correlates do not mean that everyone who possesses these risk factors will definitely become a victim. Official statistics indicate that victimization, and particularly

violent victimization, is a statistically rare event even among those at high risk. Thus, these characteristics only signify that for the average person with these traits, there is a higher probability of victimization occurring.

This entry outlines the variables that research has indicated affect an individual's likelihood of becoming the victim of a crime. Correlates are useful in creating profiles of the "typical" victim, or establishing patterns of victimization. The most basic correlates are demographic in nature, such as age, race, and sex. Recent work, driven by victimization theory, has uncovered additional factors that appear to elevate the risk of victimization.

Demographic Correlates of Violent Crime

The NCS was the first to provide national-level systematic data on the basic predictors of victimization. Before the NCS, official crime statistics—namely, those provided by the Uniform Crime Reporting Program—contained no data about victim characteristics for any crime besides homicide, thus precluding the ability to create a statistical portrait of victimization in the United States. Additional similar sources of victimization data have also emerged in other countries, from such sources as the United Kingdom's British Crime Survey, or BCS. The most recent detailed summary report for the successor to the NCS, the NCVS, is based on 2006 data. The patterns identified in these data sets have generally been impressively consistent.

Gender, for many years, has been one of the most striking correlates of personal victimization. In 1973, for instance, the rate of violent victimization among males of all ages was approximately 73 per 1,000 respondents, whereas the rate for females was less than half the male rate (about 30 per 1,000 respondents). The BCS shows similar patterns, where males generally experience more victimization than do females. One interesting trend that has become apparent over the past several years in the United States has been the narrowing of violent victimization rates of males and females. In 2006, for example, males were victims of violence at a rate of 27 per 1,000; however, females had only marginally lower rates (23 per 1,000). While this narrowing appears to have begun during the early 1980s, it has become more

marked since 1993. In England and Wales, in contrast, males in 2007 were still twice as likely to experience violence than were females. Rape or sexual assault is the only type of violent victimization where females have consistently had a higher risk of becoming a victim, although the risk itself is not especially great for the average female. In 2006, 1.8 women (out of each 1,000) reported rape or sexual assault, in comparison to 0.2 males per 1,000.

Clear patterns have emerged as well with respect to the age of victims of personal crime. The major national-level victimization data sources in the United States show that violent victimization risk is greatest among those 12 to 24 years old, with the rate of victimization decreasing precipitously throughout the remainder of life. In 1994, 16- to 19-year-olds had a rate of violent victimization of 125 per 1,000 (12- to 15-year-olds and 20- to 24-year-olds had slightly lower rates), whereas 25- to 34 year-olds had a substantially lower rate (55 per 1,000) and those 65 and older experienced hardly any violence (4 per 1,000). By 2006, although these rates had declined substantially from their 1994 peak (down to a rate of 53 per 1,000 for the 16- to 19-year-olds), the basic pattern in which young people are at the highest risk still held.

The factors of age and gender combine to affect individuals' risk of victimization. For instance, although females have the greater risk of sexual violence, this risk is concentrated among younger females, as the 12- to 15-year-olds had a rate of 6.4 per 1,000 in 2006, whereas females 65 or older had a rate approaching zero. This same pattern carries for all personal crimes. Put differently, regardless of gender, younger people are more likely to experience personal victimization than are older people.

While BCS data do not report the distribution of victimization across race or ethnicity, NCVS data do. Since the inception of the collection of victimization data at the national level, it has been found that Blacks have the highest risk of victimization. As with gender, however, the rates of Blacks and Whites have narrowed somewhat since 1973. In 1973, for example, Blacks had a rate of violent victimization that was approximately 37 per 1,000, while Whites that year had a rate of only 20 per 1,000. By 2005, the rate for Blacks had declined to under 14 per 1,000. The comparable rate for

Whites was about 7 per 1,000. Although the rate of violent victimization of Blacks has declined substantially since it peaked at 40 per 1,000 in 1981, the rate remains at about twice the level for Blacks as for Whites.

Combining the effects of age, race, and gender for 2006, the NCVS shows that the most typical victim of violence is a young male who is Black (with a rate of 35 per 1,000). Black females, as a group, had the next highest rate (about 30 per 1,000). White males had the third highest rate (26 per 1,000) and white females were statistically the safest (21 per 1,000). Rates of personal victimizations were also much greater for Hispanics than for Whites. The notion of correlates does obscure one fact: Whites substantially outnumber Blacks as a proportion of the population. That is, the estimated raw number of White victims greatly exceeds the number of Black victims (4.7 million vs. 1 million incidents in 2006). What these correlates show is that person for person, Black males have a disproportionately greater risk of violence than any other group.

The NCVS also reports several other correlates worth noting. A person's marital status, for instance, appears relevant for predicting violent victimization risk. In 2006, individuals who were never married had a rate of 43 per 1,000, and those who were either divorced or separated had a rate of about 47 per 1,000. In marked contrast, those individuals who were married (12 per 1,000) or widowed (4 per 1,000) had a substantially lower risk. This differential holds no matter what crime type; that is, single or divorced/separated people have a significantly higher risk for any of the types of violent crime the NCVS measures. This same pattern holds whether the individual is male or female.

Personal income, too, appears connected with the risk of violence. Those persons making \$7,500 or less in 2006 had a rate of 65 per 1,000 for violent crimes. The rate generally declines as income levels increase. Those persons making \$75,000 or more per year reported a rate of only 15 violent victimizations per 1,000 people. Even in robberies, where money is quite often the motive for the crime, offenders are more likely to target persons making less than \$35,000 per year. Interestingly, income might well have a substantial connection with the violent victimization of

Blacks. With few exceptions, Blacks in 2006 had only nominally higher rates of violent victimization than their White counterparts making the same income (e.g., for those making less than \$7,500 per year, a rate of 68 per 1,000 for Blacks and 65 per 1,000 for Whites).

Correlates of Household Victimization

The NCVS also records information about crimes that do not target a specific person, but rather, target a household. Such crimes include burglary, motor vehicle theft, and household theft. Some of the patterns of personal victimization persist in household data. For instance, Black households (185.6 per 1,000) had somewhat higher rates of household victimization than did White households (156.7 per 1,000). The racial differences were most apparent in household burglary rates (28.6 per 1,000 for Whites vs. 42.4 for Blacks) and motor vehicle theft (7.3 vs. 14.8); however, the difference in rates for theft, the most likely form of property victimization, was only nominal (120.8 vs. 128.4).

Beyond race, the age of the head of household, whether the subject owned his or her home, and the location of the residence also are correlated with property crime. Overall, property crime is more likely for homes headed by younger individuals. In this respect, age is correlated with property victimization as well as violence. In 2006, homes headed by teenagers experienced property victimization at a rate of 366.5 per 1,000 households. Where the head of the household was aged 65 or more, the rate diminished to 70.2 per 1,000 households. The age differential is most noticeable for general theft, but is still present for burglary and motor vehicle theft as well.

The income of the household, to some degree, predicts property victimizations, but not to the same level that it predicts violent victimization. The poorest households, those making \$7,500 or less in 2006, experienced property crime at a rate of 217.3 per 1,000 households. The rate for those households making \$75,000 or more was lower—162.0 per 1,000—but not substantially so. Whereas burglary rates tended to decrease as household income increased, the same was not necessarily true for motor vehicle theft or theft. The highest rate of theft was for those households making

\$15,000 to \$24,999 at 15.9 per 1,000. Only above this income level did the motor vehicle theft rate begin to decline as income increased. With respect to theft, the poorest households had the highest rate at 150.3 per 1,000 households; however, the next highest rate was for those making incomes of \$25,000 to \$34,999 (136.2). The third highest was for the highest income category (those making \$75,000 or more, at 133.2 per 1,000 households). In sum, household income is a very inconsistent correlate of property victimization.

The number of individuals in the household might correlate to some degree with the amount of property crime experienced. The 2006 NCVS shows this to be the case for overall property crime. Households with one member only had a rate of 101.4 per 1,000 households. The rate increased to as much as 347.8 per 1,000 for those households with six or more people. The correlation holds generally true no matter what property crime—whether burglary, motor vehicle theft, or theft. In short, the greater the number of residents in a household, the higher the risk that the household will experience property crime.

The BCS provides additional information about households most likely to experience burglary victimization. In a recent BCS report, the percentage of burglary for all households was only 2.4%. This percentage doubled when there were high levels of physical disorder in the area. This base percentage tripled (to 6.4%) in households headed by a single adult with children or where the households were headed by those who were unemployed or between the ages of 16 and 24. When the home had no security measures, the percentage of households experiencing burglary increased to a remarkable 25%.

The NCVS and BCS report similar patterns for motor vehicle theft. As with violence, for both the United States and the United Kingdom, households headed by with younger people are more likely to experience motor vehicle theft crime than are households headed by older people. Heads of household who were teenagers reported a rate of 20.1 per 1,000, versus a rate of only 3.1 for heads aged 65 or more (in the United Kingdom, 9.4% of heads of household ages 16–34 suffered a motor vehicle theft, but only 1.9% of those ages 75 or older did). Also, those heads of household living in rented properties reported higher rates of motor vehicle theft (13.2 per 1,000) than those who owned

or were paying mortgages for their homes (6.3 per 1,000). With respect to location, urban residences had the highest risk (12.8 per 1,000), with risk diminishing substantially as residences were located further from an urban core (8.0 per 1,000 for suburban homes vs. 3.6 for rural residences). The BCS looked at additional measures, finding that wealthier families and those living in areas with less disorder had a lower prevalence of motor vehicle theft.

Substantive Correlates

The term *substantive correlates* refers to risk factors for victimization that are derived from victimization theory, which is the systematic explanation developed by social scientists to account for why some people experience victimization and others do not. Researchers began to consistently use theory to develop new predictors for victimization and to guide research during the 1970s, most notably with the work of Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson on routine activity theory, as well as Michael Hindelang, Michael Gottfredson, and James Garofalo on lifestyle theory. During the 1980s and 1990s, the two aforementioned theories dominated victimization research; however, the work of scholars Richard Felson and Simon Singer pointed toward such new directions as research into social-psychological or cultural risk factors. Starting in the late 1990s, building from the studies showing that offenders and victims shared almost every meaningful predictor, researchers turned increasingly to applying criminological theories to account for victimization risk. Contemporary victimization research has thus produced a considerable array of new correlates of victimization, far beyond those recorded or even anticipated in the NCVS and BCS. This section focuses on these substantive predictors. It must be noted, however, that much of the research examining these correlates does not usually come from national-level data.

Lifestyle Theory and Routine Activities Theory

The perspective taken by lifestyle theory and routine activities theory (also known as routine activity theory) is perhaps the first to garner sustained and widespread scientific attention. This approach focuses on the role of situations and ecological context as factors responsible for

victimization. Routine activities theory argues that for victimization to occur, a given situation or context must have a combination of (1) a likely offender, (2) a worthwhile target, and (3) ineffective guardianship. Circumstances where these three factors are present will have the highest incidence of victimization. Other, relatively more recent, scholarship has identified the qualities of routine activities or lifestyle that ought to be predictive of victimization. It specifies that those who engage in unsupervised and unstructured social activity with peers will have a higher risk. Such activities would include hanging out with friends and going to parties.

The earliest tests of these theories focused only on explaining the demographic patterns mentioned earlier, as found in the NCVS. Through the 1980s and into the 1990s, research turned toward specific situations and activities that enhanced the probability of victimization. For instance, starting in the mid-1980s, researchers noted that self-reported offending was highly correlated with victimization. That is, people who said they committed more crimes were also more likely to report being victimized. The basic idea was that those with a deviant lifestyle are more likely to spend time with those who commit crime and who would not scruple at victimizing their peers (thus implying proximity to motivated offenders). Note that this correlation does not mean that all victims commit crime or else have done something to deserve to experience victimization. Rather, it means that offending behavior appears to have a strong connection with victimization risk. Indeed, some researchers, for instance, Schreck, Stewart, and Osgood, have found that a few individuals consistently played the role of victim or offender, but not both roles; however, in general the experience of both criminal offending and victimization was typical of those who reported multiple encounters with violence.

Researchers have also attempted to identify situational correlates of victimization beyond demographic variables and self-reported deviance. The BCS, for instance, asks subjects about drinking activity, including going out to pubs. According to the BCS, those who went out drinking were more than twice as likely to experience violence as those who did so less frequently or not at all. Researchers, for example, have identified a number of activities that college students engaged in that elevated their

risk of violent victimization, such as partying at night and using drugs. Others using the same theoretical approach have further explored specific daily routines that increased risk of major and minor forms of theft victimization. This body of work in fact studied the relationship of dozens of predictors of theft victimization, noting that some of these (e.g., owning a dog, going out of the home to study) were indeed connected with having a greater likelihood of experiencing a theft. In recent years, researchers have used the lifestyle and routine activities theories to make predictions about how a teenager's peer network structure affects his or her risk of violent victimization, as well as the specific qualities of lifestyles that influence risk. Christopher Schreck and his colleagues, Bonnie Fisher and Mitchell Miller, found that teenagers who were central and popular members of dense conventional friendship networks were less subject to violence than those who were similarly situated in deviant peer networks. They theorized that in deviant peer networks, friends provide information to each other on targets that others might find worth taking or attacking, as well as provide ineffective guardianship and proximity to motivated offenders.

Self-Control Theory

Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's self-control theory specifies that low self-control, which is a person's unwillingness to act as if long-term negative consequences mattered in decision making, relates not only to crime but also to such adverse outcomes as failure at work and school as well as broken relationships. Self-control theory was one of the first criminological theories to be extended to account for victimization. Self-control, according to the theory, is not something that can be directly observed. However, Hirschi and Gottfredson offered many strategies for measuring self-control, preferring measures that focused on low self-control, such as those involving crime and failure in work and relationships. The most commonly used index of low self-control in criminological as well as victimization research is the Grasmick personality/attitudinal scale or some variant of this scale. This index measures respondents' tendency to become angry, take risks, be impulsive, think only of the short term, and so forth. Victimization research using self-control theory has

tended to use the latter approach, finding that low self-control does in fact predict victimization.

Social Interactionist Theory

Richard Felson described the relevance of what he termed the social interactionist (SI) theory to violent victimization. The basic argument of the theory presents the onset of victimization as the product of emotional distress, which directs human interaction toward aggression. The basic process begins with a person who has experienced a negative event, such as getting fired or going through a divorce, and who is feeling emotionally down as a consequence. Almost perversely, emotional distress, far from eliciting pity in those persons nearby, actually irritates and angers them. This aversive reaction emerges because the distressed person is more likely to perform at an offensively unsatisfactory level at work or school. He or she is also more likely to be rude or inconsiderate toward others and violate social rules and expectations. As a consequence, the other person in the interaction will have a grievance, which may provoke physical attack if the distressed person is unable or unwilling to make satisfaction (e.g., apologize). The initial attack may then result in a cycle of retaliation and counter-retaliation.

Social interactionist theory, at least with respect to victimization, has not received extensive testing in the scientific literature to date. Richard Felson examined the role of negative events as predictors of victimization, finding that they indeed made victimization more likely to occur. However, he was not able to explore whether negative affect or emotions explained away the effect of these negative events (as in his theory). Other researchers later added early pubertal development as a potential negative event, finding that it, too, made victimization more likely to occur. This later research directly measured indicators of depression, finding (1) that those individuals who reported more symptoms of depression had a higher risk of victimization, and (2) that for the girls in the sample, depression was the reason that those who matured earlier had higher odds of being attacked.

Subcultures of Violence Theories

Simon Singer was one of the first to link subcultural norms of violence with victimization.

His basic idea is that the subculture is infused with values that promote violence. Quite often, a consequence of this violence is retaliation on the part of those victimized, creating a cycle where individuals alternate roles as offenders and victims.

Until recently, research did not examine whether norms of violence affected victimization risk. However, research has now begun to directly test the influence of subcultural norms. For example, Elijah Anderson, in his ethnographic study of Blacks in severely disadvantaged neighborhoods in Philadelphia, reported the existence of what he termed the "Code of the Street." The street code is essentially a system of rules governing the use of violence to informally address grievances. The individual, in effect, has beliefs that allow him or her to become physically violent toward others in situations where social control is perceived as necessary. These beliefs also translate into a distinctive personal style: a belligerent persona that exists simply to build a reputation ("rep") and thus intimidate would-be victimizers. Outside of disadvantaged neighborhoods, in the event of violence, individuals have recourse to the courts or the police; however, norms of violence exist for a functional reason in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Here, the legal and courts system has become so ineffective as to have lost legitimacy in the eyes of many residents, thus making it necessary for neighborhood residents to be willing to take the law into their own hands and use the threat of or actual violence to terrify would-be offenders. Put another way, having a reputation for violence enhances "respect," which in turn deters would-be offenders (who would thus risk their lives by trying a person who has "respect"). A collaborative project of Eric Stewart, Christopher Schreck, and Ronald Simons, however, found that Blacks who reported having attitudes that favored the use of violence in fact had a greater risk of experiencing violent victimization. A belligerent set of beliefs, rather than being protective, is in fact correlated with more violent victimization.

Victim Profiles

This entry examined some of the major correlates of victimization, based on those reported in major national surveys as well as those identified in the

scientific research literature on victimization. The profile of the typical victim of violent crime, according to the national data, is a person who is young, male, Black, single, and poor. Households most likely to have property stolen are disproportionately likely to be those headed by young people, those who do not own their place of residence, and those with a large number of people. The substantive research goes further, finding that victims of crime exhibit many lifestyle, cultural, and social-psychological markers. Persons who become victims are unusually likely to be deviants. They spend more time away from the home and in the presence of their same-age peers (and away from supervision by responsible authorities). They are more likely than others to have friends who are criminal. They are more likely to have attitudes that are markedly belligerent, which puts them at significantly greater risk for violent victimization. Those who become victims are also more likely to have low self-control and to exhibit signs of emotional depression.

In short, victimization is not a random event. Those with a high risk of victimization consistently reveal the same traits. This fact, in turn, identifies the people and households that might benefit most from crime prevention policies targeted specifically for them.

Christopher J. Schreck

See also Age and Victimization; British Crime Survey (BCS); National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Sex and Victimization; Victimization, Theories of; Victimization Surveys

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COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS AND CRIME PREVENTION

Everyday decisions invoke cost-benefit analysis (CBA). Yet everyday decisions are so easy and mundane that we barely notice. Choosing to make scrambled egg for breakfast, we know the anticipated costs—price of eggs, time and effort of cooking, cholesterol risk—and the anticipated benefits—some protein, a full belly, the tasty pleasure when a little pepper is added. So we make everyday decisions seemingly without pause for thought because we have almost perfect knowledge and because the consequences of a wrong decision are usually fairly trivial. But when we pause for thought, this comes closer to a formal cost-benefit analysis. We come closer still with major personal decisions such as buying a car or property, when we list and weigh costs and benefits that are both immediate (my neighbors will be jealous) and long term (will I still have the emergency fund for a rainy day?). Generally speaking, the more complete the accounting, the closer we get to formal CBA, which, in the present context, is an evaluative framework used to assess the effectiveness of policy and programs.

While the overall concept of a CBA is simple (compare costs to benefits and see which is greater), the methodological specifics and practice can be less so. As the focus here is crime prevention and victimology rather than generic CBA issues, the key area of interest is the intricacies of defining and estimating benefits, particularly the enumeration of the harms from victimization. And here be methodological dragons.

The Costs of Crime

While a relative newcomer to victimology and crime prevention, CBA has an established pedigree. Decades of use informing engineering and health projects—dam building, airport location, vaccination efforts—mean key aspects of the methodology are well established, including discounting (estimating future costs and benefits) and the use of sensitivity analysis (seeing how costs vary with uncertainty). The use of CBA in environmental impact statements and estimation of nonmonetary

and knock-on costs are increasingly common in major engineering works.

In crime prevention and victimology, the estimation of project or program costs is usually relatively straightforward. It is the estimate of benefits, specifically the cost of a crime, where difficulties lie (and although costs are “monetized,” technically money is only used as a proxy for utility). In order to know the value of a prevented crime, an estimate must be made of what it would have cost a victim had the crime been committed. That requires putting a dollar value on the harms suffered by a victim. While the direct losses from crimes (medical bills, lost wages, value of stolen property) are easy to value, the indirect harms from crime—pain, suffering, and fear—are more difficult to estimate, and a number of different methods have been used to date. The issue is important because such estimates can inform how crime control, victim-related services, and other resources are allocated.

The first credible estimates of the value of indirect harms were developed from jury awards. The goal of jury compensation is to make victims “whole” again. In the 1980s, Vanderbilt University economist Mark Cohen used civil jury awards to estimate the average value society placed on different crime types, including the intangible costs of these crimes. From this foundation, his 1996 work with Ted Miller and Brian Wiersema produced the first credible U.S. national-level estimates of the cost of crime. Their work, which was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice, remains a landmark because of its sophistication and the magnitude of its estimates—at \$450 billion for the United States (of which \$350 was the emotional and psychological cost), it was far higher than previous estimates. Far from just an academic exercise, enumerating the total cost of crime shines a spotlight on the scope of damage to victims of crime, and these estimates produced considerable ripples in crime-related policy circles.

Following this lead, the U.K. government sponsored research to produce its own national estimates. The significance of that work, done first by Sam Brand and Richard Price but more recently by Richard Dubourg and his colleagues, lies in its methodology. The researchers drew on studies by Paul Dolan and his colleagues that estimated crime cost based on quality-adjusted life years (QALYs).

QALYs, a concept that evolved in health studies, estimate quality of life for a person between a value of 1 (good or normal health) and 0 (death) in any given year. Crime reduces the value to below 1 to an extent determined by the nature and seriousness of the crime. Thus, if the monetary value of a year's life is known (and it is admittedly estimated in a rather arbitrary fashion), then the cost due to crime can be derived.

In parallel to this use of QALYs, Cohen produced a further set of U.S. estimates by asking people their willingness to pay (WTP) for reductions in crime. If the amount a person will pay to reduce a type of crime by, say, 10% is known, then the implicit value that the person places on that type of crime can be derived. Each of the approaches has merit. The WTP methodology has been fairly widely used in fields unrelated to crime. However, WTP survey-based estimates (stated preferences) are often a lot higher than those based on observation of what people actually do (revealed preferences), such as how much they pay for security. The Cohen team's estimates of the value of crime were, depending on crime type, between 1.5 and 10 times higher than those produced elsewhere. There are substantial potential repercussions for policy on crime and victims if these higher estimates become widely accepted. It would suggest, *ceteris paribus*, that public resources allocated to crime control should be far greater. But at present, such wide discrepancies between estimates reduce the credibility of CBA in the sphere of crime prevention and victimology, particularly among those academics, practitioners, and policy makers who interpret the situation as meaning that the disparities show that little, if anything, of use can be derived from such estimates. Whatever the methodological issues that remain to be resolved, however, the basic fact remains that recent cost estimates, by drawing attention to the relatively huge intangible costs of pain and suffering (particularly for violent crimes), have made a major contribution to the policy debate.

The Value Added by Cost-Benefit Analysis

CBA allows different programs and policies to be compared on a level playing field, with effect compared pound for pound, regardless of whether the investment was large or small. This is important

because a CBA can have different implications for an impact evaluation. Consider the situation where an impact evaluation (typically the count of the percentage drop in crime or something similar) shows that a lot of crime was prevented. If the types of crime prevented had a high social cost, the project is more likely to be replicable than if the types of crime had a relatively low social cost. Hence the impact evaluation does not provide all of the information needed for resource-allocation decisions and the development of policy. It is therefore interesting to note all the instances of policy that have been developed based on guesswork about cost effectiveness, and especially how immense some of those decisions have been. With the multimillion dollar investments in criminal justice, CBA could make a major contribution even if its contribution is marginal, and some researchers suspect it has the potential to go further than that.

The Budgeting Game Winners and Losers

CBA details who wins and who loses when a cost-effective program is employed. From a victim's perspective, this is a critical issue. Drug courts have proven to be quite a cost-effective intervention in both the United States and the United Kingdom, but they have failed to grow beyond modest, localized initiatives. The reason that they have failed to grow appears to involve who wins and who loses in the budgeting game. Drug courts tend to be a substantial burden on courts, costing \$4,000 per participant per year, several times more than a typical case. Corrections does not pay for these programs, but experiences some benefit, since fewer beds have to be set aside for this population. But the big winner is the public, whose risk of victimization is reduced by effective programs. However, because victims are not a line item in any budget, their gains are considered tangential, and so growth of these programs is slow.

Externalities and Crime "Pollution"

Externalities are a critical concept in other disciplines, such as in climate control. The idea is straightforward—if someone who is not part of a transaction pays a cost because of that transaction, that person's cost should be considered in order to create a fair market. Suppose a manufacturer

pumps out pollution as a cost of making a product. If the cost from that pollution is not included in the cost of the product, the market is not fair and efficient, and far more pollution will be created than if this cost was added, or “internalized,” into the product cost. As in climate control, it is most often the victims of crimes, their families, and their communities who have an external cost that is not considered. For years, car manufacturers made products that were highly attractive targets and implicitly caused a lot of car crime. We now know that in-built security devices (central locking, immobilizers) cost little compared to the saving from reduced crime. There may be significant potential in promoting corporate social responsibility based on CBA that promotes crime prevention via better design of products, systems, and environments.

Criticisms

One basic objection to CBA rears its head often. How on earth, critics ask, can society put a monetary price on something like a rape? Surely that is not just cold and heartless but entirely impractical? Proponents argue that the opposite is true, and that it is far more heartless to fail to estimate the (statistical average) cost of rape. Absent such an estimate, including the huge intangible (emotional, psychological) cost, the financial cost of rape would appear to be lower than the cost of the average burglary. This, some propose, is an untenable and far more heartless position. Technically, the answer is that a monetary price is not put on anything—money is used only as a proxy metric for utility—and individual instances of crime are not being considered, only statistical averages.

Other aspects of CBA are quite frequently criticized in the field of crime prevention and victimology, and some of this criticism is considered valid and useful. The bulk of the useful criticism relates to the fact that CBA is still in its infancy in this field. There is little agreement on cost of crime estimates, and nothing close to methodological standardization. There is still little definitional standardization, which can lead to confusion (although the Crime Reduction Programme of the U.K. Home Office, the biggest crime-related CBA undertaken to date, sought to standardize terms and methods via a series of guidebooks). It is certainly the case that

variations in definitions and cost-estimation methods can lead to significant variation in results, and it is here that it is hoped CBA will make forward strides in the future.

Final Note

Cost-benefit analysis for victimology and crime prevention is in its infancy. There is an emerging literature on estimating intangible costs of crime to victims, including the fear of crime. There are important insights from this literature, most notably that the crime prevention programs that appear effective may not necessarily be appealing to policy makers. That is, programs that tend to cost governmental agencies money but return benefits to the public and not that agency tend to be underfunded. And policies that might most benefit the public, and reduce victimization by reducing externalities, may prove tricky from a political standpoint. Overall, while it would be fair to say that the contribution of CBA to policy and practice is limited at present, the corollary is that it has significant potential.

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See also Crime Prevention; Economic Costs of Victimization; Fear of Crime; Victimology

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COUPLES THERAPY

Couples therapy addresses any number of issues that may cause discordance between two individuals in a relationship. The challenges to a relationship may come from society, family, emotional or physical health, culture, religion, and/or economics. The relationship is usually defined by intimacy and the partners' past or current commitment to each other. Couples therapy might also be referred to as marriage counseling or family therapy. Given the modernization of society, "couple" reflects those in a marriage, partnership, or civil union. This entry provides a definition of couples therapy, discusses conflicts this therapy helps to resolve, and examines the role of therapy in reuniting couples.

Definition

Couples therapy is engaged in by two individuals (of the same sex or different genders) attempting to enhance their relationship, work on problems that have arisen in their relationship, or address the termination of their relationship. Couples therapy is an approach to helping couples improve their communication in order to address problems,

adjust to new situations, and seek solutions. It is a process that may be used throughout the life of a relationship to address a specific issue or to sustain a positive bond. Licensed marriage and family therapists, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, counselors, and physicians may practice couples therapy.

Conflicts Benefiting From Couples Therapy

Negotiating a prenuptial agreement may be the initial experience with couples therapy for those with significant wealth or successful professional careers. Prenuptial agreements involve careful delineation of ownership of financial holdings, disbursement in case of death to one member's family, or property to be excluded from consideration in case of the termination of the relationship or marriage. Most often such an agreement focuses on the financial determination of wealth that was earned or inherited prior to the marriage or initiation of the relationship. In states where community property is a policy, a couple may file a prenuptial agreement when they intend to get married. However, in states where a couple can prove cohabitation (i.e., 8 years of living together), then the cohabitation itself proves that the couple jointly own property and share responsibilities as well as all privileges associated with the relationship. The prenuptial agreement is a contract where both individuals comprehend the issues, as evidenced by their signatures. Both states and courts often define the rights and duties of partners associated with cohabitation. At that time, all assets are considered "community property" within that state, irrespective of the agreement. In this circumstance, it is common for parties to find a legal firm that includes the practice of mediation to assist in making the final determination for the agreement. The prenuptial agreement is typically settled prior to the actual marriage or purchase of property in both names.

Infidelity often brings couples to therapy either to terminate the relationship or to make an effort to save it. While the act of infidelity may be considered the sole issue, research indicates that marital discord may have been evident prior to the adulterous act. Support groups can help couples deal with not only the infidelity but the antecedent issues. For instance, couples addressing addictive

behaviors, along with infidelity, may need to augment their therapy with support groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), Al-Anon, Sex Addicts Anonymous (SAA), Narcotics Anonymous (NA), or Gamblers Anonymous (GA). These self-help groups, based on the 12-step program of AA, offer 24-hour support in the community at little or no cost. They also address the problem of codependency, in which the nonaddicted partner has acquired behaviors that serve the addiction rather than the healthy behaviors needed to improve the situation. Research indicates that group therapy away from the partner may offer the nonaddicted partner additional support for making behavioral changes.

Sexual incompatibilities usually stem from unmet needs in terms of frequency, particular types of sexual acts, sexual roles, or the unsatisfactory execution of the sexual act. Such incompatibility may arise from emotional issues that one or both may have brought to the relationship. Sometimes experiences from childhood sexual abuse or sexual assault may need to be addressed before the sexual issues in the partnership can respond to couples therapy.

Issues arising from health conditions, physical appearance, medication, or the lack of communication may add to the complexities of couples therapy. Medicine continues to move forward in terms of its ability to treat erectile dysfunction and infertility, which may result in couples' experiencing communication difficulties about the choices and costs of treatment. In vitro fertilization is costly in many ways. These costs may be incurred as a result of stress, mood changes from hormones, medications, testing, determination of fault, and failure or success. Not all types of insurance pay for infertility treatment, and some couples accruing substantial financial hardships in their desire to have a child. Other medical treatments may require surgical interventions, pharmacological alternatives, and lengthy treatments that often complicate and obscure the original goal of benefiting the relationship. In some circumstances, couples involved in therapy and medical treatment will need to recognize the limitations of the treatment and when to end their attempts. Those considering adoption may also benefit from couples therapy, which can help them communicate about choices such as the gender, age, and race of the child.

Divorce, custody arrangements, remarriage, and blended families benefit from couples therapy. Therapy creates an environment that allows two individuals to discuss solutions, express anger, and make decisions under guidance. There are also "retreats" where couples go to work on their relationship away from their home, their routine, and their habitual communication. The sheltered environment may change the couple's decision to terminate the relationship. It may be that open communication about long held resentments may lead to remediation and reconciliation. Research discusses the changed circumstances that may result from couples therapy and the potential for a positive outcome for the couple in therapy.

If the dissolution of the relationship is the final decision, resolving problems that involve custody issues, disbursement of the assets, and the future of the relationship may be aided by therapy. There are some states where a divorce may not be granted to the couple with children unless the couple undergoes therapy for a period of time. These courts may be referred to as family court or courts of reconciliation and are statutorily required.

Remarriage and blended families present significant challenges to some couples. Couples therapy can prepare couples for presenting the change to the children and other family members, as well as for the possibility of biological children resulting from the new marriage. Couples therapy helps to prepare individuals for possible challenges to their decision, their authority, and their lifestyles. It is possible that family therapy may also be beneficial for those whose union creates a blended family and who need to learn to cope with change as a family.

Child rearing poses its own challenges to relationships, as conflicts reflect beliefs about gender disparities, discipline, education, curfews, peers, and generational differences. There are times when generational differences might merge with cultural differences and turmoil appears insurmountable. Questions arise about the differences between raising boys and girls, which then may become exacerbated by conformity to culture or custom. Couples therapy may help address such conflicts before the turmoil requires family therapy. In such circumstances, a couple's therapist should be well versed in the culture and the expectations held by a particular community.

Couples therapy may also be required in cases of domestic violence. Some couples may seek it out in an attempt to find ways to address conflict in the relationship without resorting to violence. This violence may be physical, mental, or sexual. An abusive partner may resort to economic intimidation, threats to pets or children, and/or coercive statements. If couples seek the therapy independently of the courts and are truthful in the therapy sessions, then there may be a positive outcome for them. This outcome may mean the termination of the relationship or the basis on which to work toward a more positive one. However, if the couples therapy is repeatedly court ordered and the victim of the violence does not feel safe, couples therapy is not appropriate. Couples therapy is not meant to place or keep one partner in a dangerous situation. Both members of the relationship need to be in a situation that is safe from violence and from the opportunity to commit violence. Domestic violence is a social issue that remains intractable to treatment and uncomplicated solutions.

Financial trouble and unemployment cause significant strife in a relationship. When economic burdens result in the loss of housing, health care, and basic necessities, a family is in serious jeopardy. The members of a couple may blame each other for the inability to support the family, resulting in the diminished role of the former breadwinner. It is common for both partners to seek employment in order to meet their financial obligations. This may result in conflict about child care, financial decisions, and the freedom of either partner to leave a contemptible job. This stress is then taken back to the home, and the relationship may be seriously strained. In this case, couples therapy along with a referral for debt counseling may be appropriate. As with other counseling situations, couples therapy may be augmented with other community services or group therapy.

Life presents changes that may require couples therapy. The catastrophic illness of one partner may alter who makes financial decisions and make the other partner into a caretaker. Decisions about health care, do not resuscitate orders (DNRs), and assisted-living communities can be made easier with the aid of couples therapy. Geriatric clinics and philanthropic organizations often have numerous community resources available to assist couples. A couple's decision to retire, relocate for

health issues, move from the family home to a retirement community, or allow an adult child to return home may benefit from couples therapy.

Those in same-sex relationships may experience the problems discussed above as well as constraints imposed by statutes, politics, customs, and religious dogma. While two individuals may see themselves as in a committed marriage, they may not be seen that way by others, and may come into conflict with legal policies, family traditions, and community mores. Couples in same-sex relationships may need therapy in order to overcome the prejudice and shunning they may experience from friends and family. A therapist may be recommended from within the gay or lesbian community, with the goal of enhancing communication between the partners. Depending on where the couple resides, legal contracts may have to determine financial issues, estate planning, guardianship issues in case of illness, and burial requests. Whether to adopt children or use surrogate mothers, sperm donors, or artificial insemination is an important decision for same-sex couples, and couples therapy can help them with such a decision.

Reunification of Couples

In today's society, separation may result from a number of issues, and reunification poses significant challenges to couples. Some couples reunite after years of separation, and couples therapy may be beneficial to ensure that past mistakes will not be repeated. Military deployment and tours of duty often leave one partner with the responsibility for the family. This may include financial responsibility as well as child-rearing decisions. A particular challenge is the deployed family member's reassimilation into the family and community upon his or her return; this is especially difficult when an individual's repeated tours to war-torn areas have resulted in posttraumatic stress disorder. It is not unusual for the returning family member to experience periods of depression and behavioral changes requiring medication. The reunification of the family following these challenges often comes with difficulties as the couple learns to communicate and become a partnership once again. Couples therapy and support from their community may ease the transition for this couple.

Likewise, the burgeoning prison population also presents the challenge of reunification to couples whose members have had disparate experiences, often for a significant period of time, as a result of one member's incarceration. Couples therapy, along with family therapy, may be very important to the success of the relationship, as well as to secure a successful transition from incarceration to freedom. Support from the community and support groups associated with addictive behaviors also may help to secure the relationship.

Couples therapy appears to primarily be required for problems with communication. As previously noted, the surrounding community may offer couples a number of supportive services that can augment couples therapy and its efficacy.

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See also Domestic Violence; Family Therapy

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COURT ADVOCATES

Court advocates, also commonly referred to as victim advocates, victim witness liaisons, or victim witness coordinators, are professionals employed within the criminal justice system to provide a variety of services to crime victims, including the

assurance of their legal rights to provisions, protection, and information pertaining to their criminal case. These services begin when the crime has been committed and often extend beyond the disposition of the case. The profession of court advocate has existed for about three decades, beginning at the grassroots level during the victims' rights movement in the 1970s. This entry discusses the emergence of court advocacy as a profession within the criminal justice system, the role of court advocates, and the professional challenges faced by advocates.

The victims' rights movement in the 1970s marked the beginning of a large-scale movement to bring attention to the needs of crime victims. With the development of crime victim compensation programs in the late 1960s and the first funded victim assistance programs in the mid-1970s, the need for professionals designated to assist victims of crime became clear. Although funding sources for advocacy programs have historically waxed and waned, the Federal Victim and Witness Protection Act of 1982 and the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) of 1984 offered the first federal legislation to address the needs of crime victims, and they have led to the development of advocacy programs within numerous criminal justice and community agencies. Since then, there have been additional federal policies and every state has enacted victims' rights statutes. Most employ advocates within the criminal justice system to ensure that crime victims receive the rights, protections, and services to which they are legally entitled.

Court advocates typically hold a bachelor's degree, though many have graduate degrees, and come from a variety of disciplines, including criminal justice, sociology, psychology, public health, social work, and mental health counseling. The level of education and training required differs from agency to agency, and the level of specialization varies according to the size of the jurisdiction. The number of advocates employed in a jurisdiction can range from one to dozens. Advocates are employed by prosecutor's offices, within the court system, and within a number of law enforcement and other social services agencies.

Advocates work on cases involving a variety of crimes. The most common are domestic violence, stalking, sexual assaults, and other felony cases, such as armed robbery and homicide. Some

advocates are highly educated and trained in one area, and the majority of their caseload consists of those types of cases. For example, advocates who work exclusively with survivors of homicide victims and those who work with children who have been sexually assaulted typically are more experienced in these areas than are other advocates and have additional crisis intervention training. In smaller jurisdictions, however, one advocate may work on behalf of victims of several different types of crimes, due to smaller caseloads or fewer resources to employ more advocates.

The responsibilities of court advocates typically begin when a victim or witness reports a crime. The court advocate notifies the victim or witness of his or her legal rights and explains the criminal justice process. Regular contact is then made to inform this person of upcoming hearings, depositions, trial dates, and so on.

In addition to the logistics of the case, advocates continually assess the needs of the victims and maintain relationships within other community service organizations in order to provide referrals and, in some cases, emergency shelter. Advocates also assist victims with the process of applying for victim compensation, enrolling in address confidentiality and other protection programs, and obtaining orders of protection (i.e., restraining orders, injunctions). They accompany victims to all court proceedings and, in addition to educating them about the nature of the proceedings and explaining the outcome, advocates provide continual emotional support. They help prepare victims emotionally for what can be a daunting process through a variety of hearings, depositions, and trial; they assist with the preparation of victim impact statements, continually offer social services referrals, and work to minimize potential revictimization by the criminal justice system process. In addition, advocates relay input and concerns from the crime victims to prosecutors and other court personnel, acting as an important source of guidance to other personnel.

The work of victim advocates can be physically and emotionally demanding due to the heavy caseloads, lack of adequate resources, frustrations associated with victims who are sometimes resistant to services, and continuous threats to funding that jeopardize valuable resources for victims and advocacy positions. Advocates have historically

struggled for professional recognition, but with the implementation of advanced education programs and extensive training, advocates are now widely regarded as an integral part of the criminal justice system. Currently, advocates are being sought for input in academic research, as expert witnesses, and in the media for commentary on the plight of crime victims and for their perspective on specific cases.

Many victims of crime encounter the criminal justice system for the first time upon their victimization and are thrust into what is commonly perceived to be a confusing, intimidating process of navigating through the system. The advocate acts as an important liaison between the victim and the system and strives to empower people who are likely to have suffered emotionally, physically, and financially from their victimization.

Rae Taylor

See also Court Appointed Special Advocates for Children; Homicide, Victim Advocacy Groups; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims' Rights Movement, United States; Witness Assistance Programs

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COURT APPOINTED SPECIAL ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN

Every year approximately a half million victims of child abuse and neglect come to the attention of child protective service agencies across the United States and are placed into protective custody.

More than half of these child victims have the benefit of a court appointed special advocate (CASA). A CASA is a volunteer who is appointed by a judge to represent the best interest of abused and neglected children in cases that come before the court. These community volunteers work under the supervision of local CASA programs to ensure the rights of children who have been removed from their homes by the state child protective service agency in their jurisdiction. Unlike other professionals with high caseloads, CASAs have the luxury of concentrating their efforts on one child or one family of children. Every day advocates face the devastation caused by child abuse and neglect and are confronted with the family dynamics that lead to child maltreatment. Volunteers are challenged by issues of parental poverty, violence, and isolation. They are trained to respond to an overburdened and complex child welfare system as they advocate for the right of every child to a safe and permanent home. Advocates often find themselves maneuvering their way through a maze of laws, mandates, administrative policies, procedures, and philosophies. CASA programs exist so that children in out-of-home placement do not slip through the cracks of an overburdened social service and judicial system.

Program History

In 1975 Judge David Soukup of Seattle, Washington, questioned whether he was getting all the facts about each juvenile case that came before him, and if the welfare of each child was being represented. He obtained funding to recruit and train community volunteers to act on behalf of children. These volunteers were called court appointed special advocates. In 1977 a pilot program was implemented in Seattle. In 1982 the National Court Appointed Special Advocate Association was formed; it has since developed national standards and a national training curriculum for CASA programs. The National CASA Association promotes the growth of existing state and local agencies and startup agencies through technical assistance, training, funding, and public awareness services. According to the National CASA Association, there are 930 CASA affiliated programs and 73,000 volunteers nationwide. CASA programs have a presence in 49 states, the District of

Columbia, and the Virgin Islands. Community volunteers in partnership with the judiciary serve approximately 290,000 children every year. Advocates improve outcomes for children and assist juvenile courts in meeting their responsibility to provide dependent children with a safe, stable, and permanent home.

Program Models

The National Court Appointed Special Advocate Association recognizes two program models. Under the Guardian Ad Litem (GAL) model, trained CASA volunteers are appointed to act as a party to the case in child abuse and neglect proceedings. The GAL is responsible for investigating the issues that led to the out-of-home placement and for presenting a written report and recommendations to the judge. The GAL is entitled to review all relevant materials and interview all relevant parties. The GAL works under close supervision of the staff and has access to an attorney who provides information and legal advice. The Friend of the Court model utilizes CASA volunteers to serve as witnesses and impartial observers to case activities. These volunteers are not a party to the litigation. They act as information gatherers and are free to interview birth parents, the child, therapists, social workers, foster parents, school personnel, and any other interested parties. Volunteers investigate case activity and submit written reports to the court. They are present at all legal proceedings as observers. The Friend of the Court model is used when an attorney has been assigned by the court to serve as a GAL. Attorneys acting in this capacity represent a child's wishes to the court even when they do not agree with the child's judgment. Often these volunteers and GALs will work cooperatively to ensure a positive outcome for the child. CASA volunteers are effective when they have the backing of a structured CASA program and the support of the court, the child protective service workers, the mental health professionals, and other community representatives and agencies involved in a case.

Role and Responsibilities

CASA volunteers are not required to have specialized degrees or experience in the mental health field, social services, or the law. They are required

to be mature and responsible adults committed to the needs of children. They must be willing to undergo a rigorous screening process in accordance with the standards of the national CASA association. A judicial appointment to a case provides a volunteer access to all confidential records relevant to his or her assigned case. CASA/GAL volunteers must conduct a thorough investigation of all issues that led to the removal of the child from his or her home before making responsible recommendations to the court. These volunteers begin the process by reviewing all case documents and case files. They interview all professionals, family members, foster parents, and community representatives, including school personnel and day care providers who are involved in the case. They may act as liaisons and mediators between interested parties, appear at hearings as observers, and at times provide testimony to the court. CASA/GAL volunteers spend time getting to know the children to whom they are assigned while building a trusting relationship. They are responsible for assessing a child's developmental stage, cultural background, and sense of self. Armed with the facts they have gathered, CASAs make recommendations to the court for services for the child and family with the goal of facilitating permanency. CASA/GAL volunteers are also charged with monitoring case plans to ensure that court-ordered services are provided in a timely fashion and the case plan is moving forward. Children who have been removed from their homes have no other advocate whose sole agenda is the best interest of the child.

Francine C. Raguso

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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Web Sites

National CASA Association: <http://www.nationalcasa.org>

CRIME AND DISORDER ACT

The U.K. Crime and Disorder Act 1998 is legislation that was passed by both Houses (Commons and Lords) of the U.K. Parliament in December 1997 and subsequently received Royal Assent in July 1998. It has been of great interest to criminal justice academics and practitioners because it changed U.K. law and criminal justice strategy in relation to a number of key areas. These include the introduction of antisocial behavior orders and parenting orders, sex offender orders, the introduction of a law specific to "racially aggravated" offenses, the abolition of the rebuttable presumption that a child is "doli incapax" (i.e., incapable of committing an offense because he or she is under the age of 10), and the abolition of treason (the crime of "disloyalty to the Sovereign," which can include plotting murder, planning war, assisting enemies of the State, or undermining the lawfully established line of succession). Finally, possibly the most widely discussed innovation was the extension of local authority responsibilities for crime reduction. While it is not possible to discuss the entirety of the act here, it is pertinent to discuss the background of the act in terms of its social and political context and also to highlight the key areas of interest, namely youth justice and community safety.

Context of the Act

It is important to understand the social and political context of any legislation. In relation to the U.K. Crime and Disorder Act (hereinafter

referred to as CDA), there are three key issues. First, the competition for political power in the United Kingdom rests, as it does in many democracies, on the law and order platform and the wish to present a political party to the British electorate as being tough on crime. Legislation is therefore surrounded by politics, which is usually driven by a responsiveness to populist public demand. In this sense, the CDA represents part of a wider response to the perceived need for the British government to respond to rising crime rates. Unlike many acts, however—which are often knee-jerk responses to situations—the CDA was planned over a period of time. The Labour Party had announced in their 1997 general election manifesto that crime reduction and community safety were central to their criminal justice strategy, should they be elected, but the source of this focus actually lay in a previous report, which explored the second of the key issues referred to here. The Home Office's 1991 Morgan Report, *Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention Through the Partnership Approach*, had reflected a change in thinking about who should be responsible for preventing crime. This report suggested that the responsibility for crime reduction, which was traditionally thought of as being the sole remit of the police, should be allocated to local authorities. This was later reflected in the Home Office consultation document *Getting to Grips With Crime: A New Framework for Local Intervention* (1997, p. 1), which stated that the purpose of the strategy was to “give the vital work of preventing crime a new focus across a very wide range of local services. . . . It is a matter of putting crime and disorder at the heart of decision making.” The third and final key influence on the enactment of the CDA was the Audit Commission's report on youth justice that was published in 1996 and titled *Misspent Youth: Young People and Crime*. This report indicated that the youth justice system was both inefficient and expensive and suggested that the British criminal justice system was failing to address offending by young people; there was a lack of programs directed at offending behavior; the system needed to be speeded up; and there needed to be much closer working relationships between the main agencies involved in youth justice. The CDA can also be seen as an integral

part of the rebranding and modernization of the old into “New” Labour Party, in which the manifesto on public services and public policy changed dramatically.

Overall the CDA is a substantial piece of legislation covering a multitude of criminal justice issues. However, the main focus of debate about this act has revolved around two of the main substantive areas it covers: youth justice and community safety. While these will provide the main focus of this entry, Table 1 usefully outlines the main provisions of the act.

Youth Justice

In terms of youth justice, the CDA made a number of significant changes. The existing formal and informal cautions were replaced with a reprimand or (for more serious offenses) a final warning. It also introduced the recommendation that all young offenders receiving a final warning should be referred to a youth offending team (YOT) and take part in rehabilitation programs that would normally include some form of reparation. However, what the CDA is probably most famous for, in terms of its youth justice approach, is the antisocial behavior measures that it introduced—in particular, the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (popularly referred to as the ASBO).

Anti-Social Behaviour Order

The U.K. Home Office describes antisocial behavior as any activity that impacts people in a negative way. The type of behavior that is normally thought of as being antisocial for the purposes of Part I of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 is rowdy, nuisance, yobbish, or intimidating behavior that takes place in public areas, but it can also be extended to include vandalism, graffiti, flyposting, dealing and buying drugs on the street, dumping trash, abandoning cars, begging, and antisocial drinking. In an effort to tackle what the government viewed as unacceptable activity that was impacting the quality of community life, the Crime and Disorder Act introduced a civil remedy called the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO). This order can be issued by a Magistrates Court (or the Sheriff's Court in Scotland) against people who have

Table I Crime and Disorder Act 1998: Main provisions, England and Wales

<i>Section</i>	
1.	Anti-social behaviour order
2-3	Sex offender orders
4	Appeals against orders
<i>Crime and Disorder Strategies</i>	
5	Authorities responsible for strategies
6 -7	Formulation and implementation of strategies (& supplemental)
<i>Youth crime and disorder</i>	
8-10	Parenting orders
11-13	Child safety orders
14-15	Local child curfew schemes
16	Removal of truants to designated premises etc
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
17	Duty to consider crime and disorder implications
25	Powers to require removal of masks etc
26-27	Retention and disposal of things seized/failure to comply
<i>Racially-aggravated offences & miscellaneous criminal law provisions</i>	
28-32	Racially-aggravated offences: assaults; criminal damage; public order; harassment
34	Abolition of doli incapax
35	Effects of child's silence at trial
36	Abolition of the death penalty for treason and piracy
<i>Youth justice</i>	
37	Aims of the youth justice system
38-40	Local provisions: Youth Offending Teams, youth justice plans
41-2	Youth Justice Board
43-6	Time limits
47	Powers of youth courts
48-52	Other court provision
<i>Miscellaneous criminal justice</i>	
53	CPS: powers of non-legal staff
54-56	Bail
57	Use of television links

Dealing with offenders

58-60	Extended sentences for sexual or violent offenders
61-4	Drug treatment and testing orders
65-66	Reprimands and warnings
67-8	Reparation orders
69-70	Action plan orders
71-2	Supervision orders
73-79	Detention and training orders
80-1	Sentencing guidelines and the Sentencing Advisory Panel
82	Increase in sentences for racial aggravation
115	Disclosure of information to reduce crime

Source: This table has been reproduced with the kind permission of Professor Tim Newburn from his paper, *New Labour, Modernisation and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998*, which was given at Leeds University Centre for Criminal Justice Studies 21st Anniversary Conference “Crime and Disorder Act: 10 years,” May 7–8, 2008.

engaged in antisocial behavior that—in the United Kingdom and according to section 1 (1) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998—is defined as “conduct which caused or was likely to cause alarm, harassment or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as himself or herself and where an ASBO is seen as necessary to protect relevant persons from further anti-social acts by the defendant.” Each ASBO and what it prohibits must be individualized to the person regarding whom it is issued. For example, it can include a prohibition from entering a particular area or speaking to certain people. Breach of an ASBO is a criminal offense and conviction may result in imprisonment from a minimum of 2 years to a maximum of 5 years. Although most ASBOs are issued regarding the types of behavior indicated earlier, there have been instances where they have been issued in more unusual circumstances, and this has led to criticism. For example, in February 2003, a 16-year-old boy was banned from showing his tattoos, wearing a single golf glove, or wearing a balaclava in public anywhere in the country. The oldest recipient of an order has been an 87-year-old man who among other things was

forbidden, in July 2003, from being sarcastic to his neighbors. In December 2004, a man from Norfolk became the first farmer to be the subject of an ASBO when he was ordered to keep his pigs and geese under control after people living near his farm complained that they had escaped and caused damage.

Since the introduction of the ASBO, controversy has surrounded it for a number of reasons. Some critics of the ASBO argue that it criminalizes behavior that would otherwise be lawful, and others have voiced concerns about the open-ended nature of ASBO penalties, as there is little restriction on what a court may impose as the terms of the ASBO, and little restriction on what can be designated as antisocial behavior. More recently concerns have been expressed about the implementation and effect of ASBOs on youth. Specifically, in some cases it has been suggested that ASBOs were granted without lower-tier measures (such as home visits and warnings letters) being tried. It has also been suggested that the ASBO has resulted in some young people being taken into custody who would not previously have found themselves there.

Parenting Orders

A further measure introduced by the CDA is the parenting order that can be made against the parent/s of a child who has been given an Anti-Social Behaviour Order or has been convicted of an offense. The parenting order imposes certain requirements upon the parent/s to ensure that the child does not perpetrate behavior similar to that for which the ASBO was given, and any breach of this order results in a fine.

Community Safety

Local Authority Responsibilities

One of the most radical aspects of the CDA was its emphasis on enabling a sharing of the responsibility for crime reduction. Specifically, under section 17 of the CDA, each local authority in England and Wales was given the responsibility to formulate a strategy to reduce crime and disorder in their area and to work with appropriate agencies, such as the police authority, probation authority, and the health authority, in order to achieve this. To enable this it was necessary to develop 376 new localized partnership bodies, which were called Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs). These partnerships were tasked with carrying out a 3-year crime and disorder strategy within each local area, and relatedly, to regularly audit local crime and disorder. The origins of this reorganization of the responsibilities for crime reduction and community safety can also be traced to the 1991 Morgan Report, as it represented a substantial change in thinking about what Tim Newburn calls “the local nature and governance of crime control.” The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 contained many radical innovations, but section 17 has been perceived as among the most radical because it highlighted the notion of shared responsibility for crime reduction across a wide range of local authority services. It should also be acknowledged that section 17 was primarily conceived by the U.K. Home Office as an “enabling device” for the promotion of effective crime reductive activities within the police and local authorities. In the decade since its enactment, however, section 17 has remained somewhat poorly articulated and implemented for a number of reasons. First, its

feasibility as a crime reductive tool has been somewhat impaired because central government departments have not themselves been bound by the same statutory criteria, and this has led to some inconsistencies of approach to crime reduction, particularly in areas such as development and planning law. Second, no Home Office Guidance was issued at the time of the legislation, and this created problems of interpretation. The result of this is that section 17 has not had the impact it could have had as a radical and innovative crime reductive tool.

Information Sharing

The second way in which the CDA 1998 sought to emphasize the crime reductive responsibilities of local authorities was through its section 115. This section permits the disclosure of personal information to the police, local authorities, probation committees, and health authorities, as long as that disclosure is connected with the legitimate prevention of crime. It has been suggested that this section of the act provides a “statutory gateway” for the flow of information, since it gives the local crime reduction partnerships described previously the legal authority to exchange data or information as long as any exchange conforms with other legal restraints and does not breach either human rights or administrative law. What is perhaps particularly interesting about this legislation is that it signaled a radical repositioning of the responsibility for crime and made it very clear that the government’s view was that the exchange of information, within certain legal constraints, was a mechanism by which more crime could be prevented or reduced. This approach subsequently became more important after it was highlighted that poor information-sharing mechanisms may have contributed to the Soham murders in which Ian Huntley’s appointment as a school caretaker in Cambridge, England, enabled the murders of two young girls, Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman. It is worth pointing out that the subsequent government inquiry into the case by Sir Michael Bichard in 2004 found the police in Humberside (the area from which Huntley had relocated to Cambridge) wanting regarding their record keeping, and advised the creation of a national police

intelligence database that would be capable of exchanging information with social services. However, the problem here—which has been referred to by P. A. J. Waddington in his article in *Jane's Police Review*—is that that Huntley had never been convicted, so any information held by Humberside Police and Hull Social Services could arguably have not been relied upon. This illustrates clearly that the statutory capacity to share information will only be of use if the information exists.

Problems and Commendations

There is little doubt among either practitioners or academics that the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 was a radical, innovative, and in some ways controversial piece of legislation that has changed the way that approaches to crime reduction and community safety in the United Kingdom are perceived. It is relevant, however, to conclude by mentioning some of the problems that have been associated with its implementation.

First, it has proved somewhat difficult for the 376 CDRPs mentioned previously to develop and implement the strategies that the act required of them. For some this has resulted in a lack of focus about crime reduction strategies, while for others it has simply come down to a lack of expertise or the capacity to undertake this type of work effectively. It has been particularly difficult in some cases to implement community safety strategies where the police have no longer been the dominant partner. Some agencies have been unwilling to share information—most notably health services—and have consequently not sought to involve themselves in these activities. Second, there has been some tension between local and national imperatives, as referred to by Daniel Gilling, who suggests that the structure of managerial control is hierarchical, with the Treasury and Home Office at the top and neighborhoods at the bottom. This, he says, has resulted in them being at the end of “the chain of command,” and consequently their function is merely to perform as directed by those higher up the chain. It has thus been difficult for local community safety and crime reduction initiatives to flourish in some cases because there exists a

conflict between delegating responsibility to local authorities under the terms of the CDA and abrogating the desire for central government control.

It should be noted that there is much to commend the approach that this piece of legislation took. Indeed, there have been substantial declines in crime in the United Kingdom during the last decade. However, the British government has been somewhat reluctant to acknowledge that these declines are in any way indicators of the success of a crime reductive approach.

Kate Moss

See also Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Project Safe Neighborhoods; Safer Cities Program

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CRIME MAPPING

Crime mapping is the direct application of considering two particular qualities of crime—that there is an inherent geography to crime and that crime does not happen randomly. This inherent geography is seen in many theoretical forms. For example, Paul Brantingham and Patricia Brantingham's four dimensions of crime state that for a crime to occur it must have a legal dimension (a law must be broken), a victim dimension (someone or something has to be targeted), an offender dimension (someone has to do the crime), and a spatial dimension (it has to happen somewhere). It is also known that crime does not happen at random. The role of geography in this sense can be seen theoretically, for example, in Brantingham and Brantingham's crime pattern theory and Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson's routine activity theory and principles of least effort (i.e., that more activities take place closer to home than those further away). This nonrandom nature of crime can also be observed empirically from mapping crime, most typically performed using a geographical information system (GIS), by showing that there are patterns in the spatial distribution of criminal activity. Crime mapping therefore draws from geographical and environmental criminology concepts to help explain why crime occurs, and makes use of geospatial tools (such as GIS) to capture, analyze, and visually interpret these geographical qualities.

This entry provides a short history of GIS and crime mapping before describing, with examples, applications of crime mapping in policing used for crime prevention and understanding geographic patterns of victimization. It concludes by describing future advances in crime mapping.

History

In the 1960s GIS began to emerge as a discipline. Its origins can be traced to the development of land use applications in Canada, and it then grew through applications that included the automation of the cartographic drafting process used by mapping agencies such as the British Ordnance Survey, and by acting as a platform to aid military intelligence gathering, display, and analysis from satellite and other remote sensing imagery (e.g., aerial photography and radar). The use of GIS in policing did not begin until the 1980s, in large part due to computer hardware prices being too prohibitively expensive before this time, the lack of suitable GIS software that could be used to support policing requirements, and the lack of electronic recording of police records. Even then, it was not until the late 1990s that the use of GIS in policing took hold, mainly due to its being held back by organizational and management problems, issues with sharing information, technical problems, and geocoding issues, as noted by Spencer Chainey and Jerry Ratcliffe. Many of these problems are still apparent today, but through developments in the practical use of GIS, several innovators have identified how these can be overcome and have shared this knowledge across a network of users who engage via forums, conferences, training courses, and publications that since 1998 have begun to capture evidence of how crime mapping can be effectively used to support policing and crime prevention.

Innovators in crime mapping include the National Institute of Justice's Mapping and Analysis for Public Safety (MAPS) program in the United States and the Association for Geographic Information (AGI) in the United Kingdom. The MAPS program has raised awareness of crime mapping (not just in the United States but also internationally) through arranging seminars, conferences, and producing publications, as well as by developing crime mapping software tools. In the United Kingdom, the AGI, through its Special Interest Group on Crime and Disorder that was formed in 2000, has helped to raise the profile of crime mapping across senior levels in government and policing and acted as an information exchange forum for practitioners. Other leading innovators include academics at Temple University (Philadelphia), Simon Fraser University (Vancouver, Canada), and The Jill

Dando Institute of Crime Science (JDI) at University College London (England), who all operationalize new techniques and theories by working directly with policing agencies. The JDI also hosts the United Kingdom's annual National Crime Mapping Conference and has begun an edited series of crime mapping case studies that draws from material that is presented at this event.

Examples

Crime mapping contributes to policing and crime prevention by helping to generate a real understanding of criminal activity and a direction in tackling it. It is used in the following situations:

- Responding to and directing calls for service;
- Supporting the briefing of operational police officers;
- Identifying and interpreting crime hot spots for targeting, allocating, and deploying suitable policing and crime reduction responses;
- Through pattern analysis using other local data, helping to explain why crime may occur at certain places;
- Catching serial crime offenders (geographic profiling); and
- Monitoring the impact and performance of targeted policing and crime prevention initiatives.

Mapping the location of a crime naturally references the spatial distribution of the area where victimization has occurred. This could be a street location if the offense was perpetrated against a person (such as robbery), or it could be the location of a property, a building (such as a person's home or a premise a person owns), or a vehicle.

Figure 1 is an example of a crime hot spot map. It shows precise locations in an area in central London where thefts of vehicles have occurred. Crime maps such as these can then be used to help identify those areas where problems are most apparent and focus efforts toward understanding why crime is most concentrated at these locations. Each of the three hot spots in this example was due to high numbers of motorbikes, mopeds, and scooters being stolen, with the locations coinciding with where there were large motorbike parking bays. This then helped the police and their municipal government partners to consider what improvements

could be made in each of these areas that could prevent motorbike owners being victimized in the future. The option they decided on was to install anchor points in the curbside of the parking bays to allow vehicle owners to improve the security of their unattended vehicles by locking them down (using a padlock and chain that they could run through the back wheel of their vehicle and through the anchor point). In this sense, crime mapping helped to identify the specific locations where vehicle crime was a problem and to explain why it was a problem and direct an effective situational crime prevention initiative.

Exploring the spatial distribution of criminal activity can also extend to considering where people of a certain age, gender, ethnicity, or occupation are most victimized. An example of this type of approach is illustrated in Figure 2, identifying separately where 12- to 17-year-olds, 18- to 23-year-olds, 24- to 29-year-olds and 35- to 44-year-olds have been victims of crime in the district of Middlesbrough, England. Mapping crime in this way can help better explain the spatial characteristics of victimization experienced by different age groups, why there are differences, and the types of initiatives that can be implemented to help prevent crime against certain groups of vulnerable people. For example, analysis supported by the generation of these maps highlighted the high levels of victimization experienced by all age groups in Middlesbrough town center. However, the levels were highest for 18- to 23-year-olds and 24- to 29-year-olds, reflecting their activities and vulnerability to crime, which are associated with the night-time economy in the town center (i.e., pubs, bars, and nightclubs). Victimization of 12- to 17-year-olds in the town center was more related to their daytime and early evening activities in this area, such as passing through the main transport hubs or visiting shops. However, a number of other areas across the district were hot spots for this group of young people, coinciding with the locations of several of the main schools. Mapping helped identify particular areas where young people were vulnerable to offenses such as street robbery and theft. Thus, mapping crime in this manner by considering the differences in the spatial distribution of victimization by age helped the police and their crime reduction partners consider specific crime prevention strategies for different age groups.

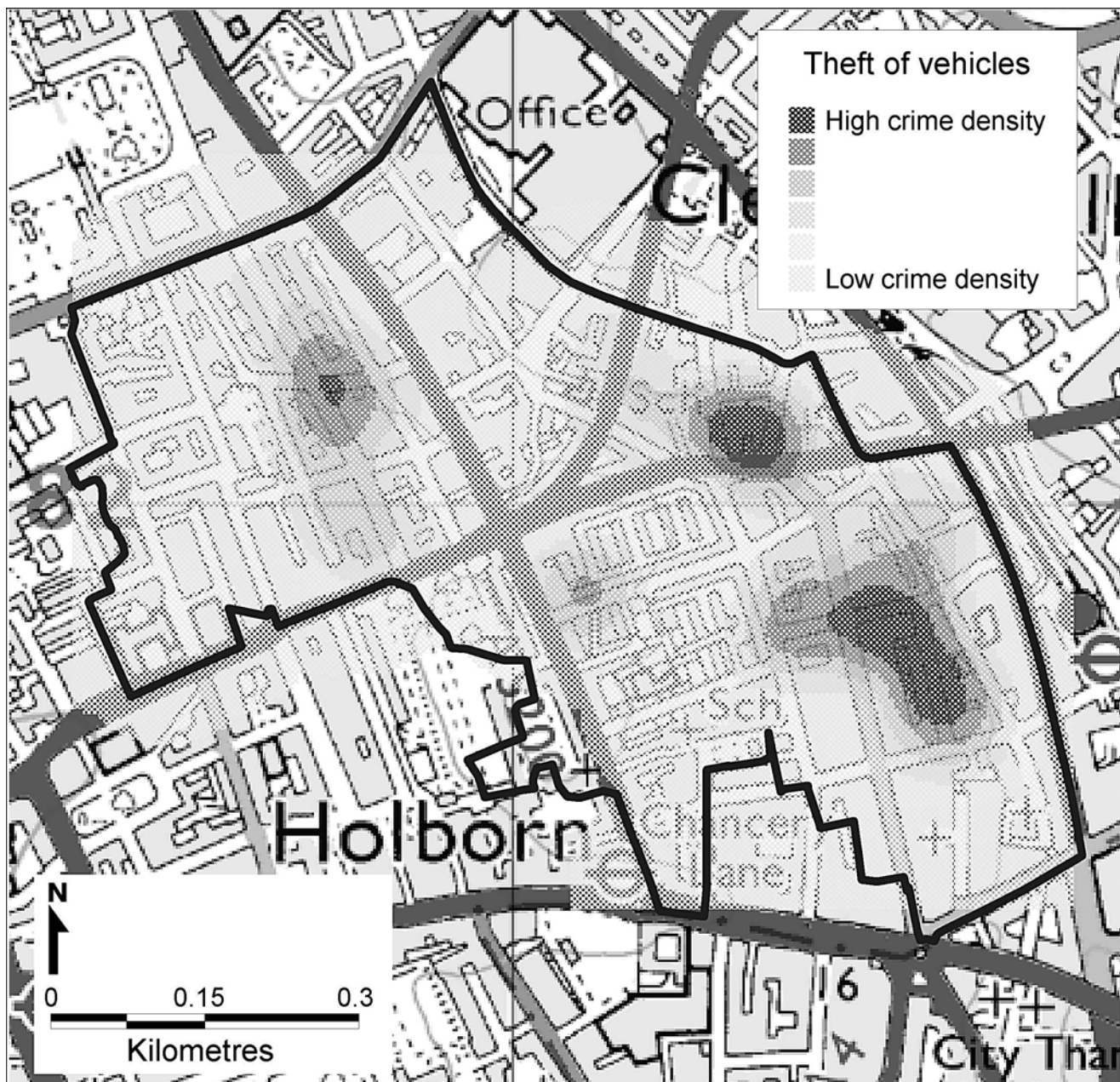


Figure 1 Vehicle crime hot spots in Holborn, central London. The three hot spots were due to the high number of motorbike, moped, and scooter thefts. Mapping crime in this manner helped the police and the local municipal government implement a crime prevention initiative that helped prevent future victimization.

Source: Chainey, S. P., & Ratcliffe, J. H. (2005). *GIS and crime mapping*. London: Wiley.

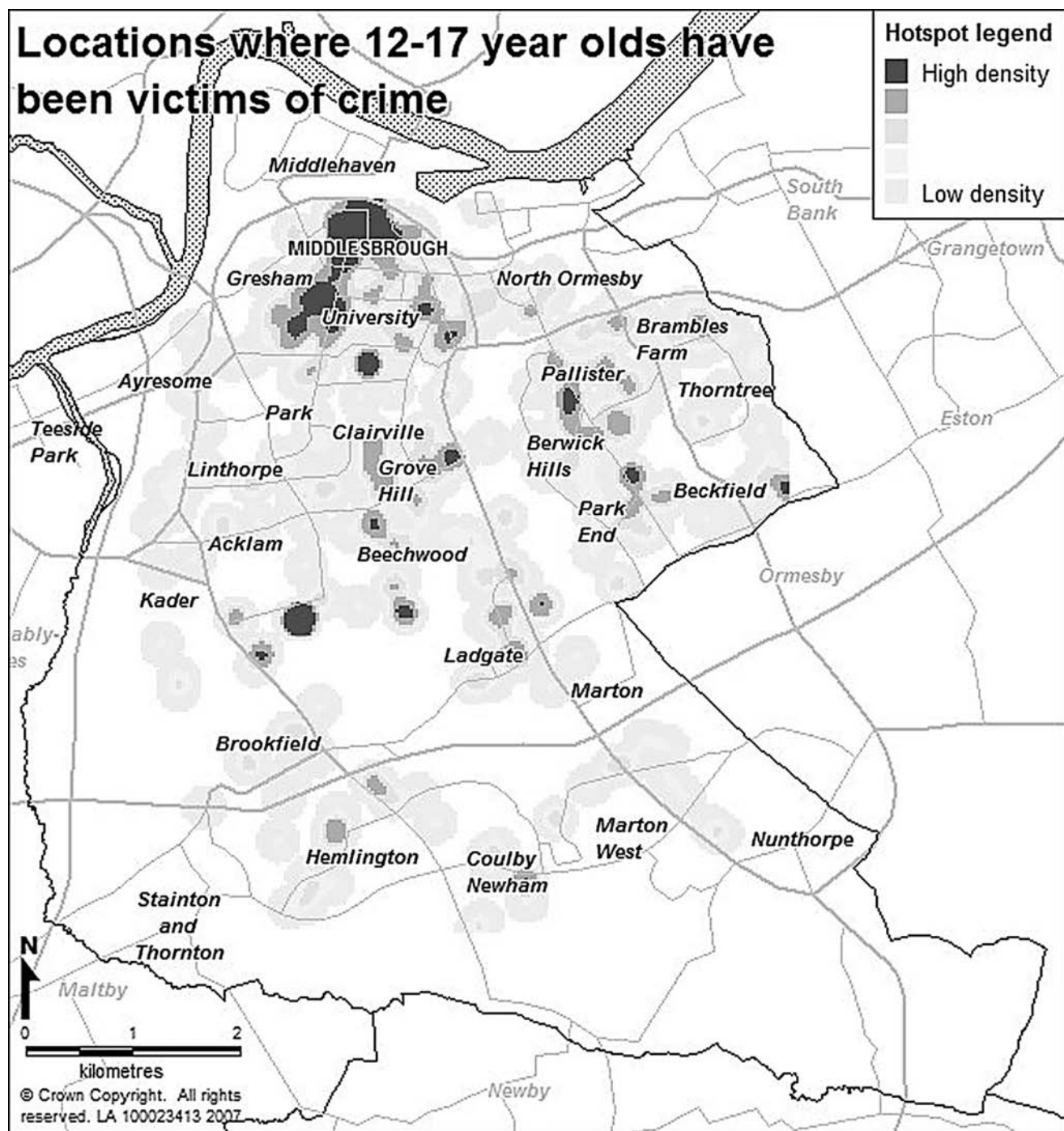


Figure 2a Mapping victimization of crime by age in Middlesbrough, England, for 12- to 17-year-olds

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

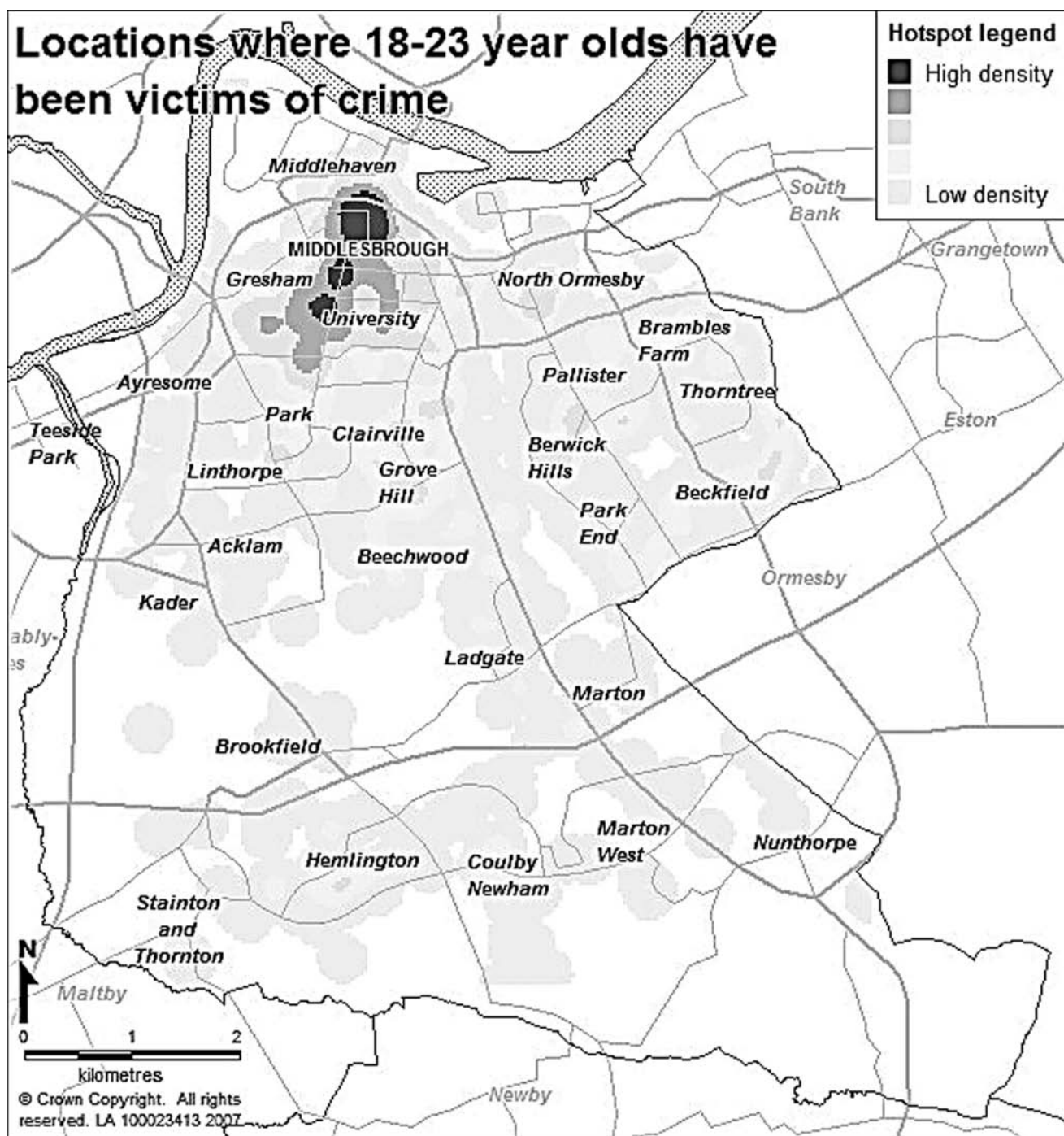


Figure 2b Mapping victimization of crime by age in Middlesbrough, England, for 18- to 23-year-olds

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

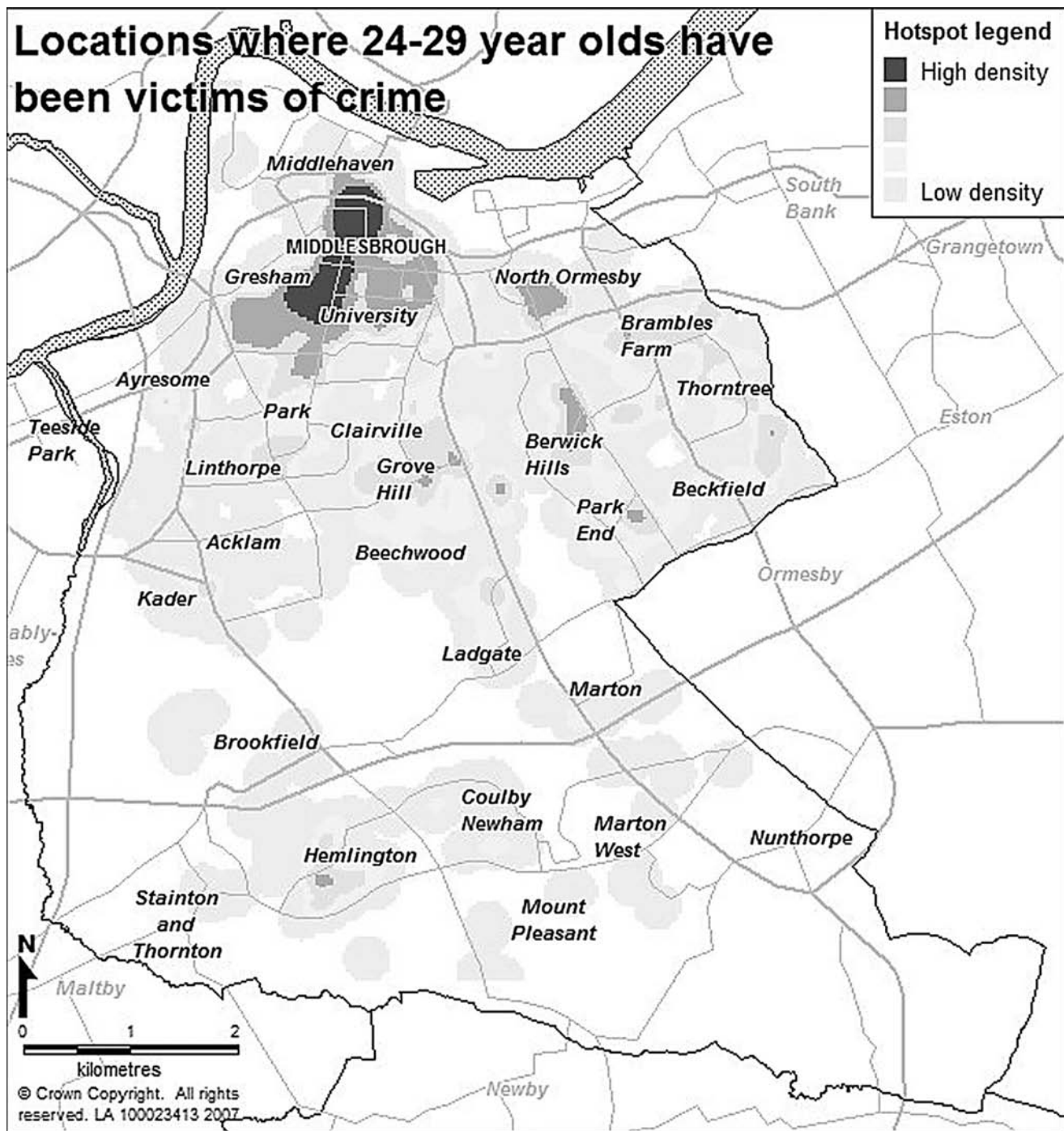


Figure 2c Mapping victimization of crime by age in Middlesbrough, England, for 24- to 29-year-olds

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

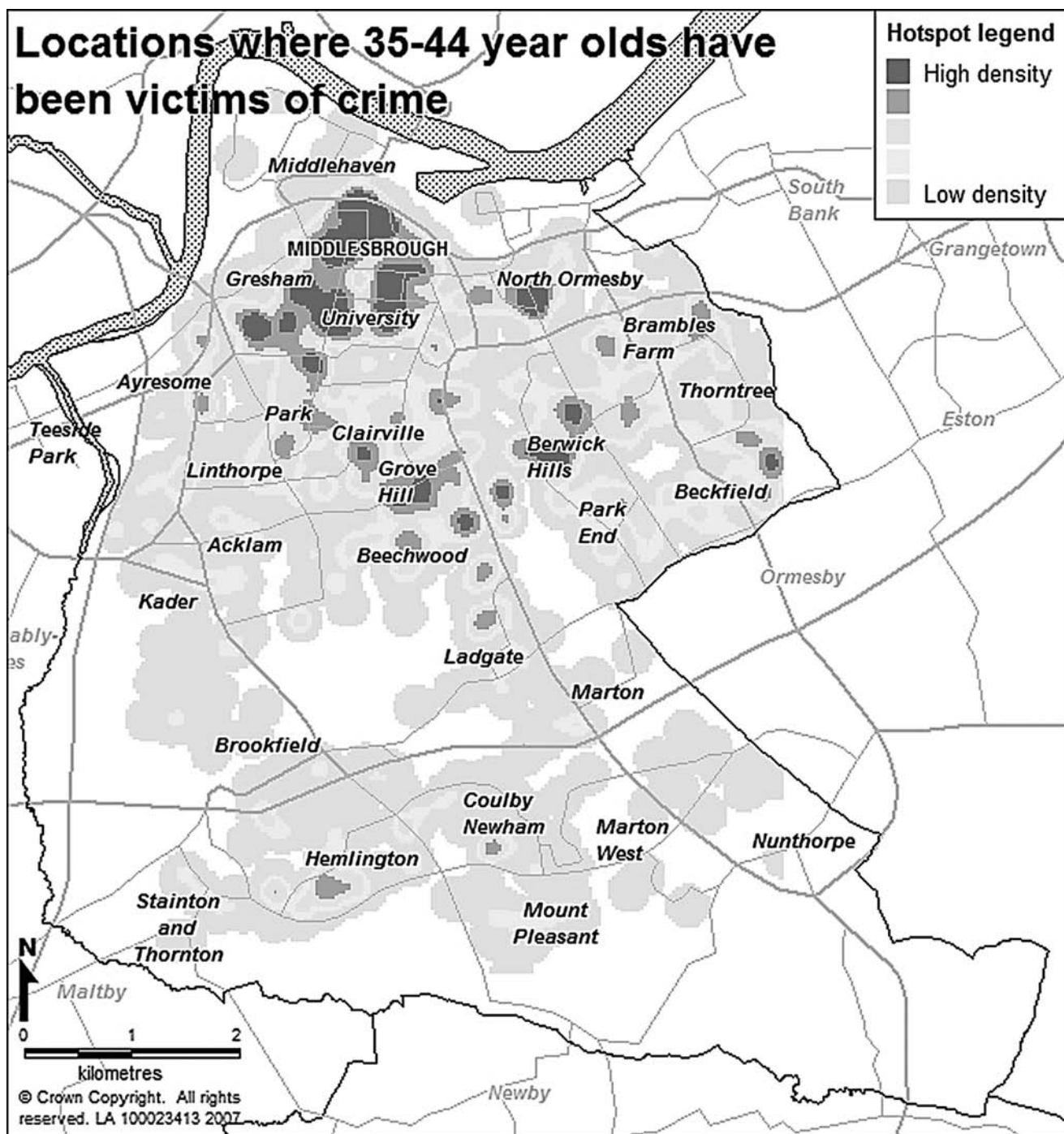


Figure 2d Mapping victimization of crime by age in Middlesbrough, England, for 35- to 44-year-olds

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

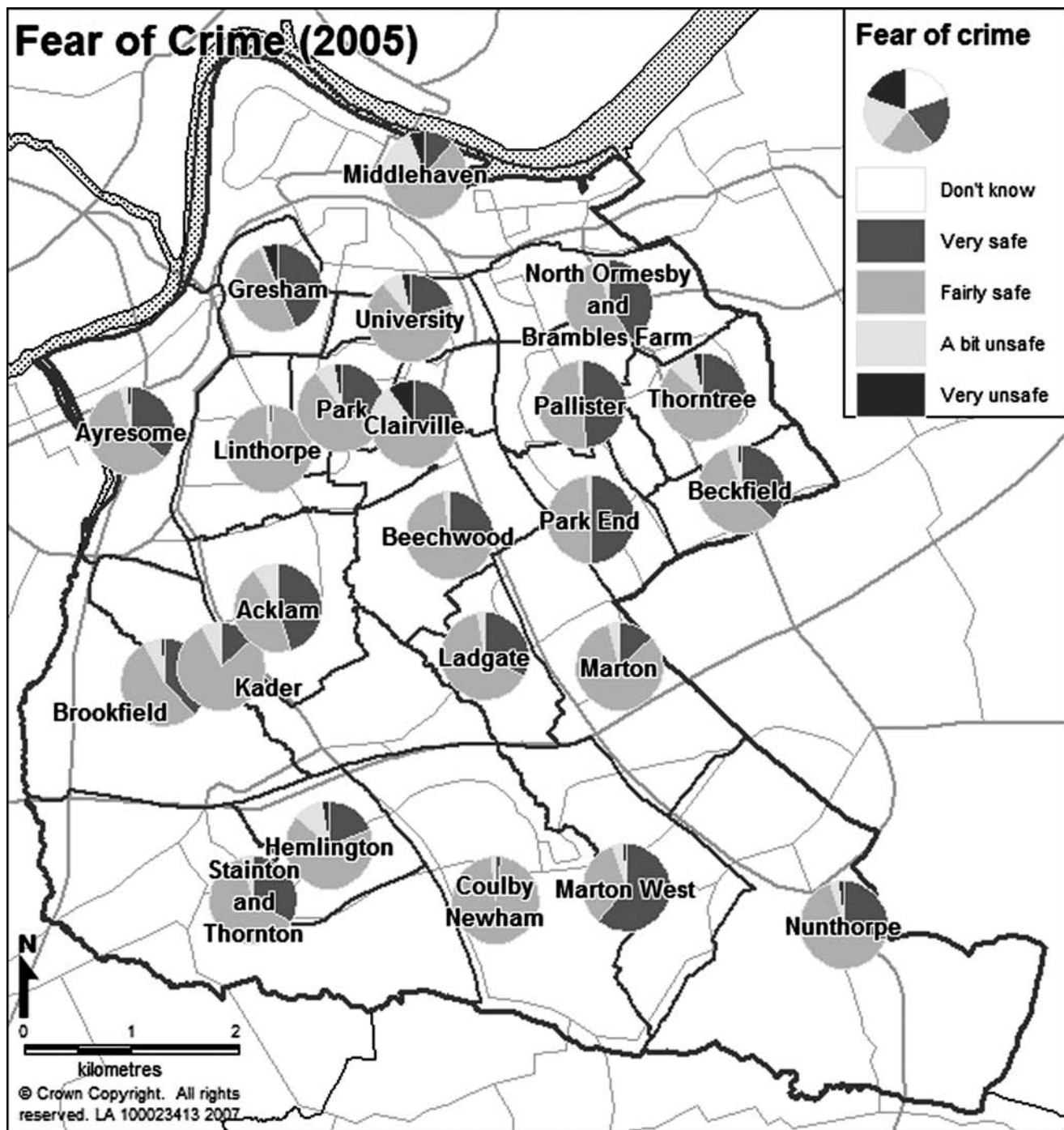


Figure 3 Middlesbrough Fear of Crime Survey results for 2005, when residents were asked if they felt their neighborhood was safe

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

Crime mapping can also be used to help explore the spatial patterns of the fear of crime and the perceptions and concerns that communities have about crime and antisocial behavior. Figure 3 shows an example of this, again illustrated for Middlesbrough in England by using the results from the district's 2005 Fear of Crime Survey. This revealed that residents from Clairville and Middlehaven felt most unsafe about the area in which they lived and that Marton West and Park End were perceived as the safest areas.

Another method for assessing perceptions and concerns of residents that is increasingly being used in the United Kingdom is exploration of the British Crime Survey (BCS) results, which have been linked to lifestyle geodemographic data (the BCS is a large-scale victimization survey that is repeated annually). An example of this is illustrated for the district of Middlesbrough. The main lifestyle groups in Middlesbrough are shown in Figure 4 (left) alongside a comparison of the neighborhood problems asked about in the BCS (right) as expressed by residents with these lifestyles. Burdened Singles, Struggling Families, and Blue Collar Roots are the lifestyle groups that dominate in Middlesbrough—representing approximately a half of the district's residents. These groups expressed high levels of concern about teenagers hanging around on the street and noisy neighbors. This concern appeared to be most pronounced for the two largest groups—Burdened Singles and Struggling Families.

Those categorized as Flourishing Families expressed a particular concern with noisy neighbors, but did not express concerns in their neighborhood with people using or dealing drugs, teenagers hanging around, or vandalism, graffiti, and deliberate property damage. Those described as Settled Suburbia expressed no particular problems about their neighborhood.

These lifestyle geodemographic data are also geographically referenced, allowing for these data to be mapped to identify those areas where it is likely that residents' consider their neighborhood to experience certain crime and community safety problems. This is illustrated in Figure 5 for the district of Middlesbrough, showing differences between the perceptions and concerns of different communities in terms of whether they consider their neighborhood to experience problems associated with drug use and drug dealing. Exploring patterns in

this manner can then help police and crime reduction agencies target resources that address the problems that are evident in these areas and offer positive messages of reassurance that help alleviate the concerns of residents.

Future Advances

Advances in computing technology create opportunities to apply more sophisticated analysis of geographical patterns and apply new technology that supports improvements in reducing victimization and crime prevention. For example, greater use of Internet-based crime mapping tools can help support publication of neighborhood-level crime statistics, creating public awareness. It also may help to provide positive messages of reassurance or alert residents to spates of crime in their neighborhood that may place them at a heightened risk of being victimized, as well as the precautions they can take to minimize this risk.

To date, geographical analysis of crime patterns in policing has focused on the generation of descriptive material that helps identify geographical patterns of crime (such as crime hot spots), but it has yet to fully embrace more sophisticated forms of geographical information analysis. New developments that are expected in crime mapping include:

- Analysis of the *significance* of geographical patterns—spatial significance testing identifies geographical patterns that are considered to be particularly unusual by applying the principles of significance testing;
- A harmonization of the geographical and temporal exploration of crime, so that areas are explored together and as a continuum rather than in isolation;
- The development of local spatial regression techniques to help examine relationships between crime patterns and other variables—to explain why crime occurs at certain places;
- The development of techniques that predict where and when crime will occur in the future; and
- Spatial modeling processes that test what-if scenarios, such as examining the impact that a crime prevention initiative may have on crime levels.

Spencer Chainey

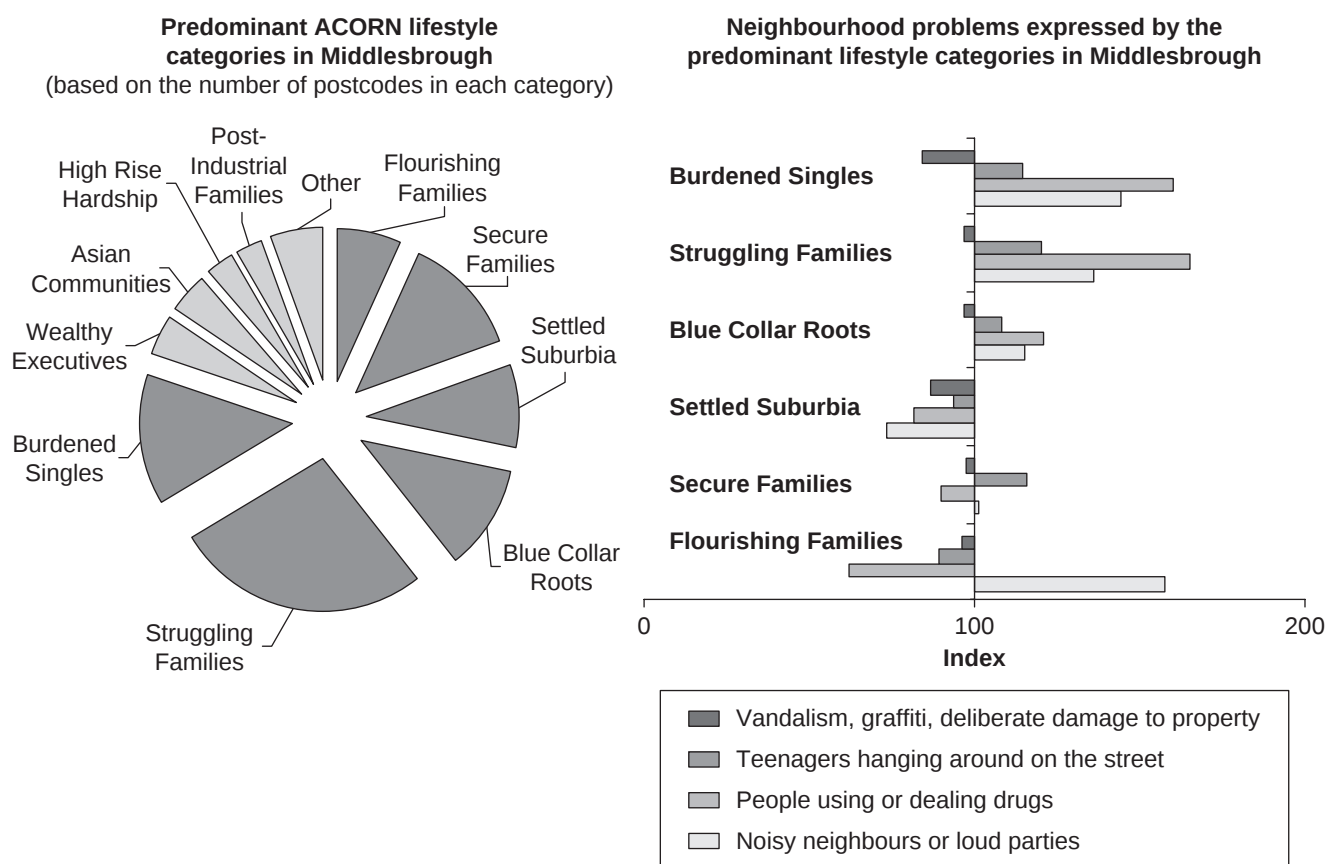


Figure 4 The predominant ACORN geodemographic lifestyle categories in Middlesbrough, England (left), expressed in relation to neighborhood problems (right). The groups shown in dark grey on the pie chart are illustrated in the bar chart. An index value greater than 100 signifies that the issue listed is a problem in the group's neighborhood. The higher the value, the greater the problem. Values less than 100 signify that the issue is not a problem for this lifestyle group in their neighborhood.

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

See also Crime Pattern Theory; Fear of Crime; Reassurance Policing; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention; Victimization Surveys

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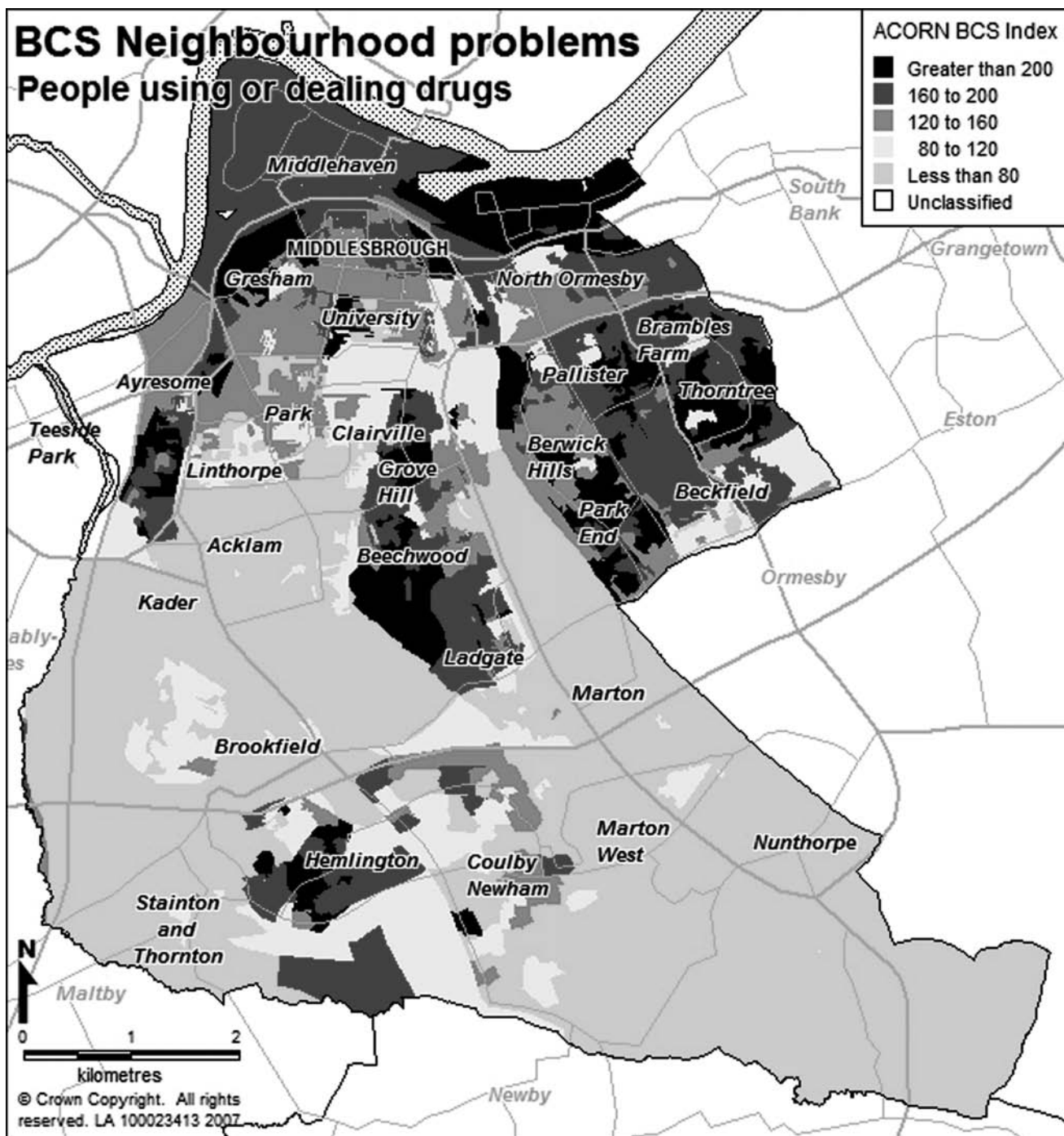


Figure 5 Concerns regarding drug use and drug dealing in Middlesbrough, England, determined from British Crime Survey results modeled to geodemographic lifestyle classifications

Source: Safer Middlesbrough Partnership. (2007). *Safer Middlesbrough Partnership strategic assessment*. Middlesbrough, UK: AIM Unit.

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CRIME NEWSLETTERS

Crime newsletters seek to provide relevant information to concerned citizens to improve crime prevention knowledge and reduce victimization. The most informative newsletters match the message to the audience. Before a crime prevention newsletter can be devised, the targeted crime problem must be carefully analyzed. For instance, if the analysis of a burglary problem indicates that victims would benefit the most from prevention information, a newsletter is more likely to succeed if it focuses on educating victims. However, antigraffiti efforts should be targeted at the offending population to educate them about the possible legal penalties for graffiti. Newsletters cannot be relied on as a generic response to crime problems, and agencies need to make every effort to highlight ongoing police initiatives or other programs designed to affect specific social problems. It also is best for agencies to consider using newsletters only in the context of a broader response to a problem.

Crime prevention newsletters can advertise:

- Self-protection techniques
- New ways to report criminal activity
- Locations of police facilities or resources
- Dangerous areas
- Offenders living in an area (sex offenders)
- Crime problems in neighborhoods

Crime newsletters can take one of two forms. On the one hand, they can attempt to provide general information to residents concerning crime and its prevention or they can advertise a specific program occurring in the community. General campaigns attempt to raise awareness in the hopes that some members of the public will avoid victimization. The

second type of campaign focuses on a particular crime and offers victims concrete steps to avoid victimization or reduce their fear of crime. These campaigns often promote home security surveys, obtaining steering wheel locks, or classes in various security-enhancing behaviors. Flyers and newsletters demonstrating techniques to make cars and houses “burglar-proof” are common in these target hardening-type campaigns.

Efforts to educate people in order to reduce victimization rates have been met with mixed results. A 4-month campaign tried to educate people about the importance of locking their parked cars, but it failed to change people’s behaviors. Another campaign used posters and television spots to remind people to lock their car doors, but it was also ineffective. These studies demonstrate that people often pay little attention to crime prevention messages. A common reason given for this behavior is that potential victims do not feel that it concerns them. For instance, domestic violence awareness campaigns have to compete with the possibility that women do not want to see themselves as victims. Some other explanations include boredom, not seeing the message, choosing to ignore the message, or even defiance from adopting the “it won’t happen to me” mentality. However, crime newsletters that are focused on specific crimes and carried out in small geographic regions seem to be more effective. These seem to have more success because people feel the message is more relevant to their immediate situation than are generic warnings about crime. Thus agencies must determine how best to reach their target audience. For example, to reach the intended audience, newsletters warning the elderly of repair and construction scams should be aimed at retirement facilities. Conversely, a newsletter designed to reduce car break-ins through mass residential mailings is not appropriate if the majority of the victims are commuters from out of town.

Design Elements

Content

The content of the message is the central component of any campaign. The message needs to be relevant to the target audience by being salient and timely. If victims are the target audience the message

should avoid blame, as most individuals will not pay attention to a campaign reminding them of their shortcomings. Research shows that messages directed at offenders that advertise an increased threat of apprehension are more successful than campaigns that focus on the legal consequences if they are caught.

Sensitivity

When deciding on the content of a campaign, attempting to scare people is not recommended. Publicity should be about education, not threatening people or producing emotionally disturbing images. Newsletters thus need to avoid messages that may upset the intended audience, such as that in a campaign designed to educate women about rape prevention which questioned women about their attire and offered “loud praying” as a method of scaring off potential attackers.

Specificity

Newsletters need to be relevant and offer specifics to the target audiences. Antidrinkage efforts that state, “Know when to stop” tend not to be effective because different audiences may interpret the message differently. Quantifying the point at which to stop drinking (e.g., two drinks per hour) is less vague and more likely to result in audiences changing their behavior. Newsletters should also provide the target audience with as much practical information as possible.

Logo

A well-designed logo can help to increase the impact of a crime newsletter. This notion comes directly from commercial advertisements that are highly laden with pictures, cartoon characters, and other appealing visuals to attract customer attention. A good example of an effective logo accompanying a crime prevention campaign is the renowned McGruff crime dog. The cartoon figure portrays an imposing yet friendly dog dressed as a detective. While it is hard to measure the exact impact of the McGruff campaign on crime reduction, an evaluation of the “Take a Bite Out of Crime” campaign found that one in four people

exposed to the campaign adopted some crime prevention techniques.

Emmanuel Barthe

See also Community Policing; Crime Prevention; Crime Stoppers; Neighborhood Watch Programs

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Web Sites

National Crime Prevention Council: <http://www.ncpc.org>

CRIME PATTERN THEORY

Crime pattern theory focuses on crime as a complex event that requires many different elements for its occurrence. This places it in sharp contrast with traditional criminology, which is focused on the development of criminal propensity in offenders.

Fundamental Assumptions

Criminal Events Require Specific Elements

At a minimum, a crime requires the confluence in space and time of an offender and a target or victim in a social and physical context that includes a preexisting criminal law, target access, and the absence of conditions and other persons who

might interfere with current action or facilitate subsequent criminal prosecution.

Crime pattern theory assumes the existence of motivated offenders and seeks to understand their decision processes and actions within the context of the other elements of the criminal event. These other elements form the basis of criminal opportunities.

Crime Is Not Random

Crime pattern theory observes that neither motivated offenders nor opportunities for crime are either randomly or uniformly distributed in space and time. Probably the strongest physical characteristic of crime is that the sites where crimes occur are concentrated. Regardless of whether the crime under consideration is murder or rape, assault or theft, burglary or vandalism, a limited number of sites, times, and situations constitute the space-time loci for the vast majority of offenses.

Crime pattern theory places special emphasis on the geography and temporal patterning of crime in order to understand how the physical and social environment structure criminal events.

Offenders and Victims Make Normal Use of Time and Space

While much traditional criminology searches for some pathology that would explain criminal behavior, crime pattern theory assumes that people who commit crimes have normal perceptions and make normal use of time and space. Offenders and victims exhibit movement patterns tied to personal activity and awareness spaces that are similar to those of everyone else. The likely location for a crime is near this normal activity and awareness space.

Structure of Criminal Opportunities and Criminal Events

Routine Activities

Daily life plays out through a series of routine activities following common activity clocks such as the morning commute to work or the rhythm of the school year. Routine activities are anchored to persistent personal activity nodes and travel paths. Routines vary from weekday to weekend and from normal days to holidays, but are generally

structured around home, work, school, shopping, entertainment, and recreation points. People develop routine pathways between their anchor points. Over time, people develop strong awareness spaces along these pathways and around their activity nodes.

Although awareness spaces are personal, they are limited and structured by the built environment so that many people share the same activity nodes and paths. As a consequence, there are general flows of people and activities toward some parts of a city and away from others along predictable paths at predictable times.

Criminal activity is primarily a by-product of routine activity patterns. Routine activities of potential offenders generally define both the areas where and the times when they are likely to commit a crime. The routine activities of potential victims also shape the patterns of crimes.

The Frictions of Time and Distance

People typically use the least time and effort necessary to accomplish some specific activity or goal. This saves time and energy for additional activities and purposes. It also predicts that most of any person's activities will concentrate around a few routine activity nodes in a few small areas or neighborhoods.

Activity Spaces and Awareness Spaces

Routine activities shape a person's normal activity space. From that activity space, the person develops an awareness space. The awareness space shapes the time and location of future activities.

The awareness space is limited, both physically and temporally. Residents do not know their entire city or town. Workers are typically aware of only a limited area around their work place. People know activity spaces for discrete times, and may not understand the dynamics of the same space at different times of the day, week, month, or year.

Routine activity space places people in situations, both physically and temporally, where crime-triggering events are more or less likely to occur. If a criminal event is triggered, the awareness space shapes the search area in which targets or victims are sought.

The routine activity and awareness spaces of repeat offenders change as a result of their prior

crimes. They also change as modes and means of transit change. Suburbanization, mass transit, and new highways alter movement patterns, routine activities, and awareness spaces.

Social Networks

When individuals are making their decisions independently, individual decision processes and crime templates can be treated in a summative fashion, that is, average or typical patterns can be determined by combining the patterns of individuals.

Most people do not function as social isolates, but have a network of family, friends, and acquaintances. These linkages have varying attributes and influence the activity and awareness spaces and the action decisions of others in the network. Social networks influence criminal activity patterns of the people who belong to them.

Urban Structure

Urban form and structure shape the activity patterns of everyone, including criminals and victims. Key aspects of urban structure considered in crime pattern theory include nodes, paths, edges, and backcloth.

Nodes

At the aggregate level, activity nodes are gathering places where large numbers of people concentrate for specific purposes: business districts and office buildings, sports stadiums, schools, shopping malls, recreation centers, train stations and airports, religious institutions such as churches, and theater districts.

At the individual level, activity nodes are the places to which people repeatedly go and at which they spend substantial time: home, work, school, a favorite shopping center, a favorite recreation center, a favorite bar or cinema.

Paths

Paths between nodes—transit systems, road networks, walking paths—collect and constrain human activity. The pathways between high activity nodes are also the sites of many offenses. Violent offenses tend to occur at the nodal “end-points” of paths. Property crimes occur near high

activity nodes, but also occur with some intensity along the paths between nodes.

Viewed in the aggregate, it is clear that many property crimes—notably vehicle theft, robbery, and thefts from vehicles—occur on or *near* main roads and *near* major public transit stops. The physical structure of the road network itself seems to influence how far crime spreads from major pathways. Limited access highways seem to concentrate crimes near highway exits. Complicated road networks tend to keep the offender closer to the main roads.

When a person lives in an area, more of the road and pedestrian pathways become well known as a result normal daily activities area. When an area is well known to offenders, “nearness” covers a much broader area away from the main road and the offender crimes cover a wider area.

Edges

The urban setting is full of perceptual edges, places where there is so much characteristic difference from one part to another that the change is noticeable. Some edges between areas are physical, some are social, some are economic. At an extreme, the house bordering on a river or sitting on a beach is on an edge; the houses behind a commercial strip development and the businesses on the strip form a perceptual edge. Parks have edges. Residential areas have edges. Commercial areas have edges.

Land use zoning and transportation planning frequently work in tandem, with the result that major roads follow perceptual edges between different types of areas. The major roads themselves can produce an edge between areas or neighborhoods.

Edges can be characterized in variety of ways. They can be considered in terms of physical barriers or of the strong cognitive images of paths with diverse land uses on either side of a road. Edges describe the limits of perceptual comfort on the part of outsiders or the spatial limits of mutual territorial functioning among a group of people. Edges mark areas of potential territorial conflict between different groups or land uses.

Areas that experience high crime rates often fall on edges between distinctly different neighborhoods. Sometimes edges create areas where strangers are more easily accepted because they are frequently and legitimately present, exposing local criminal opportunities to a wider array of potential

offenders. In addition, edges sometimes contain mixtures of land uses and physical features that concentrate criminal opportunities.

Backcloth

The environmental backcloth is an ever changing set of sociocultural, economic, legal, structural, and physical surroundings upon which the other elements of crime pattern theory are arrayed. It includes, among other things, the activities of individuals, of groups, and of organizations. Elements of the backcloth are interconnected and never static. Change is a constant condition of the backcloth, but the types of changes, degrees of change, and rate of change among the elements vary.

Insiders and Outsiders

Insiders

Insiders are people who know an area well because they have legitimate access as residents or workers, for instance, and who belong to the area in a social and cultural sense. Insiders have a better awareness of the area, of the routine daily activities of individuals and families, of workers and visitors than outsiders are ever likely to develop.

Insiders commit their within-neighborhood offenses across a much wider area than do outsiders. Insiders are likely to commit offenses that are keyed to specific timings and locations unique to local individual activities.

Outsiders

Outsiders are people who neither live in nor work in a neighborhood. They are unlikely to know the area beyond its edges and most of their crimes are likely to be committed on or near neighborhood edges.

Outsiders may or may not match the visible physical, social, or economic characteristics of neighborhood insiders. Those who do not match neighborhood insiders' characteristics may feel uncomfortable wandering very far into the neighborhood from its edges. Such outsiders may also be subject to extra scrutiny on the part of neighborhood insiders because they do not "fit in." Crimes by such outsiders are likely to be even more concentrated on neighborhood edges.

Crime Generators and Crime Attractors

Crime generators and crime attractors are places that become crime hot spots for different reasons.

Crime Generators

Crime generators are particular nodal areas to which large numbers of people are attracted for reasons unrelated to any particular level of criminal motivation they might have or the particular crime they might end up committing. Crime generators are a result of the summative combination of awareness and activity spaces of large numbers of people acting in the course of daily routines.

Crime Attractors

Crime attractors are particular places, areas, neighborhoods, or districts that create well-known opportunities for particular types of crime to which intending criminal offenders are attracted because of those known opportunities. They become activity nodes for repeat offenders. Crime attractors are a result of the cumulative impact of criminal experience and network communication.

Crime Neutral Areas

Crime neutral areas neither attract offenders who expect to do a particular crime in the area nor produce crimes by creating criminal opportunities that are too tempting to resist. Instead, they experience occasional crimes by local insiders.

Very simple distance decay and pathway models can describe the geography of crime in such locations. The offense mix is different from the offense mix at either crime attractor or crime generator locations.

Hot Spot Formation

Hot spots can be predicted at specific locations by taking into account the convergence of key elements discussed in crime pattern theory: the residential and activity locations for predisposed offender populations, the residential and activity locations of vulnerable populations, the spatial and temporal distribution of other types of crime targets, the spatial and temporal distribution of different forms of security and guardianship, the

broader residential and activity structures of the city, the mix of activity types and land uses, and the modes of transport and the structure of the transport network as well as the actual transportation flows of people through the city's landscape and timescape.

Criminal Decisions and Patterns in Criminal Events

Offender Readiness and Motivation

The commission of any particular crime requires someone who is in a state of readiness for crime. Particular criminal motivation levels or states of readiness to commit crime come from diverse, but quite understandable sources. Motivation or readiness may be seen as tied to goals. Whether a potential offender's general state of readiness is reflected in criminal acts depends in part on his or her psychological, social, and cultural background state; on the economic environment; on the individual's history of past activities; and, to a large extent, on the opportunities available. Criminal readiness levels are not constant in any individual but vary over time and place given both the individual's background behavior and site-specific situations.

Journey to Crime

Normal Travel: The Confinement of Routine Activities and Normally Patterned Crime

Any particular offender's pattern of offending will be tied to areas around his or her key personal activity nodes, including home, work or school, shopping, recreation, and the homes of friends, family, and acquaintances, as well as the paths between them. Crimes will typically occur in places where these nodes and paths intersect with criminal targets at times and in situations matching the offender's criminal opportunity template.

Nonroutine Travel and Crime

Long distance travel for work or for holiday making may cause a temporary relocation of a persistent offender's journey to crime. A local pattern explicable in terms of normal journey to crime patterns may develop in the new location.

Rare and unusual events may influence actions and, consequently, impact on crime. Natural

disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes, or floods or administrative disasters such as police strikes or electric power blackouts may open areas to looting. Large crowds at special events such as soccer matches, rock concerts, movie openings, and civic festivals may push people from boisterousness into riot. In most of these situations, the nonroutine event has no long lasting impact on crime patterns, but it does have a strong influence on criminal behavior in the short run.

Decision Processes

Crime Template

Criminal events can be viewed as the endpoints in a decision process or as a sequence of decision steps taken by a potential offender. The number and sequence of decision points in the process that leads to a criminal event vary with the type and quality of crime.

Individuals develop "images" of what surrounds them. These images, representing a process-based perception of objects within a complex environment structured by all the elements discussed above, are called mental templates. They are used to make rapid decisions about the existence and exploitability of criminal opportunities.

Templates vary by specific crime type and the general context for the crime. They contain images of both the ideal target and the ideal setting and situation comprising the ideal criminal opportunity. Target suitability is tied both to the characteristics of the target and to the characteristics of the target's surroundings. The identification of suitable target is itself a multistage decision process contained within some general environment.

Offenders do not always wait until they locate ideal targets and situations before acting. They often engage in satisficing rather than maximizing searches, acting on criminal opportunities comprised of partially ideal targets found in partially ideal situations.

Safe Place Template

People in general develop mental maps of familiar places that are keyed to comfort zones and perceptions of "safe" places. They also develop mental templates of "safe place" indicators. Most people believe that activities in unusual places can

create dangers and become more cautious when they must engage in such activities. Errors and mistakes framing “safe place” templates can create real but unappreciated dangers because potential victims run risks of crime whenever their activity spaces and immediate locations intersect with the activity and awareness spaces of potential offenders.

Triggers

There are triggers that actually touch off individual criminal events. These triggers and the consequences of criminal acts are sometimes, though not always, predictable, but they generally can be understood retrospectively.

A particular criminal event depends on an individual’s criminality potential being triggered. The triggers are generated or experienced during an activity, an action process. The triggers occur in nonstatic, though mostly routine, situations. They are shaped by the surrounding environment, past experience, and the crime template.

The Event Process

Potential targets and victims have passive or active locations or activity spaces that intersect the activity spaces of potential offenders. The potential targets and victims become actual targets or victims when the potential offender’s willingness to commit a crime has been triggered and when the potential target or victim fits the offender’s crime template.

Crime Displacement

Displacement depends on the type of crime hot spot at which the intervention takes place. Intervention at crime generator hot spots is unlikely to result in crime displacement because the crimes that occur there are opportunistic. Displacements from crime attractor hot spots are much more likely and can be encapsulated in three limited statements: First, criminal activity at a crime attractor is likely to be displaced into the neighborhood surrounding it if there are nearby attractive targets or victims. Second, criminal activity that cannot be displaced to the neighborhood surrounding the original attractor is likely to be displaced to other important attractor nodes. Third, criminal activity that cannot be displaced to the

neighborhood surrounding the original attractor, and is not displaced to some other important crime attractor, is likely to be displaced back into the offender’s home neighborhood rather than to neighborhoods nearby and similar to the crime attractor neighborhood. This is a function of the interplay of awareness spaces with urban form. The result is most likely some abatement and some displacement to a variety of locations.

Additional Considerations

Crime is not randomly distributed in time and space. It is clustered, but the shape of the clustering is greatly influenced by where people live within a city, how and why they travel or move about a city, and how networks of people who know each other spend their time. There will be concentrations of overlapping activity nodes and within those nodes some situations that become crime generators and some that are crime attractors.

When looking at the representation of crime locations, researchers need to consider individual offenders and their routine activity spaces, networks of friends who engage in some crimes and their joint activity spaces, the location of stationary targets and the activity spaces of mobile victims and mobile targets, and the catchment areas of fixed targets. The patterns are dynamic. Keeping that in mind will make it possible for researchers to understand crime patterns so that crime reduction interventions that produce minimum levels of displacement can be designed.

Patricia L. Brantingham

See also Conjunction of Criminal Opportunity Theory; Lifestyle Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention; Structural Choice Theory

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CRIME PREVENTION

There is no single definition for crime prevention. Different authors and studies offer varying definitions. Many early definitions actually used the term *crime control* either in place of *crime prevention* or within the definition. However, crime control alludes to maintenance of a given or existing level of crime and the management of that amount of crime behavior. True crime prevention looks to do more than just maintain a certain level of crime or to manage offenders and crime. Paul Ekblom offers a definition that revolves around interventions that reduce the risk of crime and its consequences. Such a definition addresses both crime and its impact on individuals and society. One of the very important consequences of crime that should be addressed in prevention initiatives is the fear of crime. While most definitions of crime prevention incorporate the ideas of lessening the actual levels of crime or limiting further increases in crime, few specifically deal with the problem of fear of crime and perceived crime and victimization. Steven P. Lab offers a definition that explicitly addresses crime and the fear of crime: Crime prevention entails any action designed to reduce the actual level of crime and/or the perceived fear of crime.

Crime prevention actions are not restricted to the efforts of the criminal justice system. They include activities by individuals and groups, both public and private. Just as there are many causes of crime, there are many potentially valuable approaches to crime prevention. This entry examines crime prevention from a very broad perspective. Included here is a discussion of the history of crime prevention, different crime prevention models, and major crime prevention approaches, as well as insight into the effectiveness of prevention activities.

History

Crime prevention is not a new idea. Indeed, for as long as people have been victimized there have been attempts to protect one's self and one's family. The term *crime prevention*, however, has only recently come to signify a set of ideas for combating crime. Many people suggest that crime prevention today is new and unique, particularly in terms of citizen participation. In reality, many recent activities classified as crime prevention can be seen throughout history. "New" crime prevention ideas and techniques are often little more than reincarnations of past practices or extensions of basic approaches in the (distant) past. It is only in the relatively recent past that the general citizenry has *not* been the primary line of defense against crime and victimization.

The earliest responses to crime were left to the individual and his family. Retribution, revenge, and vengeance were the driving forces throughout early history. While such actions would serve to make the victim whole again, it also would eliminate the benefit gained by the offender. It was assumed that potential offenders would see little gain in an offense, thereby deterring the individual from taking action. The Code of Hammurabi (approximately 1900 BCE) outlined retribution by victims and/or their families as the accepted response to injurious behavior. *Lex talionis*, the principle of an eye for an eye, was specifically set forth as a driving principle in the Hammurabic law. Such laws and practices provided legitimacy to individual citizen action.

The existence of formal systems of social control is relatively new. Early "policing," such as in the Roman Empire and in France, was concentrated in

the cities, was conducted by the military, and dealt with issues of the central state and the nobility (i.e., king). The general public was left to continue self-help methods. After the Norman conquest of England in 1066, male citizens were required to band together into groups for the purpose of policing each other. If one individual in the group caused harm (to a group or nongroup member), the other members were responsible for apprehending and sanctioning the offender. *Watch and ward* rotated the responsibility for keeping watch over the town or area, particularly at night, among the male citizens. Identified threats would cause the watcher to raise the alarm and call for help (*hue and cry*). It was then up to the general citizenry to apprehend and (possibly) punish the offender. The “watch and ward” and “hue and cry” ideas were codified in 1285 in the Statutes of Winchester, which also required men to have weapons available for use when called, and outlined the role of a constable, which was an unpaid position responsible for coordinating the watch and ward system and overseeing other aspects of the law. It is apparent throughout these actions that crime prevention was a major responsibility of the citizenry. In the New World colonies and the early United States, the vigilante movement, which mirrored early ideas of hue and cry, was a major component of enforcing law and order in the growing frontier of the young country. Poses of citizens were formed when an offender needed to be apprehended and punished.

The individual, often voluntary, responsibility for crime prevention in England generally persisted until the establishment of the Metropolitan Police in 1829. A key to the Metropolitan Police organization was the idea of crime prevention. Sir Robert Peel, who was the driving force behind the Metropolitan Police Act, and Charles Roman, the commissioner of the new organization, both saw crime prevention as the basic principle underlying police work. Even earlier attempts at formal policing, such as that in 17th-century Paris, emphasized crime prevention through methods such as preventive patrol, increased lighting, and street cleaning.

While much of this discussion has emphasized individual action and self-help, it should not be construed as indicative that protective actions were solely a matter of retribution and revenge. There are numerous examples of alternative approaches that would be considered preventive in

nature. Easy examples were the use of walls, moats, drawbridges, and other physical design features around cities that protected the community from external invasion. Surveillance, as provided by watch and ward, allowed the identification of problems before they got out of hand. Yet another early prevention approach was the restriction of weapon ownership as a means of eliminating violent behavior.

The advent of the 20th century witnessed a great deal of change in societal response to deviant behavior. The growth of sociological and psychological studies of crime and criminal behavior offered new responses to deviant behavior. Researchers were starting to note patterns in where and when offenses occurred and who was involved in the offenses, and to relate these facts to changing social structure and personal relationships. The logical result of this growing study was a movement away from simple responses involving repression, vengeance, retribution, and the like to actions that would attack the assumed causes of deviant behavior. The emerging criminal and juvenile justice systems, therefore, responded by incorporating more prevention-oriented functions into their activity.

One prime example of an early crime prevention approach was the development of the juvenile court and its efforts to combat the problems of poverty, lack of education, and poor parenting among the lower classes. The preventive nature of the juvenile system can be seen in the *parens patriae* philosophy, which argued that youth needed help and that processing in adult court was geared to punishment rather than prevention. Yet another example of early crime preventive action was the Chicago Area Project in 1931. The Chicago Area Project sought to work with the residents to build a sense of pride and community, thereby prompting people to stay and exert control over the actions of people in the area. Recreation for youth, vigilance and community self-renewal, and mediation were the major components of the project. In essence, the project sought to build ongoing, thriving communities that could control the behavior of both its residents and those who visited the area.

Crime prevention is an idea that has been around for as long as there has been crime. While the form has changed and the term *crime prevention* is relatively new, the concern over safety is age

old. Since the late 1960s there has been a growing movement toward bringing the citizenry back as active participants in crime prevention. While many see this type of community action as new, in reality it is more a movement back to age-old traditions of individual responsibility than it is a revolutionary step forward in crime control. Crime prevention must utilize the wide range of ideas and abilities found throughout society. Community planning, architecture, neighborhood action, juvenile advocacy, security planning, education, and technical training, among many other system and nonsystem activities, all have a potential impact on the levels of crime and fear of crime. The realm of crime prevention is vast and open for expansion.

The Crime Prevention Model

Crime prevention encompasses a wide range of actions and activities, all geared toward reducing crime and/or the fear of crime. One way to organize the many approaches is to look at models of crime prevention. Perhaps the most recognized model is borrowed from the approaches found in the public health models of disease prevention. Three areas of prevention appear in this model—primary, secondary, and tertiary—and each attacks the problem at different stages of development. From the public health viewpoint, primary prevention refers to actions taken to avoid the initial development of the disease or problem. This would include vaccinations and sanitary cleanups by public health officials. Secondary prevention moves beyond the point of general societal concerns and focuses on individuals and situations that exhibit early signs of disease. Included at this stage are screening tests such as those for tuberculosis or systematically providing examinations to workers who handle toxic materials. Tertiary prevention rests at the point where the disease or problem has already manifested itself. Activities at this stage entail the elimination of the immediate problem and taking steps designed to inhibit a reoccurrence in the future. Paul Brantingham and Frederic Faust took this public health model and outlined an analogous crime prevention model.

Brantingham and Faust note that primary prevention within the realm of criminal justice “identifies conditions of the physical and social environment that provide opportunities for or

precipitate criminal acts” (1976, p. 288). The types of prevention approaches subsumed here included environmental design, Neighborhood Watch, general deterrence, private security, and education about crime and crime prevention. Environmental design includes a wide range of crime prevention techniques aimed at making crime more difficult for the offender, surveillance easier for residents, and feelings of safety more widespread. The use of building plans conducive to visibility, the addition of lights and locks, and the marking of property for ease of identification fall within the realm of environmental design. Neighborhood watches and citizen patrols increase the ability of residents to exert control over their neighborhood and add risk of observation for potential offenders.

Activities of the criminal justice system also fall within the realm of primary prevention. The presence of the police may affect the attractiveness of an area for crime as well as lower the fear of crime. The courts and corrections may influence primary prevention by increasing perceived risk of crime for offenders. Public education concerning the actual levels of crime and the interaction of the criminal justice system and the public may also affect perceptions of crime. In a related way, private security can add to the deterrent efforts of the formal justice agencies.

Primary prevention also includes broader social issues related to crime and deviance. Sometimes referred to as *social prevention*, activities aimed at alleviating unemployment, poor education, poverty, and similar social ills may reduce crime and fear by attending to the root causes underlying deviant behavior. These and many other primary prevention behaviors are implemented with the intent of avoiding initial, as well as continued, crime and victimization and may be instrumental in lowering the fear of crime.

For Brantingham and Faust, secondary prevention “engages in early identification of potential offenders and seeks to intervene” (1976, p. 288) prior to commission of illegal activity. Implicit in secondary prevention is the ability to correctly identify and predict problem people and situations. Perhaps the most recognizable form of secondary prevention is situational crime prevention. Situational prevention seeks to identify existing problems at the micro level and institute interventions that are

developed specifically for the given problem. These solutions may involve physical design changes, altering social behaviors, improving surveillance, or any number of other activities. Closely allied to situational prevention is community policing, which relies heavily on citizen involvement in a problem-solving approach to neighborhood concerns.

Many secondary prevention efforts resemble activities listed under primary prevention. The distinction rests on whether the programs are aimed more at keeping problems which lead to criminal activity from arising (primary prevention) or focused on factors which already exist and are fostering deviant behavior (secondary prevention). Secondary prevention may deal with predelinquents or deviant behavior that leads to injurious criminal activity. For example, alcohol and drug use are highly related to other forms of deviance. Targeting drug use as an indicator of criminal propensity is a secondary prevention approach. Schools can play an important role in secondary prevention both in terms of identifying problem youth and in providing a forum for interventions. Clearly, much secondary prevention may rest in the hands of parents, educators, and neighborhood leaders who have daily contact with the individuals and conditions leading to deviance and fear.

According to Brantingham and Faust, tertiary prevention “deals with actual offenders and involves intervention . . . in such a fashion that they will not commit further offenses” (1976, p. 288). The majority of tertiary prevention rests within the workings of the criminal justice system. The activities of arrest, prosecution, incarceration, treatment, and rehabilitation all fall within the realm of tertiary prevention. Non-justice system input into this process includes private enterprise correctional programs, diversionary justice within the community, and some community corrections. Tertiary prevention is often ignored in discussions of crime prevention due to its traditional place in other texts and the great volume of writing on these topics that already exists.

While the primary/secondary/tertiary model to organize the discussion of crime prevention is very common, other models exist. Jan van Dijk and Jaap de Waard offer one variation on this tripartite view. Their model adds a second dimension of victim-oriented, community/neighborhood-oriented, and offender-oriented approaches. For example,

primary prevention techniques can be divided into actions that target victims, the community, or potential offenders. The authors attempt to refine the public health-based classification system. Adam Crawford offers another two-dimensional typology that again uses the primary/secondary/tertiary view as a starting point, and adds a distinction between social and situational approaches within each category. Both of these models offer alternative views of crime prevention and ways of conceptualizing crime prevention interventions.

An emerging area within the realm of crime prevention is that of crime science. Gloria Laycock suggests that crime science is a new discipline, or at the very least a new paradigm, for addressing crime by coupling efforts to prevent crime with the detection of and intervention with offenders. This is in contrast to the existing paradigm within criminal justice where the focus is on offenders rather than situations. The emphasis on offenders means that responses to crime primarily involve the criminal justice system in the apprehension, adjudication, and punishment/treatment of offenders. Little or no concern is paid to prevention crime. Conversely, crime science attempts to apply various scientific methods and disciplines in the fight against crime.

In essence, crime science attacks crime from a wide range of disciplines using a broad array of tools. Among the disciplines included are those traditionally found in discussions of crime and criminality—sociology, psychology, criminology, and criminal justice. Also included, however, are the fields of engineering, biology, physics, architecture, genetics, communications, computer science, education, and many others. Each of these disciplines offers insight into the behavior of individuals, how to control or manipulate the physical and social environment, the development of safety and security devices, or others among the myriad factors that play a role in crime and crime control. A primary goal of crime science is to bring these divergent disciplines together into a functional, coordinated response to crime.

In many ways, crime science fits nicely with the public health model of crime prevention. Crime prevention requires a wide array of actions and interventions that rest on knowledge and expertise from disciplines beyond those typically involved in

the criminal justice system. At the same time, the criminal justice system is intimately involved in the detection of, apprehension of, and intervention with offenders, as well as the implementation of new prevention initiatives.

The Physical Environment and Crime

One of the more well-known approaches in primary prevention entails modifying the physical environment. Changing the physical design of a home, business, or neighborhood has the potential of effecting crime in a variety of ways. It is also possible to change the design of different items. Such changes may make it more difficult to carry out a crime. This difficulty can result in lower pay-off in relationship to the effort. Another potential impact is that the risk of being seen and caught while committing an offense may be enhanced. Finally, the physical design changes may prompt local residents to alter their behavior in ways that make crime more difficult to commit. Efforts to alter the physical design to impact crime are generally referred to as crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Included in this approach are architectural designs that enhance territoriality and surveillance, target hardening, and the recognition of legitimate users of an area.

The basic ideas of CPTED grew out of Oscar Newman's concept of defensible space. Newman's defensible space proposes "a model which inhibits crime by creating a physical expression of a social fabric which defends itself" (1972, p. 53). The idea is that the physical characteristics of an area can influence the behavior of both residents and potential offenders. For residents, the appearance and design of the area can engender a more caring attitude, draw them into contact with one another, lead to further improvements and use of the area, and build their stake in the control and elimination of crime. For potential offenders, an area's appearance can suggest that residents use and care for their surroundings, pay attention to what occurs, and will intervene if they see an offense.

The ideas of defensible space/physical design include a wide range of potential interventions for combating crime. Increasing street lighting; reducing concealment; adding locks; installing unbreakable glass; using closed-circuit television (CCTV), cameras, and/or alarms; marking property for

identification; and changing street layouts are only a few of the available means of prevention. Most crime prevention programs rely on a range of activities and not just a single approach. Almost without exception, most evaluations look at the direct impact of physical design on crime and/or fear of crime.

Examination of the existing evidence on physical design shows some promising results along with a number of instances where the impact of the techniques is inconsistent. The literature reveals that there are a number of instances where physical design techniques have been found to be effective at reducing crime and fear of crime. Evaluations of lighting, CCTV, street layout, reduced concealment, alarms, and alterations to communities that use multiple approaches have all revealed positive results. Interestingly, there are also numerous examples where the evidence is still uncertain, with the results varying across places and situations, and there are several examples where techniques have been found to have no impact.

Physical design for prevention has also been applied to product design. Ronald Clarke and Graeme Newman point out that the targets of crime are everyday objects. It is possible to alter the design of objects to make them less amenable to crime. Many products lend themselves to crime. These so-called hot products that are highly targeted by thieves may be characterized by being CRAVED—concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, and disposable. In essence, these are products desired by people that, because of their construction or make-up, are easily targeted by offenders. While the idea of product design for prevention purposes has been gaining attention, relatively few initiatives have been subjected to evaluation. Evaluations that have been completed typically suggest that the design changes are effective at bringing about significant reductions in crime.

Neighborhood and Community Organizing

An alternative prevention approach that grew out of evaluations of physical design is neighborhood/community organizing. In essence, this involves techniques that prompt the retention, retrieval, and/or enhancement of the community. Neighborhood/block watch, citizen patrols, community-oriented

policing, and similar reactions reflect community-oriented responses to crime and fear. These efforts should reduce crime and fear over time as the community reasserts itself and takes control of the behavior and actions of persons within the community. Rather than assume that alterations in a sense of community, neighborhood cohesion, and similar factors follow physical design changes, a community-oriented model suggests that interventions specifically directed at increasing social interaction, social cohesion, feelings of ownership, and territoriality and reducing fear will be more effective at combating crime and victimization.

A wide variety of neighborhood crime prevention strategies have been proposed and implemented over the years. Included in this category are neighborhood/block watch, community anti-drug programs, citizen patrols, and community-oriented policing. The past 35 years have seen a great proliferation of programs in the United States and Great Britain. While many programs in both countries have been instigated and aided by various government agencies or policies, other programs emerged from the simple realization by citizens that the formal criminal justice system was incapable of solving the crime problem on its own. Regardless of the source of stimulation, neighborhood crime prevention has become a major form of crime prevention.

Evaluation of neighborhood crime prevention shows that preventive actions can have an impact on the level of crime and fear in the community. This assessment holds true whether the crime is measured by either official police records or victimization surveys. The level of the change, however, is not equal in all studies, and a few studies suggest that crime can become worse in some targeted neighborhoods. The key to successful crime prevention activities appears to lie in the level of program implementation and citizen involvement. Different background characteristics of the target communities, varying types of available data, and varying evaluation designs also impact on the results.

Mass Media and Crime Prevention

Crime prevention through the mass media can take a variety of forms and has the potential to impact crime in different ways. Kate Bowers and Shane

Johnson show that the media (publicity) can be used for several purposes: increasing the risk to offenders, increasing the perceived risk to offenders, encouraging safety practices by the public, and reassuring the public. Successful use of the media may result in reduced crime and fear of crime. Examples of the use of media in crime prevention are the Take a Bite Out of Crime campaign, crime newsletters, information lines such as Crime Stoppers, and the recent growth of reality television shows. These efforts attempt to provide varying amounts of crime education, fear reduction, and crime prevention activity that, hopefully, will translate into lower levels of actual crime.

The use of the media is a relatively new approach in crime prevention. Analysis of media crime prevention campaigns shows that media presentations can affect fear of crime, feelings of self-confidence in avoiding victimization, and the adoption of crime prevention precautions. Unfortunately, the level and extent of these changes is not uniform across evaluations. It appears that the choice of presentation format and the modes of evaluation are key elements in uncovering positive effects. Any modification in actual crime is extremely hard to uncover. This is primarily due to the focus on perceptions of fear and crime and not on crime itself. Changes in the level of actual crime must rely on the successful modification of these other factors. Once the fear of crime and the level of crime prevention efforts are changed, then the ultimate goal of reduced crime can start to appear.

Situational Crime Prevention

Many proponents of crime prevention argue that interventions need to be targeted in order to have an impact. Nowhere is this more evident than under the rubric of situational crime prevention. Instead of attempting to make sweeping changes in an entire community or neighborhood, situational prevention is aimed at specific problems, places, persons, or times. The situational approach assumes that a greater degree of problem identification and planning will take place prior to program implementation, and that the impact will be more focused and, perhaps, identifiable. The identification of places and individuals at risk of victimization, especially focusing on repeat victimization, is central to a great deal of situational prevention.

Situational crime prevention is most easily understood from Derek Cornish and Ronald Clarke's typology of situational interventions. The typology includes five general categories of prevention actions, each with five subgroups. The five categories are Increasing the Effort, Increasing the Risk, Reducing the Rewards, Reducing Provocations, and Removing Excuses. This classification system addresses the opportunity factors related to crime, as well as different levels of motivation to commit crime.

Several observations can be drawn from studies of situational prevention. First, there is an emphasis on property crimes, which is to be expected given the theoretical bases underlying the approach. Second, a wide array of interventions appears in the literature, and this diversity is evident both across different crime problems and within the same offenses. What this suggests is that the prevention initiatives truly are "situational" in nature and cannot be simply applied to the same crime that appears in different places at different times. Third, research successfully demonstrates the effectiveness of programs that target effort, risk, and reward. Fourth, in many analyses there is evidence of either displacement or diffusion, despite the fact that many of the research designs do not specifically test for them. Finally, the focused nature of situational prevention efforts may help maximize the success of the programs. Programs that attempt to make modest changes in specific problems at specific times and places should be more successful than multifaceted programs aiming for large-scale changes.

Deterrence and Incapacitation

Deterrence and incapacitation are two potential crime prevention methods that are used by the criminal justice system. Deterrence can be broken down into two distinct types—general and specific. *General deterrence* aims to impact more than the single offender. The apprehension and punishment of a single individual hopefully serves as an example to other offenders and potential law violators. *Specific deterrence* seeks to prevent the offender from further deviant actions through the imposition of punishments that will negate any pleasure or advantage gained by participation in criminal activity. *Incapacitation* also seeks to prevent future crime on the part of the offender. The method by

which this occurs is the simple control of the individual that prohibits the physical possibility of future criminal activity. Both deterrence and incapacitation are major forms of crime prevention and have served as cornerstones of the criminal justice system.

First and foremost, the research presents contradictory results on the deterrent effect of sentences, particularly the death penalty. There is little or no evidence that severity has an individual deterrent effect. Conversely, certainty of apprehension and punishment seems to have some impact on the level of offending. One problem with this latter statement is the fact that many of the studies that look at certainty also are dealing with crimes which have a fairly severe penalty attached. Clearly, increasing the certainty of apprehension and punishment for homicide is accompanied by either the death penalty or a substantial length of imprisonment. The occurrence of one factor results in the second. Why then do studies that look at both severity and certainty only find an effect related to certainty?

The deterrence literature fails to find any strong compelling arguments that the law and sanctions have any major impact on the level of offending. The most clear-cut finding seems to indicate that increased certainty of apprehension and punishment results in reduced offending. Meanwhile, the severity of punishment appears to have little influence on behavior. Studies of specific deterrence present findings contradicting a deterrent effect of harsh punishment. These studies find that recidivism increases as the length of time served in prison or the harshness of the sanction increases. Other studies, however, show that punishment does deter future behavior or reveals inconsistent results. While society calls for stronger sanctions, it may be that these interventions play an aggravating role in deviant behavior. The offender may view harsh punishment as a breaking point with conventional society and an opportunity to turn to further deviant activity. The act of putting an individual behind bars may be more criminogenic than deterrent.

Incapacitation has great intuitive appeal for society. The idea of punishing an individual for the harm he caused is an accepted method for dealing with deviant behavior. Extending that period of punishment in order to keep an individual from committing another offense is an easily acceptable

modification. The costs of such a policy, however, may be high. The number of persons who must be housed to achieve even a small decrease in crime is staggering even using the most conservative figures. Translating these bodies into dollars leads to budgets that the public has not been willing to accept. As with deterrence, the research literature holds little promise for an acceptable incapacitation strategy at this time.

One possible incapacitative approach is controlling offenders in the community through the use of electronic monitoring (EM). EM offers a cost-effective means for releasing offenders into the community while providing a degree of control over them. The evaluation research suggests that the level of both technical violations and new offending is relatively low. Despite problems and concerns with EM programs, they appear to be a viable alternative to incapacitation through incarceration.

Conclusion

Crime prevention encompasses a wide diversity of ideas and approaches. Indeed, no two individuals will necessarily see or define crime prevention in exactly the same way. There should be no doubt that crime prevention works. Effective interventions using a wide array of approaches are evident in the literature. The extent of crime prevention's impact, however, varies across time and place, as well as from one approach to another. Indeed, not every program has the same impact in every situation. Crime may be reduced in one place while there is no impact on the fear of crime. Transplanting that same program to another location may result in the opposite outcome—crime stays the same but fear is reduced. No single approach to crime prevention has proven to be applicable in all situations. Indeed, most interventions appear to work in limited settings with different types of offenders and problems. The greatest challenge, therefore, is to identify the causal mechanisms at work so that effective programs can be replicated in other places and other times.

Steven P. Lab

See also Crime Prevention, Domains of; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Crime Science; Defensible Space; Deterrence; Future of Crime

Prevention; Neighborhood Watch Programs; Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility and Access (VIVA); Situational Crime Prevention; Take A Bite Out Of Crime

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CRIME PREVENTION, DOMAINS OF

Crime prevention is broad term that carries many different meanings. It is claimed as a principal goal

or objective by every criminal justice agency. Lawmakers, schools, social agencies, medical services, and community groups see their activities as fundamental to the prevention of crime. Businesses and homeowners spend large sums and engage in many different activities intended to effect crime prevention. Crime prevention claims are made for electronic merchandise tags, prenatal interventions in expectant mothers' consumption habits, burglar alarms, remedial reading programs, street lighting, high school vocational training courses, prison counseling programs, Little League sports, police street checks, neighborhood organizing activities, control of sightlines in new construction, particular management styles in bars/pubs, subsidized day care programs, and many other actions and activities.

Dimensions of Domains

The domains of crime prevention can be analyzed along multiple dimensions flowing from this understanding of the criminal event.

Criminality and Crime

The field of crime prevention is divided into the domains of criminality and of crime.

The Domain of Criminality

This domain is focused on changing the individual's propensity to commit crimes. Crime prevention efforts are intended to change an individual's fundamental character so that he or she will not want to commit a criminal act (or will at least be able to resist the temptation to do so) when a provocation or temptation is encountered.

This domain is grounded on the assumption that criminals (persons with high levels of criminality) are somehow pathologically different from the vast majority of people who are fundamentally noncriminal (that is, are highly resistant to both provocations and temptations).

Most traditional crime prevention strategies fall within the domain of criminality, drawing on a variety of biological, psychological, and social assumptions about the development of personality and sociality as well as assumptions about the capacity of home neighborhood residents (communities) to exercise effective informal control over the criminal impulses of individuals. These

traditional strategies tend to prescribe interventions aimed at changing individual propensity and community control capacity in the long run.

Criminal justice operations aimed at producing general or specific deterrence also fall within the domain of criminality. They aim to prevent crime on the part of the general public by illustrating the punishments inflicted upon offenders, modifying the balance of benefits and costs associated with doing the crime in such a way that most people will choose to resist most temptations and provocations. They also aim to prevent repeat offenses on the part of offenders by imposing actual punishments and illustrating the specific costs of criminal action to those who do not understand or do not believe the general deterrence message.

The Domain of Crime: The Criminal Event

This domain is focused on understanding all of the elements of a criminal event. While a legalist conception of "crime" can be restricted to the idea of "an act in violation of a criminal law," an actual criminal action requires convergence of at least four elements in space and time: law, offender, target, and situation. Convergence creates the criminal event. The domain of crime tends to assume the existence of a set of people who will readily give in to any provocation or temptation to crime. It looks at the *other* elements of the criminal event in search of interventions that will prevent the provocation or temptation from occurring, or that will separate potential offenders, in space and time, from those provocations and temptations that cannot be prevented.

Law. A valid criminal law prohibiting and providing some specific punishment for some specific action is a necessary precondition for the occurrence of a crime. This is a fundamental presumption of the modern political world that sets *crime* apart from deviance, recklessness, immorality, negligence, rudeness, selfishness, foolishness, and a variety of other undesirable types of behavior, even though a particular crime might encompass some or all of them.

Offender. An offender, some person who takes action in violation of a criminal law, is central to the criminal event. Such a person exhibits *criminality*, a propensity to engage in criminal actions.

Target. An offender's action in violation of the law must have some target, a person or place, an institution or object, a process or community upon which the crime has some concrete effect. Some targets are highly exposed by their own actions; some targets are hidden and well protected and must be sought out with considerable effort.

Situation. The intersection of offender and target in space and time must also occur in a social and physical context that makes the criminal act possible.

Facilitators and inhibitors. Every space-time context includes some characteristics that could facilitate the criminal action and some that could inhibit it. People, institutions, social expectations, and physical conditions can all serve as facilitators or inhibitors.

Guardians, managers, and handlers. Key inhibitors include guardians, place managers, and personal handlers. Key facilitators include the absence of guardians, place managers, and personal handlers.

Public and Private

The domains of crime prevention can be classified as public and private. The *public domain*

encompasses the activities of governments and their agencies, including the various agencies of the criminal justice system. It involves the making and reform of law as well as law enforcement. It also involves activities by agencies as diverse as municipal planning departments, provincial departments of transportation and hospitals, social housing agencies, and welfare organizations. The *private domain* encompasses families and communities, businesses and the labor market, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and various religious organizations and congregations. Crime prevention programs originating in the public domain can sometimes impinge on private rights, while private actions can have major impacts on the volume and character of crime and criminality in a society.

Temporal

The temporal domains of crime prevention sort activities into near-term, medium-term and long-term categories based on how long the intervention must be continued before a prevention effect can be anticipated to occur. Introduction of exit attendants and security cameras in a parking facility has been shown to have immediate preventive effects. Introduction of a national day care

Table I A table of criminality domain crime prevention actions at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
Public Sector			
Police	Citizen education programs, Antidrug education	Social service operations Intervention and diversion	Arrest and charge Prolific offender management
Courts	General deterrence through exemplary sentences	Pre-adjudication diversion Civil alternatives (e.g., drug courts)	Sentences aimed at special deterrence, reform, rehabilitation Prolific offender management
Corrections	General deterrence through existence	Diversion program operations	Incapacitation Reform Restorative justice programs Psychological counseling Rehabilitation Vocational education Prolific offender management

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
Schools	General education Educational day care programs Antibullying education Life skills education Parenting skills education Vocational education	Educational intervention programs for at-risk children Antibullying intervention Remedial education for school dropouts Predelinquent screening	Prosecution of truants and delinquents Correctional institution educational programs
Urban planners	Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) Routine activity management through social, temporal, and physical planning		Institutional design
Health agencies	General health programs Antidrug education	High-risk persons, identification and intervention Detoxification programs	Harm reduction programs Drug abuse rehabilitation Prolific offender management
Social services agencies	Community development Provision of social safety net	Social services for high-risk individuals and groups: • Domestic abuse interventions • Social housing • Job placement • Income supplements	Social interventions in established cases of: • Endemic poverty • Domestic abuse • Prolific offender management
Private Sector			
Businesses	Developing robust economy High employment levels	Efficient, humane personnel policies	Hiring and management of ex-offenders
Churches and other faith-based organizations	Moral training General social work	Programs for the disadvantaged Crisis intervention	Aftercare services
Other non-governmental organizations (NGOs)	Recreation programs General social work		12-step programs
Families	Good parenting: Moral training		
Individual private citizens	General charity	Volunteer work with at-risk populations	Correctional volunteers

program for 2-year-old children would be unlikely to provide any substantial crime prevention effect in the near term or even the medium term. Crime prevention programs situated in different temporal domains require very different levels of political support, both at the outset and over time.

Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Prevention

Crime prevention activities can, borrowing from the public health approach to problem prevention, be usefully viewed in terms of where, along the course of crime problem development, interventions are made.

Primary Prevention

Primary crime prevention identifies conditions in the social and physical environment that facilitate the development of criminality or provide opportunities for or precipitate criminal events. Primary preventive interventions aim to change these general conditions, reducing their criminogenic potential, without focusing on specific at-risk groups, individuals, or places.

Secondary Prevention

Secondary crime prevention identifies specific at-risk situations and places, groups, and individuals before they develop persistent crime problems or engage in criminal activity. It also provides physical and social interventions aimed at modifying those at-risk places and situations so that they present minimal criminal opportunities or provocations. It provides physical and social interventions aimed at ameliorating criminogenic social conditions so that at-risk groups and individuals develop minimized criminal propensities.

Tertiary Prevention

Tertiary crime prevention deals with places with established crime problems and with actual offenders. It provides interventions aimed at changing the physical site and social situations found at crime generators, crime attractors, and other crime hot spots in ways that minimize the criminal opportunities found at them. It provides interventions aimed at incapacitating, reforming, and rehabilitating actual offenders so that they commit no further offenses.

The Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Prevention in Public and Private Domains

Tables 1 and 2 depict the primary, secondary, and tertiary crime prevention activities undertaken with respect to criminality and criminal events in the public and private sector domains. These are further broken into their most prominent crime prevention subdomains. In the public sector these include: police, courts, corrections, schools, urban planning agencies, health agencies, and social service agencies. In the private sector these include: businesses, churches and other faith-based organizations, other nongovernmental organizations, communities, families, and individual private citizens.

Paul J. Brantingham

See also Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention: Micro, Meso, and Macro Levels

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Table 2 A table of criminal event domain crime prevention actions at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
Public Sector			
Police	General deterrence through presence and patrol Community policing Citizen education programs Advice on situational prevention strategies	Crime and intelligence analysis Emergent hot spot policing Problem-oriented policing programs (POP)	Established hot spot policing Arrest and charge Prolific offender management
Courts	General deterrence through exemplary sentences		Sentences aimed at incapacitation Prolific offender management
Corrections	General deterrence through existence		Incapacitation Prolific offender management
Schools	School time frame management School access control After-school programs such as sports and drama	Situational prevention programs on school grounds	
Urban planners	Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) Routine activity management through social, temporal, and physical planning	Hot spot redesign Traffic flow control	Institutional design
Health agencies	General health programs Antidrug education	High-risk persons, identification and intervention	Drug abuse rehabilitation Prolific offender management
Social agencies	Community development	Social services for high-risk individuals and groups: • Social housing • Job placement • Domestic abuse interventions	Social interventions in established cases of: Domestic abuse Prolific offender management
Private Sector			
Businesses	Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) Security and loss prevention General situational prevention	Employee screening Security focus on hot spots Hot spot focus for situational prevention Participation in POP	Prosecution of offenders Hiring and management of ex-offenders Environmental modifications aimed at situational prevention

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
Private Sector			
Churches and other faith-based organizations	Moral training General social work	Programs for the disadvantaged Crisis intervention Participation in POP	Aftercare services
Other non-governmental organizations (NGOs)	Recreation programs General social work	Participation in POP	
Communities	Neighborhood Watch and similar programs Neighborhood-based sports program (e.g., Little League, Minor Hockey)	Neighborhood cleanup projects designed to “fix broken windows” Participation in POP	Cocooning and other community-supported repeat victimization interdiction programs
Families	Good parenting: • Supervision • Temptation reduction • Rule setting and consistent enforcement		
Individual private citizens	Household and business security precautions General charity	Participation in Neighborhood Watch, POP, and similar programs	Crime site modifications

CRIME PREVENTION: MICRO, MESO, AND MACRO LEVELS

For every type of crime there are competing (and often contradictory) explanations for offender motivations and victim involvement. Individual, social, and legal responses to crime and victimization are likewise impacted by the myriad theories that exist. The design and application of crime prevention and victimization avoidance strategies are no less complex. This entry explores the effects of different areal strategies (levels) in regard to successful crime prevention planning and implementation. In this context, *level* refers to a potential area, crime site, or victim’s location, not just as a geographical or physical space at which crime

may occur, but as a site or individual’s position within social orders and/or political entities. Potential crime locales are divided into three levels: *micro*—specific individuals, groups, businesses, and similar neighborhood sites; *meso*—individuals, groups, and sites in larger communities, small cities, rural counties, and remote areas; and, *macro*—collectives of individuals, groups, and sites within large cities, populous counties, states, nations, and international settings. The level at which an individual or site is located directly impacts the crime prevention techniques utilized, as well as their success.

The Micro Level of Crime Prevention

The design and application of crime prevention and victimization avoidance strategies at the micro

level often utilize victim-oriented, community/neighborhood-oriented, and offender-oriented as well as situational approaches. The types of prevention used (education, target hardening, environmental design, access control, enhanced surveillance, neighborhood cohesiveness, etc.) are specifically designed to address individual or specific site vulnerabilities.

Crime prevention strategies may be broken down into three categories: *primary prevention*—reducing a site or individual or small group's vulnerability or a motivated offender's perceptions of opportunity in order to keep crimes from occurring; *secondary prevention*—reducing an obvious vulnerability on the part of potential victims or crime sites, or addressing community or area issues that might encourage at-risk individuals or groups to engage in criminal activities; and *tertiary prevention*—dealing with individuals or sites that have been victimized, or apprehending and dealing with those individuals or groups who have committed crimes within a community or local area.

Victim-based primary prevention techniques at the micro level seek to prevent crimes from occurring by reducing vulnerability or target attractiveness. Examples include: residential/small business security, self-defense training, target hardening, crime awareness programs, and similar strategies for reducing or deterring vulnerability of a specific person or potential crime site.

Offender-based primary prevention techniques at the micro level emphasize reducing potential offenders' perceptions of success. Any activities that make a target less attractive or reduce the opportunity to successfully engage in a crime would be relevant. Examples include: the presence of additional people, security personnel, aggressive police patrols, as well as the strategies mentioned above.

Secondary prevention techniques at the micro level seek to address identified or obvious vulnerabilities by first promoting awareness of the victim, group, or site users in regard to their potential for victimization. Training programs such as rape awareness, self-defense techniques, promoting good cash handling, home security surveys, parent/teacher instruction, after-school programs, and other stratagems designed to correct known deficiencies would fall within this category.

Techniques may also be geared to reduce the likelihood of individuals or groups within an area

or community of being drawn into criminal behaviors. These could be recreational or educational programs designed to provide alternative activities for at-risk youth, policies designed to reduce the impacts of poverty within a designated area, vocational and job training, neighborhood crime watches, as well as other community enhancement initiatives.

Victim-based tertiary prevention techniques at the micro level seek to reduce the trauma of victimization for individuals and to reduce the potential for further victimization. Domestic violence programs, victim support programs, victim restitution/compensation programs, child protection/guardian programs, crime mediation, environmental design, neighborhood crime watches, financial aid for security enhancements, and increased police activities are examples.

Offender-based tertiary prevention techniques at the micro level include restorative justice programs, restitution programs, education and training programs, mandatory prosecutions, counseling, incarceration, probation treatment, community corrections, or any of the myriad correctional methodologies that attempt to keep individual offenders from becoming involved in further criminal activity.

The Meso Level of Crime Prevention

Meso-level crime prevention addresses its efforts to potential crime targets and victims within larger communities, small cities, suburbs, rural counties, and remote areas such as parks and tourist attractions that draw larger numbers of visitors. Convention facilities, sports arenas, shopping centers, and public housing are exemplars of areas that require prevention programs beyond the micro level. Prevention programs for small towns, suburban counties, and rural areas also are included in this level.

Programs such as Neighborhood Watch, community development, civic awareness, and police-community initiatives are especially relevant. The complexities of dealing with larger facilities, expanded geographical areas, reaching across political subdivisions, and larger numbers of people require extensive planning for greater coordination of efforts and utilization of resources.

Secondary prevention at the meso level differs from that at the micro level in that it involves greater coordination of programs designed to

address issues that impact identified communities, institutions, and categories of people in order to eliminate or reduce the potential for criminal behaviors to develop and victimization to occur.

Tertiary techniques at the meso level are the same as at the micro level, except that greater demands on limited resources are placed upon the justice system and victim support organizations due to greater numbers of offenses and the complexities of coordinating efforts within larger jurisdictions and diverse populations.

The Macro Level of Crime Prevention

The macro level of crime prevention addresses collectives of individuals, groups, and sites within large cities, populous counties, states, nations, and international settings. While crime prevention is mainly addressed by community and local entities, densely populated metropolises, global business interests, transnational travel, and international relations require increasingly greater resources and coordination of crime prevention efforts.

Macro-level strategies are those efforts on the part of large cities, states, nations, and international organizations to prevent or reduce the occurrence of crime and victimization. Due to the impact of global communications and travel within modern societies and the increased potential for organized crime and international terrorism, the coordination of crime prevention efforts requires increasingly greater involvement on the part of states, nations, and international organizations.

The chief function of states and nations in crime prevention and control is through legislation. In addition to crime legislation to provide for general deterrence, states and nations also develop policies and programs designed to eliminate social ills that serve as catalysts for crime.

Macro-level secondary prevention includes those efforts discussed previously. In the United States the requirements, policies, and funding for the majority of secondary prevention programs are the products of state and federal initiatives.

Tertiary prevention at the macro level has been the predominant and arguably the least effective strategy utilized. While progress has been made in the areas of treatment, restorative justice, and victim-offender mediation, the focus of tertiary prevention

at all levels has been specific deterrence through the punishment of offenders.

Ronald D. Hunter

See also Crime Prevention, Domains of; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Defensible Space; Situational Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

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CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVES, INTERNATIONAL

While crime prevention strategies have a long history of success and have been an integral part of the criminal justice system in the United States, Canada, and Europe, they are not common in developing countries. However, these strategies have been gaining acceptance in many developing nations. While the United Nations (UN) can be credited with many of the most successful initiatives and programs, it is by no means the only international player. Some of the credit for the paradigm shift in international crime prevention can be attributed to contributions from nongovernmental organizations and local governments. Both have played a critical role in bringing about the change.

International Standards

Over the last 20 years, the UN has played a pivotal role in the realm of crime prevention. The UN

follows a balanced approach, paying attention to both justice and prevention modalities. On the global scale, government instability and a lack of security make this balanced approach at best complicated and at worst unworkable. In an effort to create norms and standards that could prove useful internationally, the UN promulgated *Guidelines for Cooperation and Technical Assistance in the Field of Urban Crime Prevention* in 1995. The 1995 guidelines were updated and revised in 2002 when the UN adopted *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime*. Both documents signify a movement to a best practices approach to crime prevention utilizing strategic and comprehensive approaches to crime prevention.

Recently, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has articulated the goal of creating community-centered prevention as a response to crime, violence, drugs, and victimization. The UNODC's strategy for 2008–2011 was shaped, in part, by increasing pressure from the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice and the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In 2005, ECOSOC passed two resolutions that encouraged the UNODC to give attention to crime prevention with a view to achieving a balanced approach between crime prevention and criminal justice responses.

The function of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Program Network (PNI) is to sustain the effort of UNODC and support global collaboration in the fields of crime prevention and criminal justice. The members of PNI are the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders; the United Nations Interregional Crime & Justice Research Institute in Turin, Italy; the National Institute of Justice in Washington, D.C.; the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences in Siracusa, Italy; the Australian Institute of Criminology in Canberra; El Instituto Latinoamericano de las Naciones Unidas para la Prevención del Delito y el Tratamiento del Delincuente in San José, Costa Rica; the Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control in Helsinki, Finland; the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Lund, Sweden;

the Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy in Seoul; the United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Kampala, Uganda; the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy in Vancouver, Canada; the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice program in Milan, Italy; the Institute for Security Studies in Cape Town, South Africa; and finally, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime in Montreal, Canada.

The United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT) is the UN agency for human settlements. In 1996, at the request of a set of urban African mayors, UN-HABITAT created strategic responses to urban crime and violence. The main goal of the Safer Cities initiative is capacity building at the local level to effectuate an effective crime prevention strategy. Moreover, the hope is that initiative will foster a culture of crime prevention. The Safer Cities initiative has expanded and now boasts 16 local projects spread over five continents. The hallmarks of all the Safer Cities initiatives are (1) encouraging good government through transparency and accountability, (2) capacity building, and (3) free exchange of experiences between cities and residents including previously marginalized populations.

Like other crime prevention initiatives, Safer Cities systematically identifies potential stakeholders to create a local safety coalition along with elected officials guided by an initiative coordinator. A detailed analysis of local problems is performed with the goal of identifying attainable short- and long-term goals. Typically, modalities include urban and environmental design, community-based policing, prosocial activities, and programs for youth.

Nongovernmental Organizations

Besides the UN, many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have attempted to address issues of public safety and crime prevention. For example, the Instituto Latinoamericano de Seguridad y Democracia based in Buenos Aires, Argentina, helps build a system of both public and private mechanisms for crime prevention and protection

of the rights and interests of individuals while paying special attention to community organizations that are already working in the field.

The International CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) Association based in Alberta, Canada, is concerned with the creation of a safer environment that improves the quality of life through the use of CPTED principles and strategies. The organization accomplishes this through the use of e-learning modules and conferences that can lead to certification.

Created in 2006, the Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (Brazilian Forum for Public Safety) is an NGO that disseminates ideas, news, and knowledge for the improvement of public security in Brazil. It also provides technical assistance to police, researchers, practitioners, and journalists. The organization publishes the *Brazilian Journal of Public Safety*, a journal dedicated to providing relevant information on crime and crime prevention in Brazil.

In Cape Town, South Africa, the Center for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) works to develop and promote evidence-based crime prevention based practices in South Africa and other developing countries. The organization conducts research and reports findings to governments, police, and practitioners. CJCP also provides customized training modules in crime prevention.

Local Governments

Local authorities across the globe have worked to strengthen relations and promote interactions between municipalities and other echelons of government on the issues of crime prevention and safety. For example, European Forum for Urban Safety (EFUS) works with local governments in more than 300 cities across Europe to provide training, technical assistance, conferences, and seminars to aid with the implementation of crime prevention programs aimed to reduce crime and violence. Perhaps the most salient contribution from the EFUS happened during the Security, Democracy, and Cities convention in Zaragoza Spain with the promulgation of the *Zaragoza Manifesto on Urban Security and Democracy*. The *Zaragoza Manifesto* mandates exchanges between local governments and pledges mutual assistance

to prevent crime, victimization of women and immigrants, and terrorism.

The stated purpose of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) is to represent and defend the interests of local governments on the world stage. While the UCLG lists many concerns, one primary concern is security. The organization advocates before international organizations like the United Nations on behalf of its members. Although there is an increasing willingness to implement crime prevention, resources and tools are often lacking.

Current Status

Major advancements have been made internationally in the past few years in the adoption of crime prevention strategies. Because of groups like the UN, nongovernmental organizations, and local governments, the goal of dissemination of sound crime prevention principles, recommendations, and innovative practices to policy makers and practitioners is now a reality.

Roger Enriquez

See also Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

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CRIME PREVENTION PARTNERSHIPS, INTERNATIONAL

Crime prevention partnerships are a way to reduce crime by mobilizing and coordinating the work of schools, social and youth services, law enforcement, public health, housing, families, and so on. The partnerships endeavor to mobilize those agencies and individuals most able to tackle the social and developmental risk factors that are known to predispose individuals to engage in crime.

The partnerships are recommended by organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations (UN), and Habitat as a key to reducing crime. The governments in countries such as Belgium, France, and Sweden contract with municipalities to be the hub for such partnerships at the local level.

A key component of these partnerships is a planning process that is recommended by WHO, UN, and Habitat and is required by law for municipalities in England and Wales. The first step is a process to diagnose where and for whom additional services are needed to reduce crime. The diagnosis leads to a plan to implement increased services by the different agencies followed by actions to implement the services. In principle, implementation is followed by monitoring and evaluation. The core of the partnership is a secretariat that coordinates the four-step process (see Figure 1).

Longitudinal studies of the personal experiences of young men confirm that those most likely to offend had more frequently experienced risk factors such as inconsistent and uncaring parenting, teachers who identified them as trouble makers in primary school, and dropping out of secondary

school. Efforts tackling these risk factors through visits by public health nurses, enriched preschool, and initiatives to stop kids dropping out of school have been shown to reduce offending. The partnerships are based on strong evidence about how risk factors contribute to crime and how interventions tackling risk factors are likely to reduce crime.

Further, the local partnerships at the city level are able to focus on the concentrations of crime found in cities. It is well known that

- 5% of offending is committed by 50% of the persons born each year, and
- 4% of addresses account for 44% of victimizations.

The offenders and victims tend to be concentrated geographically in areas that have disproportionate numbers of persons in relative poverty, who do not stay at the same address, and who experience other disadvantages. So the partnerships often concentrate new services in those areas.

In 2008, the Province of Alberta in Canada established a community safety secretariat to coordinate the partnership between departments responsible for health, schools, youth services, policing, and courts. The objective of the partnership was to reduce crime and enhance community safety. The secretariat is implementing 30 recommendations from a provincial task force as well as developing a province wide strategic plan. It controls \$500 million in new funds allocated for the next 3 years in a three-pronged approach that balances prevention, treatment, and enforcement.

Similar partnerships are commonplace at the local government level in Western European countries. For instance, the government of England and Wales passed the Crime and Disorder Act in 1998, requiring every local government to establish a community safety and crime reduction partnership. These partnerships include a range of local agencies and must develop a plan based on a common diagnosis of the local crime problems, a plan to solve the problems, ways to implement the actions, and steps to monitor and evaluate the outcomes from the actions.

Crime prevention partnerships are a key ingredient in the “new” crime policy that focuses on outcome such as reduction of victimization rather than debates about punishment of offenders. The

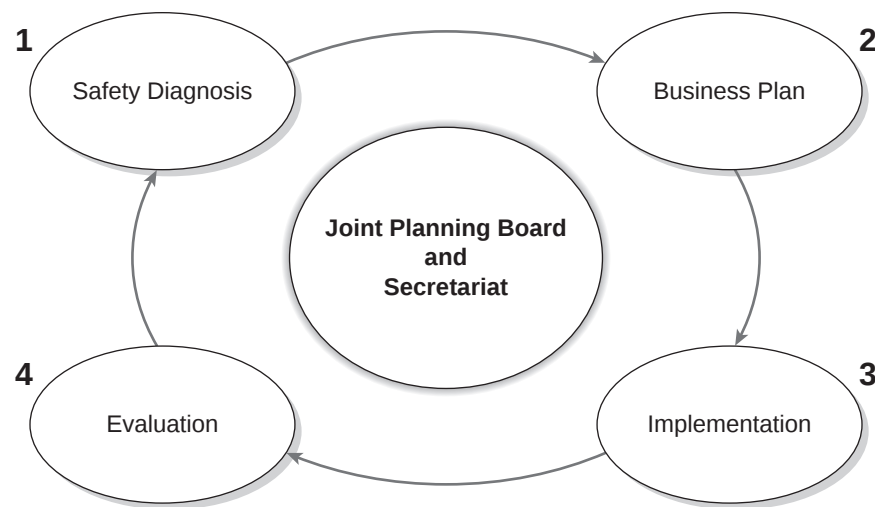


Figure 1 City crime prevention planning office

Source: Waller, Irvin. (2006). *Less Law, More Order: The Truth About Reducing Crime*. Westport, CT: Praeger, p. 116. Copyright © Irvin Waller.

new policy and its basis in science are articulated by Irvin Waller in *Less Law, More Order: The Truth About Reducing Crime*, a book written for the makers of criminal policy and the taxpayers. This book brings together the research on the limits of more police, more lawyers, and more prisoners. It gives examples of proven ways of preventing crime by tackling its causes, along with examples of crime prevention partnerships, and uses knowledge endorsed by agencies such as the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the British Home Office and Treasury.

There is considerable experimental and scientific research to show that tackling the causes of crime is more effective and efficient in reducing crime than the dominant reactive and retributive policy. Nevertheless, U.K. and U.S. research on the effectiveness of partnerships is not able to conclude that citywide strategies are the major reason for crime reductions in a city. Strategies that apply universally across a city by definition cannot be tested through random control trials. However, correlation studies generally support the logic that they would be effective. There are impressive examples of achievements by crime prevention partnerships, such as the 50% reduction in rates of homicide in Bogotá, Colombia, over a 10-year period.

The main impediment to successful crime prevention partnerships is the dominance of the standard

reactive approach to crime, in which increases in the budgets of the police, the courts, and corrections make it difficult for new funding to go to the partnerships. In addition, the advocates of reducing crime through environmental design and problem-oriented policing argue for funds for their approaches, which may appear to politicians to be more short term. In England and Wales, the local government partnerships moved away from crime prevention through social development and into crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) and policing approaches, involving widespread use of closed-circuit television and strategies to arrest prolific offenders.

Advocates believe that crime prevention partnerships will significantly reduce crime if funding for their operation and implementation of the targeted social programs is tied to increases in funding for the standard approaches. The Canadian Big City Mayors have recently endorsed a framework specifying that all increases in funding for law enforcement should be accompanied by similar increases for services that tackle the social risk factors associated with crime.

After reviewing the results from reviews by the U.S. National Research Council and other leading agencies, such as WHO, Waller concluded that government strategies based on crime prevention partnerships at all levels of government could

achieve large and sustainable reductions in rates of victimization. Thus Waller recommends an additional investment of about 10% of what is currently spent on reactive and retributive crime policy to achieve a 50% reduction in rates of crime and violence within a 10-year period. This investment would have to go to the programs that have been shown to work by tackling known risk factors and to crime prevention partnerships to implement them.

Irvin Waller

See also Crime Prevention Initiatives, International;
Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States

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CRIME PREVENTION PARTNERSHIPS, UNITED STATES

This entry provides information regarding crime prevention partnerships in the United States, including what these partnerships are and why they exist. It also presents selected examples of such partnerships.

Definition and Purpose of Crime Prevention Partnerships

Crime is multifaceted and complex. It consists of a variety of behaviors and stems from many causes.

It is therefore not surprising that crime is often intractable and difficult to prevent. Crime problems are also not solved by one segment of society. Often, a focused, sustained effort including multiple partners is necessary to solve particular crime problems. Many systems can be involved in crime prevention, including the justice, health, education, local government, community and neighborhood organizations, business, and both family and faith-based systems. Forming partnerships to prevent crime allows all of these different but related groups to come together for the community. Partnerships acknowledge the fact that crime affects communities in multiple ways, and preventing it thus requires a team that comprises the many stakeholders of the community representing a wide and broad community voice.

In this entry, *crime prevention partnerships* is defined as “a linkage between community organizations and government agencies formed for the purpose of reducing a community’s defined social problem or improving the conditions of the community” (Roman, Moore, & Jenkins, 2002, p. 18). Many types of crime prevention partnerships exist today in the United States. They can include any number of government, business, nonprofit, and faith-based organizations. Two that stand out are community policing partnerships and comprehensive community partnerships.

An effort has been made in the United States to provide research-based guidance on forming effective crime prevention partnerships. Much has been learned and some insights have been made about this multilayered process. It has been found that there are four basic stages of partnership (formation, implementation, maintenance, and outcomes) that every crime prevention partnership will go through. When attempting to form a crime prevention partnership, one should first assess the community’s readiness for such a partnership. Is there partnership saturation? Are there any turf wars? Are there any stakeholders that want to partner? These are just a few of the questions that should be asked. Groups must be willing to deal with issues of distrust and any disputes that may have occurred in the past in an effort to come together in a collaborative effort. Once it has been established that a partnership is needed, that the community is ready for it, and that there are stakeholders ready to partner, partnership goals and objectives need

to be clearly defined. The group should study different leadership types to identify the style that is best suited for the organizations and groups involved in the partnership. The partnership also needs to remember to keep the community engaged in its activities. It is important to always be attentive to the needs of the different members of the partnerships. Combining resources (including human, capital, time, and space resources) can be difficult and can take time.

Examples

Comprehensive Community Initiatives Supported in Part by the U.S. Department of Justice

Weed and Seed Program

The Weed and Seed program is a comprehensive, multiagency approach to law enforcement, crime prevention, and community revitalization that has been supported by the U.S. Department of Justice since 1991. It is characterized as a strategy that aims to prevent, control, and reduce violent crime, drug abuse, and gang-related crime in high crime neighborhoods in the United States. Each local Weed and Seed program is managed by a steering committee, organized by the relevant U.S. Attorney's Office, which includes local officials, community representatives, and other key stakeholders.

Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives

Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives (SACSI) was initiated by the U.S. Department of Justice in the late 1990s to see whether the dramatic results of Operation Ceasefire, launched in Boston, Massachusetts, in the early 1990s could be replicated. SACSI was a problem-solving effort designed to reduce and prevent serious gun violence in 10 U.S. cities. Led by the local U.S. Attorney's office in each location, each site included multidisciplinary, multiagency core groups to plan and oversee problem-solving efforts. As in project Ceasefire, local researchers were incorporated into the core groups. The partnerships then engaged in their problem-solving activities using an enhanced SARA (scan, analysis, response, assessment) model as the basis for their efforts.

Project Safe Neighborhoods

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) was launched in 2001 as a commitment at the federal level to reduce gun crime in the United States by networking existing local programs that target gun crime and providing these programs with the additional tools necessary to be successful. PSN has provided support to hire new federal and state prosecutors, support investigators, and promote community outreach efforts as well as to support other gun violence reduction strategies. PSN has used an action research and problem-solving process to better target and reduce gun crime. This has been done using lessons learned from Operation Ceasefire and SACSI as well as other efforts. PSN groups have been convened by the U.S. Attorney's Offices in each of the 94 districts in the United States. Each office has convened a multidisciplinary, multiagency group with a research partner to address local gun crime.

Community Policing Partnerships

The federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) notes on its Web site that "community policing is a philosophy that promotes organization strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime." Partnerships are thus a defining part of community policing and can include multiple entities, such as other government agencies, community members/groups, nonprofits/service providers, private businesses, and media. Often community policing partnerships are engaged in crime prevention activities.

Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy

Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) is one of the community policing programs in the United States that has engaged extensively in developing partnerships. In Chicago, police and citizens have been expected to work together to solve neighborhood problems at least since the mid-1990s when CAPS was implemented citywide in Chicago. The CAPS program has also been the focus of research to help understand its implementation and outcomes. Because of this effort, it is starting to become clear how to better involve the community in community policing. According to Jill Dubois

and Susan Hartnett, the first lesson resulting from this research is that community buy-in must be obtained. This is often a difficult task, but it is one that must be accomplished and maintained. Second, an organized community (e.g., a community that has formal and/or informal community organization) requires more effective involvement in community policing. Third, training is as essential for the community as it is for the police. Community members need guidance to be effective partners in community policing. Finally, there is a danger of unequal outcomes; that is, some members of the community will find it easier than others to be involved in community policing, and those who really need to partner with the police may be the last to get involved if they become involved at all.

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) provides another example of a community policing-based partnership. In a recent effort, NOBLE led town hall meetings in five different cities in response to juvenile crime incidents among minority youth. In these meetings NOBLE pulled together community members, local law enforcement officers, public and private officials, academics, and most important, youth to have an open discussion of juvenile crime in their respective communities. In the second phase of the project, each local NOBLE chapter will hold a "community engagement" workshop for all key community stakeholders to have an opportunity to further develop crime prevention strategies for their community.

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See also Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Operation Ceasefire/Pulling Levers; Project Safe Neighborhoods

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Web Sites

National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives: <http://www.noblenatl.org>

Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS): <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov>

Project Safe Neighborhoods: <http://www.psn.gov>

Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives (SACSI): <http://www.ncjrs.org/pdffiles1/nij/grants/212866.pdf>

Weed and Seed, Community Capacity Development Office (CCDO): <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ccdo>

CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

Crime prevention through environmental design, also known as CPTED, is an approach aimed at

preventing criminal victimizations, offending, and the fear of crime at places by using environmental design as a tool for discouraging crime. Rooted in the principle that the design of the built environment plays a central role in the selection of a crime site and the crime event itself, the CPTED approach relies heavily on the principles set out by Oscar Newman's defensible space theory. The CPTED strategies and the course of their development mirror that of the defensible space concepts, and as such, involve the strategic manipulation of various environmental design-related features in order to encourage increased surveillance, control, and protection of potential victims, targets, and target areas.

Like defensible space, the CPTED approach falls squarely under the purview of environmental criminology and, as such, is consistent with the opportunity theories of crime. This entry highlights the interdisciplinary foundations of the CPTED strategies aimed at reducing the risk of criminal victimization at places, and in doing so, reveals how CPTED emerges at the intersection of victimology and crime prevention. It discusses how the CPTED approach specifies why criminal victimizations are likely to occur in certain places, and how to proactively prevent them through the manipulation of environmental design. The entry goes on to chart the development of the CPTED approach, revealing some of its strengths and highlighting some areas of weakness that warrant empirical attention.

Description and Development

Empirical research in environmental criminology has demonstrated that crime tends to be concentrated in time and space, and according to CPTED, environmental design explains why crime occurs disproportionately at certain locations and not at others. The CPTED approach to preventing crime is based on six overarching principles that highlight strategies for designing physical and spatial characteristics of a potential crime target or crime location/place in ways that make them resistant, rather than vulnerable, to criminal victimizations. Thus the CPTED principles are designed to be implemented at the neighborhood level, the street level, and the property level. These strategies are based on an integration of knowledge from the

fields of architecture/planning, cognitive and behavioral psychology, and criminology.

The six main principles that drive the CPTED approach have been designed to block opportunities for crime generated by the environment, while simultaneously discouraging potential offenders by increasing the risk and effort involved in committing crime at a specific location. In this way, the CPTED strategies are based on the assumption of a rational offender whose decision to commit crime is based on assessment of the risks, effort, and reward of the crime event. The aim of the CPTED approach, therefore, is to manipulate the offender's perception of these factors so that the offender is deterred from committing crime because the risks and effort required are too high. The six CPTED strategies that are discussed include *natural surveillance*, *territorial reinforcement*, *natural access control* and *target hardening*, *activity support*, and *image/space management*.

Natural Surveillance

The natural surveillance principle of CPTED, which is based on the defensible space concept, was devised to discourage potential offenders by maximizing the visibility of space and its users, thereby increasing the probability that offenders will be detected by inhabitants and other legitimate users. Natural surveillance is enhanced through the use of techniques that ensure that space is easily observable. These include the use of lighting, closed-circuit television (CCTV), the orientation of doors and windows toward public space and other surrounding units, and the use of physical barriers (e.g., walls, gates, fences) and symbolic barriers (e.g., garden landscaping) in moderation so that lines of sight between private and public space remain clear of obstructions.

In this way, the interventions that help enhance natural surveillance can be structural or mechanical. The structural interventions—such as the use of street/property lighting and the orientation of windows—involve the implementation or manipulation of environmental design/layout features in order to facilitate surveillance by available guardians in the form of inhabitants or other legitimate users of space. Mechanical interventions, such as the use of CCTV, are designed for periods or situations in which guardians are not available to

carry out surveillance. In these cases, guardians are replaced by electronic surveillance devices that are designed to have the same deterrent effect on offenders as guardians.

The CPTED principle of natural surveillance, therefore, is based on the notion that while surveillance works as a protective mechanism that reduces the fear of crime for legitimate users of space, it simultaneously discourages potential offenders by increasing the risk that they will be detected. Several empirical studies have demonstrated how the use of design features to maximize the visibility of space and its users—including not only residential spaces but also commercial spaces such as car parks and markets—works to control the amount of crime that occurs at places.

Territorial Reinforcement

The CPTED approach suggests that the effectiveness of natural surveillance as a crime deterrent is enhanced when the surveillance is complemented by design features that reinforce territoriality. The second core CPTED principle, territorial reinforcement, mirrors the defensible space concept of territoriality, and as such, calls for the clear demarcation of manageable zones that are visibly controlled and influenced by inhabitants of the surrounding space. The territorial reinforcement strategies are designed so that the inhabitants' level of territorial control is perceived to be high, consequently serving to discourage potential offenders in search of opportunities for crime.

In the first instance, territorial reinforcement requires that public and private spaces are clearly delineated; this is achieved by ensuring that property lines are well defined through the use of physical and symbolic barriers such as walls, gates, fences, landscaping, or the inclusion of porches in property design. It also suggests that extensions of private property, such as parking bays, are included in these zones of control by ensuring that they are attached to or within view of private properties. The barriers serve to restrict entry to the zones, and to communicate that the properties therein are private and capably managed and controlled by their owners.

Like defensible space theory, the CPTED approach highlights the interdependence of natural surveillance and territorial reinforcement. It

warns against the danger of overusing physical and symbolic barriers to the extent that surveillance opportunities are obstructed. In this case, territorial reinforcement ceases to be a protective factor, and instead turns into fortressing of properties, which encourages more opportunities for crime due to the restricted visibility and increased concealment it provides for offenders.

Natural Access Control and Target Hardening

Going hand in hand with territorial reinforcement is the next CPTED principle: natural access control. Similar to territoriality, this principle focuses on the strategy of blocking off access to crime targets and target areas by using structural interventions. These structural elements involve the use of physical barriers—such as lockable gates, fences, and traffic barriers—to limit access to target areas and targets themselves. Natural access control may also involve minimizing the number of entrances into and exits from to a building, street, or neighborhood, and making these entry and exit points secure (by requiring keys or electronic passes) and accessible only to private owners and legitimate users.

Subsumed under the natural access control umbrella is the dimension of target hardening. Target hardening can be viewed as the micro-level version of natural access control, as it functions as the mechanism through which entry to individual property targets can be restricted to all but legitimate owners and users. This is achieved, for example, through the installation of door and window locks, the use of antirobbery screens, designing doors and windows to withstand forced entry, and the installation of burglar-proofing. These access control strategies are designed to deter potential offenders by increasing the effort required to gain access to the target. Several evaluations of crime prevention strategies that employ natural access control and target hardening techniques report that these function as effective crime control strategies.

Activity Support

One of the more recent additions to the CPTED strategies is activity support, defined as using physical design as well as signage to encourage the

use of public space as it was intended. Activity support, therefore, is focused on communal areas of residential spaces, such as parks, playgrounds, and so on. It encourages legitimate users to communal spaces to ensure that they are used for safe activities. A park in a neighborhood, for example, may be used to host a sports day or other social events designed to bring members of the community together and encourage the legitimate use of a neighborhood park. Encouraging legitimate use of these types of communal areas is meant to discourage illegitimate use, such as drug dealing and vandalism. Because communal areas of a residential space do not necessarily fall under the control and influence of any particular resident, activity support is designed to ensure that these areas are used predominantly by legitimate users and for legitimate activity.

The implementation of legitimate activity generators is also an important part of the activity support strategy. The types of facilities and land uses in an area help determine the type of local activity that is encouraged at a place. The activity support strategy, therefore, is acutely context specific, as it encourages the inclusion of activity generators that discourage crime rather than those that create opportunities for crime. Such activities vary depending on very specific situational factors.

Image/Space Management

The other most recent addition to the CPTED strategies is that of image/space management. Even though this is one of the original concepts from defensible space theory, image/space management has only recently been explicitly included as part of CPTED as developments in environmental psychology and environmental criminology have revealed it to be an important factor determining the fear of crime and the risk of victimization at places. The image/space management strategy is aimed at the consistent maintenance and upkeep of the physical environment in order to foster a positive place image and maintain good place management practices. This strategy aims to discourage potential offenders by creating the perception of increased risks of detection through the communication of high levels of care and control by inhabitants.

This is achieved by ensuring that the exterior of buildings, common areas, gardens, and plantings

are all maintained consistently, and to a high standard. Compatible with broken windows theory, image/space management involves preventing the physical deterioration of the environment by ensuring that there are no abandoned buildings or other physical evidence of a breakdown in control and management, such as broken lights or windows. Effective and consistent maintenance not only creates a positive image for the users of space, it also serves to reinforce positive territorial attitudes and enhance natural surveillance by ensuring well-maintained lines of sight.

CPTED, therefore, hinges on the idea that the risk of criminal victimization at places can be significantly minimized when environments are designed using a combination of the guidelines provided by the six aforementioned principles. The outcome of the implementation of these principles is the regulation of crime through enhanced territorial control, increased opportunities for natural surveillance, and consistent management and maintenance of the physical environment over time.

Second-Generation CPTED and the Social Context

Just as defensible space theory underwent development and emerged with a new dimension to its approach by incorporating social factors into its model of crime prevention, CPTED developed along a similar path. Having been criticized for neglecting the social dimensions of crime prevention that are at the root of community dynamics, second-generation CPTED has moved beyond the six strategies described above, and it has been refined to reflect the ways in which the social characteristics of inhabitants interact with the physical features of the environment to affect crime. Thus, second-generation CPTED has emerged in response to the critique that environmental design manipulations alone are not as effective in preventing crime as they are in conjunction with social interventions.

Against the backdrop of physical construction or reconstruction, second-generation CPTED aims to simultaneously attend to the community dynamics that are vital to people's interaction with their physical environment. As original CPTED strategies were criticized for applying "quick-fix," "band-aid" solutions to crime while ignoring the

real “root causes,” second-generation CPTED aims to reduce what has been referred to as the “motivations” for crime by employing four strategies designed to foster positive social and cultural dynamics. These include *social cohesion*, *connectivity*, *community culture*, and *threshold capacity*. In this way, second-generation CPTED develops the social dimensions of the territoriality concept. Rather than assuming the existence of fully engaged residents as defensible space as the original CPTED strategies did, second-generation CPTED attempts to devise strategies that ensure that residents are fully engaged in their community and committed to shared ideas about its security and overall positive development.

The *social cohesion* and *community culture* strategies are aimed at encouraging community participation by organizing social events and other activities that promote the establishment of a network of relationships among residents and a vibrant sense of community culture. *Connectivity*, on the other hand, focuses on building up a positive network of relationships between neighborhoods and external public support agencies, such as the media or governmental agencies. Finally, *threshold capacity* refers to the natural capacity of a neighborhood to serve particular functions or host specific activities. This principle is based on the premise that physical deterioration of the environment causes neighborhoods to reach their threshold capacity, and can result in increasing deterioration and abandonment, thereby increasing the outflow of residents and disrupting the social and economic stability that communities are dependent on. CPTED encourages balanced land use and increased social stability within neighborhoods as a mechanism to curtail opportunities for crime that may be generated when neighborhoods exceed their threshold capacity.

Implementation and Effectiveness

In spite of these developments, CPTED is still viewed primarily as a set of strategies that represent a functional approach to crime prevention, aimed principally at using environmental design techniques to eliminate the immediate, situational opportunities for crime. It is this practical approach and the highly visible techniques of environmental manipulation offered by CPTED that have made it

a politically popular approach with policy makers across the world—including the United States, Canada, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand—using the CPTED principles as quality control criteria for planning and construction. In fact, CPTED has enjoyed such widespread appeal that it has been adapted in many countries to suit the local environmental terrain. These adaptations of CPTED can be seen in the Netherlands as Politiekeurmerk Velilig Wonen (PKVW), in Australia and Europe as Designing Out Crime, and in the United Kingdom as Secured by Design. CPTED also recently has been adapted for application to products (smaller targets) to discourage theft by making them “crime proof” using an off-shoot scheme called Design Against Crime.

The growing international support for CPTED by policy makers has been fueled by the mounting evidence from evaluations of CPTED interventions that demonstrate the effectiveness of various combinations of CPTED design strategies in substantially reducing crime. The success of CPTED interventions has been documented in different international contexts, and in different types of local settings. In the United Kingdom, for example, CPTED strategies have been successfully implemented to secure car parks, markets, alleyways, housing projects, and buses. In the United States, they have been applied to shopping centers, schools, and prisons; and in Australia, CPTED principles were incorporated into the design and layout of venues for the Sydney 2000 Olympics.

Limitations and Critiques

In spite of these successes in implementation, the CPTED approach faces two major challenges to its long-term effectiveness, namely the adaptability and durability of its strategies. British researcher Paul Eklom has drawn attention to one of the major shortcomings of CPTED-based initiatives, pointing to the failure of designers to adapt to adaptable criminals. It has been argued that many of the offenders can learn, over time, how to circumvent or navigate around CPTED interventions so that they cease to function as an obstruction to the crime event. Eklom argues that, as a result of this, design interventions run the risk of becoming obsolete over time. Furthermore, the approach assumes that the offender will be rational and

therefore does not apply to offenders who are, for example, under the influence of drugs or alcohol, and who may not perceive environmental cues in the way the CPTED strategies predict.

The durability of the CPTED design initiatives is also limited as a result of the inadequate understanding of the specific processes that underlie their functioning. The range of interventions and the processes they affect are so broad under the CPTED umbrella that it is difficult to isolate the specific mechanisms that work, and to develop systematic knowledge about why they work and under what conditions they work most effectively. The continued development and improvement of CPTED, therefore, requires specific focus on the empirical exploration of the microprocesses at work behind the design–crime relationship.

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See also Defensible Space; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention; Situational Crime Prevention, Critiques of

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CRIME SCIENCE

Crime science is the application of scientific method to the reduction of crime. Here, *crime* means volume crime such as theft and burglary, violent crime such as homicide and assault (including terrorism), antisocial behavior such as vandalism and graffiti, and that collection of behaviors falling under the often poorly defined category of organized crime. *Science* means the use of data, logic, rational argument, experimentation, theory development, and the accumulation of knowledge and understanding about the behavior under consideration. Crime science aims at the prevention and detection of offending that leads to the reduction of crime and, therefore, fewer victims.

At this stage, those who promote crime science are not addressing such issues as the function of the courts or the effect of prison treatment programs. Although these issues might well benefit from the application of scientific principles in their investigation (as is done by some criminologists and others), for now they are regarded as too far “downstream” of the offending behavior to attract the immediate interest of crime scientists concerned with stemming the potential growth in crime and the attendant growth in imprisonment here and now. Similarly, although some of the early intervention programs intended to prevent crime are discussed, developed, and evaluated by social scientists (some of whom are crime scientists), these approaches are generally considered too far “upstream” of the offending behavior to be

of critical interest to those concerned with the immediate reduction of crime.

These are the general characteristics of crime science. It does not follow that all those investigating or researching the prevention and detection of crime are crime scientists. Some may feel science is not for them and adopt what might be seen as “unscientific” methods in their work. Others, while using scientific techniques and approaches fully compatible with the notions of crime science, may identify themselves as belonging to another discipline entirely, such as sociology, psychology, criminology, or some other field. This is as much a matter of personal choice as rocket scientists choosing to call themselves that or describing themselves as astrophysicists or simply as scientists. Crime scientists, whatever their “home” discipline, are primarily interested in reducing crime, while paying due attention to issues of human rights, socially responsible design, and ethical principles.

The extent to which crime science can claim to be a new academic discipline has been questioned by some academics, who ask that if anything done in the name of crime science could as easily have been accommodated under the heading of criminology, why invent something else? This question has been addressed directly by Ronald Clarke, who compares the characteristics of environmental criminology (which is an established part of mainstream criminology) with crime science and concludes that they have much in common. They are both concerned with the prevention of crime, with experimentation, with the analysis of crime data rather than data about offender characteristics, and both employ action research methods. They do, however, differ in a number of respects, including the specific interest of crime science in increasing the probability of detection following an offense, and the emphasis of crime science on the importance of testing hypotheses about crime and methods to reduce it. Clarke’s own conclusion that there is a case to be made for the new discipline is based on his view that environmental criminology has long been poorly taught and somewhat marginalized by mainstream criminologists.

The first institute of crime science, the Jill Dando Institute, was established at University College London in 2001 as a center for research,

teaching, and consultancy. Since then a number of other academic establishments have developed courses in crime science and more are expected.

Four Elements of Crime Science

It has been suggested that science and the technologies that it spawns can contribute to crime control in four ways. First, it can assist us in understanding the notion of crime itself. Much of this work falls under the general heading of social science and of criminology in particular. Second, science and the associated technologies can help in the prevention of crime. Deadlocks and immobilizers on cars are an example here, as might be the satellite technology upon which some surveillance systems work. Third, it can help with the detection of crime. This general area falls under the heading of forensic science—fingerprint technologies have been around for many years and have been brought up to date with the advent of recent computer technology that now allows the rapid searching of fingerprint databases. More recently, DNA has contributed to the detection of a number of offenses, including cold case reviews of serious crimes such as rape and murder.

The final element in the application of science to crime control is the use of the scientific method. This is the crux of crime science—the application of the scientific principles of investigation to the phenomenon of crime itself. It is crime in general as well as individual criminal offenses that are the interest of the crime scientist. Thus how to prevent or detect large categories of offending is a focus of interest, just as the application of scientific principles to the detection of a specific offense or series of offenses.

So crime science is the scientific study of crime. When it comes to the challenge of actually preventing or detecting crime, then, one may look to the application of already existing sciences and technologies. Forensic science, for example, draws heavily on the expertise of chemists, entomologists, and biologists, whereas the technologies of prevention draw on electrical or electronic engineering, optics, and so on. Thinking like a scientist and applying a systematic approach to studying the problem of crime and socially acceptable methods for its reduction is really what crime science is about.

Drawing on Theories of Crime

As with any science, crime science is concerned with the identification and further development of useful theories. One such set of theories (which purists would argue are perspectives on or approaches to crime rather than formal theories) has become known as the *criminologies of everyday life*, reflecting their day-to-day usefulness to practitioners. There are three—crime pattern theory, developed by Paul Brantingham and Patricia Brantingham; routine activity theory, originally described by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson; and the rational choice perspective in the work of Derek Cornish and Clarke. These scholars have been working in their respective areas for about 40 years and have recently contributed to the book *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*, edited by Richard Wortley and Lorraine Mazerolle, in which they set out the background and current state of development of their ideas.

Crime pattern theory draws on the observation that crimes cluster spatially (and as it happens, temporally too), and it forms a basis for understanding the mechanisms that determine the nature of that clustering. It has been observed that people (both offenders and potential victims) move about during the course of their daily lives in fairly routine ways and as a consequence become familiar with various spaces—those around their homes, their place of work or school, their shopping areas, and the places they go to for leisure activities. These places (or nodes, as they are called) are joined by pathways with which people are also routinely familiar. It is around nodes, and the pathways that connect them, that offending typically takes places. So when there is a crime pattern displaying incidents of burglary on a map, it is the accumulation of the offending of perhaps a number of offenders who have carried out their crimes in those areas with which they are familiar. Understanding the ways in which these patterns are developed is the work of the crime scientist.

Routine activity theory (which is also called routine activities theory) has similarly evolved since it was first articulated by Cohen and Felson. It began with an apparently simple notion, displayed in the form of a triangle, that when a vulnerable victim and a motivated offender come together in the absence of a capable guardian, an offense will happen. The vulnerable victim is now described as a

vulnerable target, reflecting the fact that, for example, a home can be the “victim” of burglary in the absence of the homeowner (the “real” victim). It also reflects the focus on the perspective of the offender rather than the victim (i.e., from the property offender’s point of view it is your property that is of interest, not you). The “absence of a capable guardian” concept has been expanded, as it is now acknowledged that a *capable* guardian may be absent even where a person, closed-circuit television camera, or guard dog is present, as mere presence does not of itself guarantee capability; a capable guardian is one prepared and able to intervene in a crime. In addition, the concept of the “crime triangle” has been developed, the three sides of which are offender, victim, and place, with the offender having a “handler,” the victim a “capable guardian,” and the place a “manager.” These distinctions enable the elaboration of the underlying principles and pointing more clearly to what might be done by way of prevention. So, for example, in the United Kingdom, many place managers were removed from transportation systems, public parks, shopping malls, and apartment blocks as budgetary pressures led to staff reductions during the 1980s. An unplanned consequence of this was an increase in specific forms of crime.

The rational choice perspective has also changed considerably since its first articulation by Cornish and Clarke. The approach is based upon the view that offenders make more or less rational decision when deciding whether or not to commit an offense. In the process, they take into account the possible rewards, the effort required to commit the offense, and the perceived risk of capture or some other adverse consequence. They also consider the extent to which they feel provoked and the ease with which they can excuse their offending behavior. By way of example, “reducing rewards” might be achieved through regularly cleaning off graffiti, and if it was possible to make it clear to burglars that many of their victims are not insured, this would remove the potential excuse that it is okay to commit a burglary because the victim is covered by insurance. The range of options for preventive action within this framework is vast and goes well beyond simply putting locks and bolts on doors, as situational crime prevention is sometimes characterized to be doing.

All three theoretical approaches described above are associated with the here and now, with the

delivery of more immediate reductions in crime that rely, in the main, on first understanding the crime opportunity structure (through careful data collection, analysis, and observation), and then changing it to reduce those opportunities and thereby reduce crime. These approaches have developed significantly since their first expression, and this is a characteristic of the development of science through experimentation, further research, and academic discourse.

In addition, these approaches provide a theoretical context within which hypotheses about crime can be developed and understood, but they are not of course the only resource available to those wishing to speculate about crime and its causes and to develop preventive options. As in other sciences, researchers can draw on a range of other theoretical perspectives as well as their experience, common sense, the views of their colleagues, and in the case of crime, the community itself in formulating ideas about the nature of crime at the local, regional, or national level. An important point is that these ideas are then tested against reality.

Engagement With Other Sciences

As crime science is developing, so is its engagement with other relevant sciences. There is a small but growing number of U.K. universities offering courses in crime science or talking about security science, which is similarly concerned with the engagement of science with the security of communities, regions, and States. This engagement will assist scientists in seeing new applications for their work, but it should also offer a context within which they can be exposed to the social consequences of the application of technologies to crime control. Overly mechanistic or technological control mechanisms can be seen as offering a quick and simple solution to the security threat, at the expense of human interactions or more socially sensitive solutions. It is sensible, therefore, to ensure that scientists, engineers, and technologists are sensitive to the application of their work and to the need to take account of ethical and related concerns.

Methodological Issues

Each science has its preferred methodology. Thus chemists and experimental physicists can be

described as typically working in laboratories and carrying out carefully controlled experiments predicting the outcome of various experiments and testing theories, although it is important to note that this is an oversimplification. These scientists do not use randomized controlled trials (RCTs), for example, which is the preferred methodology for the medical scientist concerned to evaluate the effect of a new drug or treatment program. RCTs are the gold standard for medical research, but they are not the gold standard for chemists and physicists. Similarly, in the area of crime science, it is the use of scientific method that is encouraged rather than the adoption of any particular experimental design or form of statistical analysis. The preferred experimental design is that judged most appropriate to address the hypothesis under investigation.

The important methodological issues of science apply also to crime science—how to control for bias, how to facilitate replication, how to test theories and thus to establish knowledge. At present it is probably fair to say that, unlike scientists in the well-established physical sciences, crime scientists are still developing their preferred experimental methods. This is to some extent because any experimentation is being carried out in a social context rather than a controlled laboratory setting, and as such is not amenable to the levels of control that might be achieved in a laboratory. This lack of control also has implications for the ease of replication that is itself an important element of scientific exploration.

As crime science is developing, it is becoming clear that there are two key questions that need to be addressed when approaching the prevention of crime. The first is the exact nature of the problem—this needs to be highly specific and detailed and is often the subject of considerable experimental effort. The second concerns how to reduce the crime, once it is properly defined, and this requires a specification of the proposed mechanism through which the reduction will be achieved. It is the efficacy of this mechanism that is determined during the evaluation of a crime prevention program.

Future Directions

Crime evolves as new opportunities arise. So, for example, there has been a massive increase in crime opportunities with the growth in Internet use. These

are not new crimes: We are still talking about theft, child abuse, fraud, and so on, but the Internet has provided a whole set of new opportunities to commit these well-established offenses. If crimes such as these are to be reduced, then detailed analysis of the associated opportunity structures need to be carried out. Interestingly, in the case of Internet crime in particular, it is extremely difficult to arrest the offenders in many cases: The global reach of the system means that offenders can be based in any country and operate with relative impunity. Interestingly, in the case of Internet crime in particular, it is extremely difficult to arrest the offenders in many cases: The global reach of the system means that offenders can be based in any country and often operate with impunity. The relatively recent disclosure by the FBI of the banking details of people downloading child pornography from the Internet is an illuminating departure from this and showed, among other things, the extent to which child pornography had apparently been downloaded by individuals not normally associated with serious crime. Of course, it is not the perpetrators of the child abuse that are caught here; it is the customers for it (without which it would be less lucrative). If the concern is about reducing child pornography on the Internet more generally, then the system's design may need to be modified in such a way as to make the offending less easy to commit.

Analyzing opportunity structures in this way is not common practice among many police crime analysts, although they are the ones who might be expected to do such analysis. If crime analysts are to be encouraged in this direction, which is essentially the same as encouraging what is usually called problem-oriented policing (POP), then they will need more training. Much of the material to support this effort is now available online at the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing's Web site. Although it is presented as a POP Web site, its approach is essentially drawing on scientific method and as such is promoting crime science. There remains, however, much to be done.

Gloria Laycock

See also Crime Mapping; Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Prevention; Hot Spots; Journey to Crime; Methodological Issues in Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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CRIME STOPPERS

There are a variety of organizations that utilize media coverage in their crime prevention campaigns. The National Crime Prevention Council's "Take A Bite Out Of Crime" (starring McGruff the Crime Dog) is one of the oldest and best-known public information campaigns. John Walsh's long-running television show *America's Most Wanted* is perhaps the best known of the programs calling for public support in apprehending fugitives. *Cops* is one of several "crime time programs" promoting the efforts of law enforcement agencies in combating crime. The National Association of Town Watch utilizes media resources to promote crime and drug prevention programs such as *America's Night Out*. Numerous other programs throughout the world use a variety of media and Web formats to encourage opposition to criminal activities, provide for citizen awareness of crime, promote public cooperation with law enforcement agencies in suppressing crime, and endorse crime

prevention strategies. One organization that has consistently performed all of the above for more than 30 years is Crime Stoppers.

Crime Stoppers is viewed by its membership as being a partnership of the community, law enforcement, and the media. Citizens within the community provide organizational and financial support for program activities and the funding of reward payments for crime information. Local law enforcement agencies act on tips received through phone and Web hotlines to solve crimes and apprehend fugitives. The media (print, broadcast, and Web based) provide free information on criminal events, unsolved crimes, wanted fugitives, and crime prevention activities. Each partner is seen as essential to the success of Crime Stoppers.

History

Crime Stoppers traces its origins back to 1976 when an Albuquerque, New Mexico, police detective ran a television reenactment soliciting information in regard to the unsolved murder of a college student. Detective Greg MacAleese offered a reward for anonymous tips that would lead to the arrest of those responsible for the murder. The success of this strategy in solving the case and arresting the murderers led to further collaborations among the Albuquerque Police Department, local media, and concerned citizens. Similar outcomes in other cases resulted in the creation of the first Crime Stoppers chapter.

The achievements of Crime Stoppers in Albuquerque were quickly noted by other communities. Soon other cities were developing local chapters that televised crime reenactments, posting crime details in newspapers, and offering rewards for anonymous tips. Within a few years, local and state chapters could be found across the United States and Canada. Now local Crime Stoppers programs are located around the world. National/regional programs (such as Crime Stoppers USA) can be found in the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, Bermuda, Latin America, Europe, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the Western Pacific region. Crime Stoppers International, headquartered in Austin, Texas, serves as the umbrella organization for programs worldwide.

Structure and Funding

Currently, more than 1,200 Crime Stoppers programs exist in all 50 U.S. states and more than 25 nations. All Crime Stoppers programs (whether at the local, state, national/regional, or international level) are organized as nonpolitical, not-for-profit associations. Each local chapter is run by a board of directors made up of private citizens from within the community that directs the financial and promotional activities of their program. Organizational costs and the payment of reward monies by every Crime Stoppers program are funded by membership dues, private donations, and fund raising. No tax dollars are involved. These boards meet monthly to evaluate arrests and to decide on the size of rewards to be paid (up to \$1,000).

State and/or area associations comprise boards of directors that are selected by their membership. They provide training, assistance, and support to programs within their state or area. The national and/or regional organizations provide additional support and training for members, including annual conferences, Web sites, and newsletters. Crime Stoppers International is comprised of a board elected from member regions/nations. It provides additional support and coordination for members as well as maintaining an international Web site, conducting an annual international conference, publishing international reports and newsletters, and coordinating efforts with national and international law enforcement organizations.

Purpose

The primary goal of local Crime Stoppers is to provide citizens with an anonymous means to assist law enforcement in apprehending criminals and in helping to make their communities safer places to live. Crime Stoppers seeks to eliminate the fear of reprisals against those who provide information by stressing anonymity. They strive to reduce citizen apathy by promoting community awareness and shared responsibility for public safety. And, they attempt to overcome reluctance to get involved by offering cash rewards. Through these efforts Crime Stoppers view themselves as being the connection between community residents who want to fight against crime (without having their identity revealed) and law enforcement,

which needs community cooperation to effectively prosecute criminals and stop crime.

The state, regional, national, and international organizations serve to support existing Crime Stoppers programs, to encourage and assist in the growth of additional programs, and to enhance communications and coordination of efforts among members, law enforcement, the media, and the general public. Whether at the local, state, national, or international level, the mission of Crime Stoppers may be seen as promoting the partnership of communities, the media, and law enforcement in order to solve crimes and promote public safety.

Crime Reporting Programs

Crime Stoppers is best known for publicized crime reenactments and offers of rewards for information that may lead to the arrests of criminals. Individuals who wish to contact Crime Stoppers may do so through a designated telephone line or secure Web connection. No police reports are required and the caller is not asked for personal or identifying information. During the initial conversation the tipster is provided with a code number to insure his or her anonymity. This code number is the only means that Crime Stoppers has of identifying the tipster. The caller is asked to contact Crime Stoppers later using this code number for identification.

During the initial conversation, Crime Stoppers will ask tipsters to provide as much detail as possible regarding the crime or offender. These questions may include: the type of crime committed, when the crime was committed, when and where a crime is expected to be committed, any personal or identifying information available on those involved in the crime, what a fugitive is wanted for, where and when a fugitive will be at a specific location, as well as any other details that might help law enforcement solve the case or capture the fugitive.

The information received through the tips is passed on to the appropriate local law enforcement agency for investigation. If the tipster's information led to solving a crime, preventing a crime, or the arrest of a criminal, the tipster will be approved to receive a reward up to \$1,000. The person who provided the tip meets with a Crime Stoppers volunteer in a public place. Despite the amount, rewards are always paid out in cash.

The following programs are examples of the types of information programs offered.

Crime of the Week

The Crime of the Week is the oldest and best known of the Crime Stoppers programs. Reenactments of serious crimes that law enforcement agencies need assistance in solving are publicized by media partners (television stations, radio stations, newspapers, and their Web sites). Viewers/readers are encouraged to provide any information they may have to Crime Stoppers. The possibility of a cash reward and the guarantee of anonymity are included in the broadcast or article.

Unsolved Crimes

In addition to publication of the Crime of the Week, Crime Stoppers also posts information on other unsolved crimes. These additional crimes may be broadcast but usually are of shorter duration and do not include reenactments. They are also posted on Web sites and included in media notices. As in the Crime of the Week, citizen assistance is requested with the offer of potential rewards for relevant information.

Wanted Suspects

Crime Stoppers often also posts information on fugitives from justice whom the police have been unable to apprehend. Photographs, personal descriptions, the nature of the crimes for which fugitives are wanted, law enforcement and/or Crime Stoppers tip lines, as well as other relevant information is provided through the media and is usually available for review on the local chapter's Web site.

Potential Crimes

It is customary for one to think of Crime Stoppers only as being involved in apprehending fugitives and solving crimes that have previously been reported to law enforcement agencies. However, it is frequently involved in providing information to the police about crimes that are being planned, are in progress, or have occurred but have not been reported. While knowledge

from tipsters in regard to potential crimes must be treated with even greater care to protect innocent persons, numerous crimes have been prevented thanks to Crime Stoppers.

Missing Persons

While the circumstances in cases involving a person's disappearance may not be crime related, these cases may warrant presentation by the media and are often found on the Web sites of local chapters of Crime Stoppers. The nature of the circumstances regarding the person's disappearance determines whether or not information regarding a missing person warrants the consideration for a reward.

Informational Programs

In addition to programs calling for information and offering rewards regarding crimes, criminal offenders, and missing persons, Crime Stoppers also offers information designed to inform the public regarding criminal activities and/or perceived threats to the communities. They also seek to enhance community relations with local law enforcement agencies. The following are some of the programs that may be made available through the media and chapter Web sites.

Advice on Crime Prevention

Many chapters provide advice about how to prevent crimes and reduce the potential of becoming a victim of crime. Crime prevention advice includes tips on Crime Stoppers Web sites and in their publications as well as referrals to other agencies and crime prevention organizations for information. Crime Stoppers has actively advised and collaborated with other organizations in crime prevention initiatives, although this is less common in the United States than in other nations, such as the United Kingdom.

Registered Sex Offenders

Another service often found on Crime Stoppers Web sites in the United States is the identification of registered sex offenders residing within an area. While some may find this controversial or even

inappropriate, the identification is generated from available public information and usually refers the viewer to official sites for additional information. The logic for this inclusion is to enhance public awareness among those who may not be aware of other sources to learn about sex offenders in the community.

Good Cops

Yet another informational program is Good Cops. This is a program used by some local Crime Stoppers to recognize the accomplishments of meritorious law enforcement officers. These accolades are consistent with the promotion of the police community partnership in dealing with crime.

School Programs

A program currently receiving a great deal of emphasis from Crime Stoppers is the development of student/campus programs. Concern for the safety of children and the potential for crime within school environments led to the creation of the first school program in Boulder, Colorado in 1986. Crime Stoppers claims more than 2,000 such programs at middle schools, high schools, community colleges, and colleges across the United States. In some ways Crime Stoppers programs are similar to the previously discussed crime reporting programs. Students are encouraged to report crimes and potential crimes through anonymous tip lines. Rewards for tips may include cash awards, passes to school activities, gift certificates, and free school items. Crime Stoppers emphasizes that the student/campus programs are much more than just crime hotlines. The programs are proactive means of promoting school safety. In addition, the involvement of students in the structure and organization of these programs is seen as encouraging responsibility, supporting school spirit and pride, and creating a positive campus image for students.

Effectiveness

It is not easy to determine the impact of Crime Stoppers in the prevention of crime and victimization. By their very nature such programs are extremely difficult to evaluate. The fact that in a little more than 30 years, they have grown from

the appeal of a detective trying to solve a frustrating case into a worldwide organization, with thousands of local chapters, speaks to the appeal of the methods. Certainly one can make an argument that the millions of cases cleared, and billions of dollars of property recovered, and even more billions of dollars of drugs seized, are justification enough for its existence. In addition, the argument can be made that the positive effects of promoting community, media, and law enforcement partnerships are invaluable assets that reach beyond the realm of crime control.

Criticisms

Crime Stoppers does have its detractors. Some have argued that the media efforts may actually increase the public's fear of crime. Other critics express concern that the inducement of rewards may result in entrapment of innocent people by those seeking monetary gain. Still others stress that the emphasis on anonymity enables "snitches" to retaliate against those they do not like and may actually be abused by criminals seeking to eliminate competition. Crime Stoppers advocates respond by pointing out that all accusations still have to be investigated by the police and that many tipsters do not seek rewards. Finally, they assert that it is better to provide a safe mechanism for crimes to be reported than to allow crimes to go unsolved.

Ronald D. Hunter

See also Community Antidrug Programs; Crime Newsletters; Crime Time Television Shows; Media Coverage of Victims; Take A Bite Out Of Crime; Vigilantism

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"Good Cops" at Big Bend Crime Stoppers: <http://www.bbcsi.org/localnews.aspx>

CRIME TIME TELEVISION SHOWS

Crime time television shows have been a staple of programming since the popularization of television in the 1950s. This entry opens with a description of the types and themes of crime television shows. Next, the entry outlines debates surrounding television's influence on criminal behavior and violence. A historical timeline of efforts to regulate television programming is also highlighted in this section. The entry concludes with a discussion of television's influence on public fear of crime and on the activities of the criminal justice system.

Types and Themes of Crime Shows

There are two types of television crime shows: fictional and reality based. Fictional crime shows have a longer history on television, with the first crime shows airing in the 1950s. Themes in fictional crime television include depictions of police work (e.g., *Dragnet*, *The Closer*), legal processes (e.g., *Perry Mason*, *Law & Order*), specialized criminal investigations (e.g., *Man Against Crime*, *Magnum, P.I.*), and the lives of criminals (e.g., *The Sopranos*). Violent crimes, though rare events in real life, are overemphasized in fictional television crime shows. Crime victims in these shows are most often White. While young males are the most likely victims of crime in real life, crimes with female victims are more often depicted on television; the majority of female victims on television are victims of violent crimes such as sexual assault. In fictional crime shows, Blacks are underrepresented as perpetrators of crimes in comparison to their rates in official crime statistics.

The first reality-based crime television show, *Aktenzeichen XY*, was aired in Germany in 1967. Since then, reality crime shows have appeared in the Netherlands (*Opsporing Verzocht*), Britain (*Crimewatch UK*), and France (*Témoin No. 1*). Reality-based crime programming first appeared

in the United States in the mid-1980s. Themes in reality-based crime shows include engaging the public in solving crimes, reconstructions of real crimes or criminal investigations, and the use of footage of crimes or criminal investigations caught on film by the public or by closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras. In reality-based crime shows, Whites are most often depicted as victims, and Blacks are overrepresented as perpetrators in comparison to their rates in official crime statistics.

America's Most Wanted and *Cops* were the longest running reality-based crime shows in the United States, airing for 20 seasons and 19 seasons, respectively. *Cops* was the first American crime show to utilize actual crime or criminal investigation footage. CCTV footage is appealing because it costs less to produce than traditional television programming and because it lends an air of authenticity to its depictions. Critics of CCTV footage question its authenticity, pointing out the significant editing and processing of the footage before it is aired.

Both types of shows highlight the predatory personalities of offenders to explain the causes of crime. Rarely is crime linked to larger social problems or structural conditions conducive to crime.

Crime Television's Influence on Violence

The ability of television to reach large numbers of people and its consistent depiction of crime and violence has left a number of scholars and politicians concerned with the negative influence of television programming on criminal and violent behavior. Scholars from a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, psychology, political science, and communications, are interested in the media effects of violence on television. Media effects refer to television's influences on the behavior, beliefs, and attitudes of its viewers. Media effects research has focused on answering two primary questions: Does watching crime on television encourage people to commit more crime? And, does watching violence on television lead people to be more violent or aggressive?

Research supporting the claim that television promotes crime among its viewers is largely anecdotal. Examples do exist of people committing "copycat crimes" (i.e., criminal endeavors modeled after crimes shown in the media); however, the current consensus is that watching crime on television

may influence the way people commit crimes but does not influence whether or not individuals will commit crime.

Research shows that television affects different viewers in different ways and that not all violence or criminal depictions on television are likely to have the same effects. There is a lack of empirical support for the argument that viewing violence on television has a strong, direct effect on violent behavior. Current research suggests that increases in violent behavior after watching violence on television may be explained by individuals who are predisposed to violence and aggression actively seeking out violent television programming.

Some have argued that watching violence on television may have a cathartic effect and that it provides a safe venue for releasing pent-up aggression or hostility. This argument has garnered little empirical support.

A Timeline of the Regulation of Violence on Television

In 1955, the U.S. Senate commissioned the first subcommittee to investigate the impact of violence on television on children. Though children were exposed to violence in other forms of popular media, such as comic books, radio programs, and motion pictures, television was thought to be the most threatening form of media. This report was the first of many that urged the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to set standards for television programming.

Concerns over violence on television reemerged as a federal concern in the 1960s when President John F. Kennedy appointed Newton Minnow to chair the FCC. Though Minnow never drafted formal regulations of television programming, he was a vocal critic of television, calling it a "vast wasteland." Minnow's criticisms, the assassinations of President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King Jr., and violent riots occurring across the United States inspired television writers, actors, producers, and directors to take a "pledge of conscience" to reduce the contribution of television to the "climate of murder."

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, President Lyndon B. Johnson maintained a federal focus on violence on television and appointed a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of

Violence. The commission's report, released in 1969, found that television did encourage aggressive behavior and violence. These findings were mirrored in the 1972 report of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. Also in the 1970s, national and local branches of the Parent-Teacher Association organized a series of nationwide hearings on television violence and passed several resolutions to reduce the amount of violence in television.

Federal interest in violence on television waned in the 1980s in part due to President Ronald Reagan's hands-off approach to regulation by the federal government and to the introduction of cable television. Cable television channels do not use public airwaves for broadcasting and are not subject to the same constraints as mainstream television programming.

In 1990, Illinois Senator Paul Simmons successfully passed a bill that protected television and cable networks from charges of violating antitrust agreements if they agreed to work together to come up with standards regarding violence in television.

Since the 1990s, emphasis on parental control as a strategy to reduce children's exposure to violence on television has remained the primary strategy advocated by television networks and political officials. In 1993, the major television networks agreed to broadcast parental advisory warnings about the content of television programs. In the 1996 Telecommunications Act, President Bill Clinton mandated the inclusion of v-chip technology in new television sets. V-chips allow parents to block programs considered too violent or sexually explicit. Critics of the v-chip argue that the technology is confusing for parents and that technologically savvy children are easily able to bypass its restrictions. Though a 2007 FCC report encouraged Congress to implement more stringent regulation of violence on television, including violence on cable and satellite networks, no formal regulation of television content have yet been attempted.

Crime Television's Influences on Fear of Crime

Recent scholarship on television and crime considers the influence of television crime shows on public fear of crime. There are six theories of media effects on the fear of crime. Substitution theory

argues that people who lack access to alternative and reliable sources of information on crime substitute the information on crime that they receive from the media. As violent crime is overrepresented in the media, those using media sources as a substitute will be more fearful of crime than those who have access to more reliable information. Resonance theory argues that persons with prior experiences of victimization are more fearful of crime because their experiences of victimization are reflected and reinforced by images they are exposed to in the media. Vulnerability theory suggests that persons who are most vulnerable to victimization are made more fearful by media depictions of crime. Affinity theory suggests that those who share demographic characteristics with those victimized in the media are more fearful. Ceiling effects theory argues that the media does not increase fear of crime, as the public's fear of crime is present prior to watching television. Finally, there is the argument that crime shows may reduce fear of crime because they reassure viewers that they will not be crime victims or that, if they are victimized, their perpetrators will be apprehended and punished.

Crime Television's Influence on the Criminal Justice System

Three areas of new research consider television's effects on the treatment of suspects by criminal justice personnel, on public support for "law and order" crime policies, and on jury reactions to scientific evidence during criminal trials (popularly known as the "CSI effect"). Scholars interested in the "echo effect" of media on the behavior of law enforcement and court personnel argue that police officers and court officials treat suspects in unpublicized cases poorly based on prior ill treatment of a similar suspect by the media in a well-publicized case. Researchers are also interested in television's effects on public support for "law and order" approaches to crime reduction. "Law and order" approaches emphasize increased police presence and stricter policing and punishment of offenders as the most effective crime reduction strategies. Television depicts our world as one filled with violence, where possible victimization is an ever-present threat. Increased popular support for law and order approaches is linked to images of unabated violence perpetuated by the media. A third area of

research is on the “CSI effect” on criminal juries. *CSI*, an acronym for crime scene investigation, refers to a popular fictional crime drama that features a police crime laboratory and investigators that use science and scientific evidence (e.g., DNA) to solve crimes. There are two kinds of CSI effects: (1) pressure members of criminal juries exert on prosecutors to provide scientific evidence supporting the accused’s culpability and (2) pressure on defense attorneys to overcome jury members’ convictions of the infallibility of science and scientific evidence. While the CSI effect on juries has not been verified empirically, there is some evidence to suggest that criminal lawyers are responding to it as if it is a real phenomenon.

Elyshia D. Aseltine

See also Closed-Circuit Television; Correlates of Victimization; Crime Newsletters; Fear of Crime; Media Coverage of Victims; Public Opinion and Crime Prevention, United States

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CRIME TRIANGLES

The causes of crime are the subject of criminology, but most criminological theories seek to

explain why some people become criminals rather than how crimes are committed. Explaining the willingness of people to commit crimes does not explain crime events. True theories of crime account for the behaviors of offenders and targets, the settings of target–offender interactions, and behaviors of people who control these settings and the people in them.

Routine activities theory (also called routine activity theory) is a true theory of crime and, with its sister theories within the field of environmental criminology, it provides a foundation for crime prevention. This theory has been expanded since it was first described by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson in 1979. A relatively recent formulation of routine activities theory has been widely used by police and others to reduce crime. This new formulation is often depicted as a pair of “crime triangles.” This entry describes the crime triangles, why they are important, and how they have been used to prevent crime, as well as new research programs on the crime triangles.

Elements of the Crime Triangles

There are two triangles, as shown in Figure 1. The inner triangle names the *necessary conditions* for crime. Without any one of these three conditions, crime cannot occur. The outer triangle names the *controllers* of these necessary conditions. When all necessary conditions have been met and all three controllers are absent, or are present but ineffective, then crime is highly likely. When one or more of these controllers are present and effective, crime is highly unlikely, even if all necessary conditions for crime have been met. Felson originally referred to these six elements as “Eck’s Triplets” because they were first proposed by John E. Eck. Since the most common way of portraying these six elements is by way of the double triangle motif, they are typically referred to as elements of the crime triangles.

Offenders and Their Handlers

“Offenders” are people who commit crimes. Research indicates that a relatively small proportion of all offenders are responsible for the majority of crimes. Offenders choose their targets and the places to commit crimes. The label “offender”



Figure 1 The crime triangles

Source: Adapted from Eck, John. (2003). "Police Problems: The Complexity of Problem Theory, Research and Evaluation." In Johannes Knutsson, ed. *Problem-Oriented Policing: From Innovation to Mainstream*. Crime Prevention Studies, volume 15. pp. 67–102. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

is specific to a particular circumstance. Thus in the case of a robbery, for example, the person threatening harm if another person does not provide money is the offender. But if the offender who committed the robbery is later attacked in a bar, the offender is the victim in the assault. In some circumstances it is not clear who is the offender. In illicit drug, sex, or stolen property sales both the seller and the buyer are offenders. Similarly, in many fights, it is not clear who started the altercation; both participants may be offenders. The crime triangles have been applied to noncrime events, such as pedestrian–vehicle crashes in which none of the parties are offenders.

"Handlers" are people who are emotionally connected to potential offenders and have an interest in keeping them out of trouble. Typical handlers include parents, spouses, clergy, coaches, and even children. Offenders seek to hide their illicit behavior from handlers, and often will refrain from offending if a handler is present. Offenders with few or no handlers commit more crimes than those with handlers. The desistance from offending often associated with marriage is an example of the influence of handlers.

Targets and Their Guardians

"Targets" are people, animals, or things that offenders attack, steal, or destroy. Victims are human targets. Research shows that some victims suffer repeated victimization, though most victims do not. Who is a victim is specific to the circumstance being examined. In the robbery example above, the victim was the person whose money was taken. If the robbery victim later shoots the robber in retaliation, then the original victim and offender have switched roles. So as was the case with offenders, "target" or "victim" is not a permanent label.

People who protect targets are "guardians." In the simplest cases, we are guardians of our belongings. We are also guardians of each other when we engage in any of the many activities we use to prevent our friends and relatives from being harmed. In some circumstances we employ guardians, as in the case where a jewelry store hires a security guard. And we often view police as guardians—public employees who protect us and our possessions from harm. Nevertheless, most guardianship comes from the routine protection we offer to our material possessions, relatives, friends, and associates.

Places and Their Managers

"Places" are small areas or locations that are far smaller than neighborhoods or communities, such as addresses or street corners. Considerable research shows that most places have little or no crime, but a few places have many crimes. This is not just a matter of place size or type. Whether large or small, and regardless of type, a few places are responsible for most crime, just as a few offenders and a few victims are involved in most crimes.

There are several important features of places. First, from the center of a place, one should be able to detect activity at most parts of it. Second, places often have a single owner who can exercise control over the location. Third, places have functions. Stores sell goods. Public swimming pools are for recreation and exercise. Classrooms are for education. And third, the characteristics of the place influence the decisions of potential offenders and victims at the location.

"Managers" are people who either own places or are employed to keep the place functioning. Common types of managers include store clerks,

lifeguards, flight attendants, school custodians, teachers, and bartenders. Managers have both direct and indirect effects on crime. Tamara Madensen identified four management processes that influence crime: *organizing the physical space* (including selecting and designing the site, repair, and upkeep), *regulating conduct* (promoting and restricting different activities), *controlling access* (setting the times and conditions for people to enter the place), and perhaps most critically, *acquiring resources* (through sales, user fees, donations, or other means). So, for example, a person seeking to own a bar wants to make a profit (acquire resources). To do this she must select a location, design the layout and have it constructed, and make repairs and modifications as needed (organizing physical space). Through advertising she encourages the types of patrons she wants (controlling access). Drink serving policies, promotions, games, entertainment, rules, and enforcement (regulating conduct) structure how people behave within the bar. If the manager's choices are good, she will make a profit and crime will be low or absent. If her choices are bad, the bar may become unprofitable, or profitable but crime ridden.

The three controllers just discussed—handlers, guardians, and managers—are roles that are also dependent on the situation. A parent, for example, can have all three roles, as a handler of his child to keep him from creating mischief, a guardian of his child to protect him from harm, and a manager of his home so that it serves his family well. A store clerk is simultaneously a manager of the store (or part of it) and a guardian of the materials on display.

Importance of the Crime Triangles

There are three reasons the crime triangles are important. First, they organize three basic factors: repeat offending, repeat victimization, and repeat places. Though these factors were originally considered separately, with the crime triangles it is clear that each repeat involves the breakdown of controls along different sides of the outer triangle.

The crime triangles also are important because they reveal that there are multiple forms of controls that different types of people can apply. Originally crime was seen as the outcome of the lack of guardianship when offenders and targets came together.

However, the outer crime triangle shows that there are others—handlers and managers—who also can influence crime. This is important because some forms of crime are unlikely to be prevented by focusing on guardianship. Drug dealing, prostitution, and other forms of consensual crimes involve willing participants, none of whom desire guardians. The presence of managers is more critical for preventing these forms of crime. Changing the handling orientation of street groups can curb shootings stemming from intergroup conflicts.

The third reason the triangles are important is that they point directly at six classes of crime prevention. Focusing on the inner triangle of the figure, it is apparent that removing any one of the inner elements prevents crime; most obviously, keeping the offender from targets. However, keeping tempting targets away from places with offenders is another effective approach. This is exemplified by shelters for battered women that remove the target from the offender. And places—their function, not their geographic location—also can be removed. The relocation of an ATM from an outside street location to inside a store or bank is an example of this.

On the outer triangle, there are other classes of prevention: add handlers, guardians, or managers. Providing greater guardianship where it has not been present, or improving guardianship where it has been ineffective, has long been widely advocated. The outer triangle points to two other possibilities. Some malls, for example, to prevent juvenile misbehavior, require that people under a specific age must be accompanied by parent, thus increasing handling. Finally, improving the way place managers regulate conduct has proven effective in controlling drug dealing in apartment complexes and in reducing drink related violence in and around bars.

Use of the Crime Triangles to Prevent Crime

Crime triangles are widely used in problem-oriented policing to show police how to analyze crime problems, and the double triangle has become the symbol for the Center for Problem-oriented Policing. In this context, they are referred to as the “problem triangles.” A police problem is a recurring set of events that causes harms within a community and that leads to the expectation that the

police will address it. While the idea of crime triangles describes how a *single* crime event occurs, the idea of problem triangles suggests that these circumstances *repeat*, involving the same places, victims, or offenders. So a crime occurs when the necessary conditions are met in the absence of effective controllers. But if this happens repeatedly, then there is a problem. Police are guided to look for the particular repeat and identify elements of the triangles that need to be altered. Along with situational crime prevention, the problem triangles are tools of problem-oriented policing and have been built into much of the training materials used within problem-oriented policing.

Future of the Crime Triangles

In addition to improving the way police prevent crime, the crime triangles have spurred several research programs. Among the most recent are the following.

Examining Management Practices

The management practices of stores, banks, parks, homeless shelters, and other places have received little scrutiny from criminology and are often overlooked in designing crime prevention programs. This is changing as more research is examining how routine business and other organizational practices prevent crime or encourage it.

Improving Understanding of Handling

Handling has received even less attention, but very recent research suggests that it may have important roles in preventing not only minor infractions by young people but also serious crimes by adults.

Managing Systems Crimes

Routine activities theory describes how crimes occur when the victim and the offender need to occupy the physical space. However, there are some crimes where the offender is not physically close to the target. Mail bombings, phone fraud, and Internet crimes are examples. These are “systems” crimes because a network connects the target and offender: the mail system, the telephone,

and the Internet. If “place” is replaced with “network,” then it becomes apparent that systems crimes and normal crimes have very similar characteristics. Networks connect people just as they connect places, and they are managed by organizations that can alter network operations to make crimes more difficult. Large reductions in obscene phone calls, for example, were realized by the introduction of caller ID by phone companies.

Creating Computer Simulations of Crime Patterns

It is impossible to study all of routine activities theory at the same time because there is no way to collect data on all six elements and crime. Further, the data that are available contain many errors and omissions. So researchers have recently turned to computers to simulate crime patterns. Programmed virtual offender agents move around a virtual street network and encounter virtual target agents. Agents can make rudimentary decisions based on their circumstances at a particular moment. Depending on the simulation, characteristics of offenders, targets, and managers can be altered to create patterns of different types of crime. A number of street crime and white-collar crime patterns have been simulated in this way. The results have shown that complex patterns can arise from very simple decisions of individual agents.

John E. Eck

See also Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Prevention; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

Center for Problem-Oriented Policing: <http://www.popcenter.org>

CRIME VICTIMS FUND

In 1984, with the passing of the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA), the Crime Victims Fund was established by the federal government to protect the rights of victims. The Crime Victims Fund was created in order to provide federal assistance to victims of criminal activity with medical expenses,

funeral and burial costs, mental health counseling, and lost wages or financial support related to their specific victimization. In addition to remuneration mandated by VOCA, victims may be compensated for the following expenditures as well: costs related to transporting the bodies of homicide victims from another country or state, building modifications and equipment required as a result of a compensable crime, financial counseling for victims facing fiscal difficulty as a result of a crime, and pain and suffering. The Crime Victims Fund does not cover costs related to property damage or property loss.

Distribution

The statute allocates money levied as fines, penalties, bond forfeitures, and special assessments from convicted federal offenders as the monetary source for the Crime Victims Fund. The deposits from the fund are apportioned in the following manner: (1) child abuse prevention and treatment grants receive the first \$20 million, with 85% going to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and 15% assisting Native American tribes; (2) the federal criminal justice system receives an undetermined amount for crime victims in that system; and (3) the Antiterrorism Emergency Reserve receives an allocation of up to \$50 million, which was initially authorized from the Crime Victims Fund in response to the attacks of September 11, 2001.

The remaining funds are redistributed to the states to aid victims of criminal acts: Forty-seven and a half percent of the remaining funds are available to eligible state programs that provide compensation for crime victims; forty-seven and a half percent are also available to crime victims in the form of victim assistance grants; five percent of the funds are allocated for discretionary grants in the form of demonstration projects, training and technical assistance, and support for victims of federal crime. Each of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and several other United States' territories receive funding from the Crime Victims Fund through VOCA grants. These grants are awarded based upon certain criteria being met by the state receiving the grant. Criteria for receiving a grant include but are not limited to the following: (1) the compensation program must be administered by the

state and currently operational; (2) the program must offer compensation to victims of crime and survivors of victims of crime, giving priority to violent crime victims but not excluding nonviolent crime victims; (3) the program must promote the cooperation of crime victims with law enforcement; (4) residents victimized outside of their own state must receive compensation on the same basis as in-state residents; and (5) victims of federal crimes within the program's state must be compensated on the same basis as the victims of state crimes.

Recent History

The Crime Victims Fund is based on the concepts of restorative justice. Restorative justice advocates the idea that offenders should pay for their criminal actions. In the 1960s, President John F. Kennedy's and President Lyndon Johnson's administrations were responsible for laying the groundwork for the federal government's concern for crime, crime victims, and restoration. The 1970s saw an increased federal interest in the idea of victims' rights and compensation. In 1976, Congress passed a bill that compensated the survivors of public servants who died in the line of duty, including police officers, firefighters, and other law enforcement officials. As a precursor to VOCA, in 1982, Congress passed the Federal Victim and Witness Protection Act. The recompen-satory component of this act allowed judges to order restitution to the victims for medical costs, funeral and burial costs, and costs due to property loss. In 1982, President Ronald Reagan's administration assembled the Presidential Task Force on Victims of Crime. The task force concluded that the determination to insure the rights of offenders had inadvertently resulted in neglected victims' rights. As a direct result of the task force's findings, Congress passed VOCA, in turn establishing the Crime Victims Fund, which fostered the concept that convicted offenders should be held financially responsible for their crimes.

Joshua Lawrence Balay

See also President's Crime Commission Report, 1967;
President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982;
Restitution; Restorative Justice; Victim Compensation

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CRISIS REACTION REPAIR CYCLE

Not all survivors of a life crisis suffer from stress reactions. However, when individuals survive a catastrophic event, they may very well experience such reactions for several years. These are natural responses of people who have survived a traumatic occurrence that posed a serious threat to their physical well-being or sense of self. This threat may range from the obvious result of physical harm incurred as a victim of a violent crime, tragic accident, or natural disaster to a less apparent but potentially devastating threat, such as the loss of financial security during an economic downturn.

While the intensity and frequency of crisis reactions usually decreases over time, victims may never fully recover from the effects of a life crisis occurrence. Even victims who have successfully reconstructed their lives (and achieved relative levels of normalcy) find that new life events may trigger memories and reactions to their previous victimization. *Crisis reaction repair cycle* is the term introduced in 1979 by police psychologist Morton Bard to describe the sequence of healing phases that those who have experienced such a major life crisis pass through as they seek to recover from the event (or events) that caused them to suffer physical and/or emotional harm.

The crisis reaction repair cycle is also referred to as the *crisis response and recovery cycle* and the *grief process*, as well as by other similar terms. Regardless of the terminology utilized (which tends to vary slightly depending on the backgrounds of those attempting to assist victims), victims pass through three distinct stages within the crisis reaction repair process. These stages are most commonly referred to as: the *impact stage*, the *recoil stage*, and the *reorganization stage*. The time required for a victim to work through the stages of the crisis reaction repair cycle depends on the nature and severity of the crisis, the individual's emotional makeup, the potential for recovery from the harm incurred, how quickly intervention efforts are begun, and the types of support available to victims.

The Crisis Experience

During a crisis, human behaviors are often based on animal instincts and physiological responses. Physical reactions include the following: *frozen fright*—in which shock, nausea, numbness, and/or inability to control bodily activities may occur; *flight or fight*—an adrenaline rush resulting in physical arousals such as increased heart rate, hyperventilation, and sweating; and *tunnel vision*—disorientation in which a particular sense may appear to be heightened while others seemingly shut down. Emotional responses often include disbelief that the event is occurring, followed by extreme fear. Victims initially may be panic stricken but eventually tend to enter into a less excited (or even a seemingly emotionless) state in which survival takes precedence. The combination of physical and emotional reactions will ultimately result in physical exhaustion.

The traumas from these crisis experiences are often so severe that victims are unable afterward to function as they could previously. A considerable amount of time may be required before they are able to recover enough to regain control of their lives, or they may never recover. While the nature of the crisis may vary considerably, victims are initially unable to cope with the situation by themselves. Their reactions may involve posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), phobias, and anxiety attacks. The intensity and duration of the event, along with the victim's personal factors (education,

maturity, emotional stability, etc.), cultural influences, religious beliefs, and support from significant others, all influence the extent of the victim's recovery and how long it takes. A victim's progress within the crisis reaction repair cycle is influenced by the following:

1. *Crisis severity*—the extent to which the person is threatened or actually harmed. Quite logically, the greater the harm that has been imposed on a victim, the more severe the emotional trauma.
2. *Victim's abilities*—the victim's intellectual capacity to comprehend what has occurred and emotional stability at the time the crisis occurred. These impact the victim's abilities to cope with a problem of such personal magnitude.
3. *Primary intervention*—the kind of intervention, or help, that a person receives immediately after the crisis. The responses of emergency workers, police officers, and/or medical personnel in reducing the initial trauma may significantly affect how long it takes the victim to regain control of his or her life.
4. *Supportive environment*—the extent of emotional support provided by friends, family, colleagues, social groups, and others within the victim's community.
5. *Validation of experience*—the concern and support demonstrated by the government/legal officials and medical/mental health professionals charged with helping the victim to cope with the harm experienced.
6. *Potential for recovery*—the likelihood of the victim being able to regain a satisfactory equivalent to the quality of life enjoyed prior to the crisis. If the victim has little chance of overcoming the harm done, his or her emotional recovery will most certainly be more difficult.

Depending on the length of time involved, some victims may actually begin entry into the first stage of the crisis reaction repair cycle while the crisis is still occurring. Others will not do so until well after the event has ended.

Stage One: Impact

During a crisis, it is normal for victims to produce automatic physiological responses as well as emotional coping mechanisms; the coping mechanisms continue as victims enter into the initial phase of the reaction repair cycle. These emotional responses include a shocked disbelief that the event actually took place followed by the denial of harm incurred during (or because of) the crisis. As victims move further along in the impact stage, these reactions eventually give way to the realization that the event did indeed occur and acknowledgment that they were actually harmed.

As indicated in the prior section, the actions of first responders immediately after the crisis occurrence are extremely important. The practice of what some refer to as “psychological first aid” by first responders may be crucial to the victims’ later recovery. A variation of this would consist of three components: *assuring victims* that the threat to them is over and that they are safe; *encouraging victims* to talk about what has occurred and empathizing with how they feel; and then *preparing victims* for what is going to happen next.

When victims accept the reality of their having been victimized, they move from the impact stage into the recoil stage of the crisis reaction repair cycle.

Stage Two: Recoil

Even though entry into the recoil stage is a significant step in the healing process, victims often experience great pain as these acknowledgements are followed by a roller coaster of feelings, including alternating periods of horror, anger, guilt, anxiety, depression, social withdrawal, emotional numbness, memory loss, flashbacks to the event, and feelings of helplessness. Physical responses that victims frequently incur during this period include headaches, stress-related illnesses, lowered immunity to diseases, sleep disturbances, nightmares, forgetfulness, inability to concentrate, irritability, mood swings, hyperactivity, hypoactivity, gastrointestinal problems, and eating disorders. While these reactions may have begun in the impact stage, they intensify during the recoil stage and often continue to occur throughout the crisis reaction repair cycle.

The emotional and physical responses described above persist as victims begin working through their grief and sense of loss. It is within this stage that victims contend with feelings of injustice, lack of control, loss of faith, vulnerability, loss of self-respect, and hopelessness. Physical maladies and emotional turmoil during this period can result in lifestyle aberrations, addictive behaviors, and substance abuse that cause greater difficulties. Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is also a common condition experienced by victims. It should be noted that even if they do not serve as catalysts for PTSD, that “triggering events” that remind the victim of the crisis can lead to setbacks in the recovery process. These events vary with different survivors, but may include identification of the assailants; sensing something similar to something that one was acutely aware of during the trauma; anniversaries of the event; the proximity of holidays or significant life events; hearings, trials, appeals, or other critical phases of the criminal justice process; and news reports about a similar event. These episodes can bring back emotions that occurred with the original trauma. For victims who have lost loved ones or suffered severe harm, the recoil stage may last for many months.

Stage Three: Reorganization

It is typical for the frequency of memory occurrences and the intensity of the emotions associated with them tend to become more moderate over time. Therefore, it is normal for the effects of the trauma suffered during a crisis to diminish with the passage of time. As victims become more able to cope with their feelings, they are more capable of placing the crisis event in its proper perspective within their lives. This begins the reorganization stage of the crisis reaction repair cycle. During this stage an environment of support from friends, family, and community members greatly enhance the potential for a quicker recovery.

The issues that victims must work through in reconstructing their lives include getting control of the crisis event intellectually, working out an understanding of what transpired, reestablishing a new personal equilibrium, reestablishing trust, and reestablishing meaning and a sense of self within their lives. It is extremely important during this process that crisis reactions are not made worse by

the actions of others. Lack of concern by others, insensitive remarks, being blamed for what occurred, condemnation for cooperating or not cooperating with the prosecution of an offender, and continued subjection to fear and shame are examples of *secondary victimization*. It is also important during this phase that victims achieve some degree of vindication (acknowledgment by others that they were actually harmed and that they did not deserve what happened to them).

The final phase within the reorganization stage is one of emotional resilience. During this time mood swings, depression, and anger gradually give way to philosophical reflection.

What transpired is absorbed into the victims' overall view of themselves as a significant occurrence but not the defining event in their lives. While the victims may never be completely "healed," this emotional reassembly of their lives enables them to emerge from the shadow of the crisis that dominated their existence.

Importance of the Cycle

As indicated previously, the ability of victims to progress through the stages of the crisis reaction repair cycle is greatly influenced by those with whom they interact. Indeed, the importance of the crisis reaction repair cycle is not grasping the terminology of this healing process but understanding the importance of others in achieving recovery. The goal of caregivers should be to assist victims in completing their transition through this healing cycle. Otherwise, victims may merely move from their initial reaction of "This can't be happening to me!" to a continuously frustrating repetition of "Why me?"

Ronald D. Hunter

See also Bereavement Process; Peacemaking; Alternative Court Remedies; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Rape Trauma Syndrome; Restorative Justice; Stockholm Syndrome; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Compensation; Victim Support Groups

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- National Institute of Mental Health: <http://www.nimh.nih.gov>
- Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ovc.gov>

CRITICAL VICTIMOLOGY

Not everyone is at equal risk of being the victim of crime, and some victims get more attention than do others. For example, ironically, at a time when North American crime discussion is dominated by calls for more prisons, more executions, and victims' rights, some female crime victims are belittled. Some fathers' rights groups, academics, and politicians fervently challenge research showing high rates of wife beating, sexual assaults committed by male acquaintances and dating partners, and other types of woman abuse that occur behind closed doors. Moreover, while some politicians based in Western nations repeatedly point out human rights violations in totalitarian countries, they simultaneously hide or ignore the victimization of women in their own so-called democratic societies. Similarly, many mainstream or positivist victimologists ignore the plight of women and girls abused by male acquaintances and intimate partners. However, when they do focus on this harm, they typically examine victims' culpability instead of the broader structural and cultural forces that motivate men to engage in the abuse of women and female adolescents.

Critical victimologists, however, carefully examine the myriad ways in which women and girls are victimized by males they know and/or with whom they are romantically involved. They also emphasize the political nature of crime and victimization and, like labeling theorists, are sharply opposed to only using legal definitions of crime. Another key element of their work is studying the many harms experienced by those who are socially and economically excluded, such as gay men and lesbians, who are subjected to harassment and bias crime.

If the term *crime victim* comes up in the course of an individual's daily conversations with friends, relatives, co-workers, or even university peers and professors, it generally is in reference to a person harmed by an act of interpersonal violence on the street. Still, critical victimologists sensitize us to the fact that, knowingly or unknowingly, everyone has been, or will be, victimized by one or more highly injurious experiences that commonly escape the purview of criminal law. They also want to broaden definitions of crime to include serious damage done to workers, consumers, and to the environment by corporations, as well as other harms done by economic and political elites that are not typically considered illegitimate (e.g., false advertising). Furthermore, critical victimologists call for studying and criminalizing the following: violations of human rights, poverty, unemployment caused by moving corporations to developing countries, inadequate social services (e.g., substandard housing, day care, education, and medical care), pornographic and racist media, terrorism, the creating of weapons of mass destruction, and so on.

Critical victimologists remind us that sometimes entire categories of people (and often women) are not "allowed" to be crime victims. Certainly street sex workers, panhandlers, runaway youth, and others are seen as responsible for their pain and suffering by scores of political and business leaders, agents of social control, and the general public. Also noteworthy is that studies conducted by critical victimologists reveal that, contrary to popular belief, many workers are safer on the streets than they are on the job. Some scholars estimate the corporate death rate at more than 6 times greater than the street crime death rate, and the rate of nonlethal assault in the workplace at more than 30 times greater than the rate of predatory street crime. Although close to 75% of North

American women in the paid workforce are in so-called pink ghettos (i.e., clerical jobs, nursing, and retail sales), they are not immune to safety hazards. Critical victimologists found that these workers are at great risk than are others of experiencing the ill effects of exposure to toxic substances, stress, repetitive strain injury, and other work-related dangers. Indeed, a back injury suffered by a female nurse who was not provided help lifting a patient is just as debilitating as the same injury suffered by a male construction worker at an unsafe heavy construction site.

Critical victimologists do not dismiss or reject all the empirical and theoretical work done by their positivist counterparts. For example, critical researchers frequently use mainstream methods, such as representative sample surveys. However, such surveys include quantitative and qualitative questions that generate data on social problems generally considered irrelevant by some, such as woman abuse; sexual harassment and the verbal harassment of gay men, lesbians, and people of color in public places; and corporate crime. Even when government agencies decide to gather data on one or more of these topics, critical victimologists generally uncover higher incidence and prevalence rates because they define criminal harms more broadly.

Certainly, there are social scientists who find critical victimologists' broad definitions to be problematic. Some critical criminologists, for instance, suggest that sweeping accounts may be too broad or vague. Others have even gone so far as to state that they encompass "everything but the kitchen sink." Then there are others who assert that broad critical definitions are simply political agendas rather than scientific contributions. Critical victimologists respond to this claim by stating that no scientific method, theory, or policy proposal is value free and that mainstream scholars are also trying to advance a political agenda that guides their own work. They also respond to the previous criticism by stating that regardless of whether they are officially defined as crimes, economically, socially, environmentally, and physically injurious acts committed by political and economic elites are just as, if not more, important as those committed by powerless people.

Walter S. DeKeseredy

See also Corporate Crime; Feminist Victimology; Hate and Bias Crime; Homeless, Violence Against

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CYBER AND INTERNET OFFENSES

Victimization in society results from many types of harmful behaviors committed by individuals or groups against other people. Behaviors considered negligent or abusive, or that otherwise are considered criminal in a particular place, often depends on the amount of harm inflicted, the technological means employed, and existing laws that forbid specific activities. Technological means used to commit cyber offenses refers to a combination of networked systems, hardware devices, software tools, and methods that people use on the Internet. Modern information technology (IT) hardware like computers, personal digital assistants (PDAs), cellular phones, and gaming devices can be used offline (in standalone mode), online, or wirelessly, from private or public places, in ways that are not easily recognized as illegal and that transcend more the one geopolitical or legal jurisdiction. In addition, illicit use of computing devices can facilitate many forms of traditional in-person crimes.

To fully understand cyber and Internet offenses, it is necessary to consider (1) the ways in which computerized devices and telecommunications systems came to be increasingly used for illicit

purposes, (2) the myriad forms of online abuse and crime now taking place in our interconnected world, (3) the categories of people and organizations likely to fall prey to online forms of abuse and crime, (4) the social and economic impact of cyber and Internet offenses, and (5) what is being done to help prevent cyber offenses and provide services to victims of cybercrime.

Internet Crime History

Online crime began in the early 1960s when universities and certain government agencies and banking institutions began using networked computers to send text messages, for research, financial transactions, and record keeping. The earliest abusers of computer systems were college students who experimented with using them to play games and solve problems. Early abuse involved relatively harmless pranks and computer hacking (i.e., breaking into computer systems) to view files and sometimes manipulate or steal data. By the 1970s, as computer use in society increased, so too did the amount and variety of online abuse. Offending evolved beyond pranks and hacking into high-tech forms of embezzlement and fraud that were increasingly difficult to detect, investigate, and prosecute. In response, U.S. government and many states began creating computer crime laws during the 1980s. Even so, the real onset of modern cyber offenses began in the 1990s as more sectors, organizations, and individuals in computerized countries like the United States increasingly purchased more affordable, powerful, and interconnected personal computers (PCs), and later, portable devices such as mini- and laptop computers, PDAs, and cellular phones. This trend, which is continuing into the 21st century, along with the millions of broadband (high-speed) Internet connections made available via thousands of Internet service providers located around the world, makes it possible for billions of Internet users to become victims of cyber offenses.

Forms of Online Abuse and Crime

Every form of online abuse and crime may have from one to many victims, and hundreds, thousands, or even millions of people may be victimized. According to Samuel McQuade, categories of

cybercrime offending now include illegal or abusive online activities such as the following:

Cyber negligence by users of information systems who violate recommended or required security policies or sound online practices, thereby exposing their systems, devices, or data to cyber attacks

Traditional in-person crimes by users of computers or other IT devices for illicit communications and/or record keeping

Fraud and theft by people who illegally phish, spoof, spam, or otherwise socially engineer people to commit identity theft or gain financially

Computer hacking and password cracking by individuals or groups who crack computer account passwords and unlawfully access information systems or exceed their online system permissions

Writing and releasing malware (i.e., malicious software), including disruptive or destructive viruses, Trojans, worms, and adware/spyware programs as well as illegal massive distributions of email known as spam

Pirating of music, movies, or software using computers and other IT devices to violate criminal or civil copyright laws to replicate, distribute, download, sell, or possess software applications, data files, or code

Online harassment and extortion to threaten, intimidate, intentionally embarrass, annoy, coerce or some combination of these which when involving youth is commonly referred to as “cyberbullying”

Cyber stalking, pedophilia, and other cyber sex offenses by online offenders who acquire illegal sexual pleasure by exerting power or control over their victims, including cases of human trafficking for sexual purposes and so-called sex tourism (traveling to have sexual relations with minors)

Academic cheating, as when students use portable IT devices to plagiarize or cheat on assignments or exams, or when researchers fake study methods or findings for profit or fame

Organized crime, including the online activities of ethnic-based gangs who use computers, cell phones, or other kinds of computers and telecommunications devices in the course of their legal and illegal business enterprise

Corporate, government, and freelance spying that relies on cyber-enabled tools and methods of espionage, including spyware and key logger applications to snoop for personal or professional purposes

Cyber terrorism, as when a group advances its social, religious, or political goals by instilling widespread fear online or by damaging or disrupting critical information infrastructure

The categories of cyber offenses listed above may overlap depending on many circumstances and a combination of skills, knowledge, resources, access to information systems, and intensity of motives possessed by individual and groups of perpetrators involved. For example, a group of computer hackers may consist of expert malware code writers who release remotely controlled and/or self-morphing programs onto the Internet where they can be downloaded by unsuspecting users. Results from such an “attack” vary considerably depending on the intent and skill of perpetrators and the potential value of a victim’s data. Online theft or destruction of data belonging to a large corporation may be worth millions of dollars, and losses of personal, personnel, or client data can be very traumatic to individual victims, as in cases of identity theft.

Social and Economic Impact of Online Offenses

Firms that lose computerized data due to system user neglect or abuse, to cybercrimes committed by insider employees or external attackers, or to a natural or human-made disaster may never fully recover from their losses. Firms that do not have data saved on their information systems automatically backed up to an offsite location along with business continuity plans ready to implement on a moment’s notice risk much. Losses of data, money, or other property, along with emotional and psychological harm and even physical injury or death as the indirect result of cyber offenses, are experienced every day by thousands of individuals, families, and groups of people.

Cybercrimes such as those previously listed are normally considered nonviolent property crimes, and many also qualify as financial crimes. This is especially true if the primary goal of offenders is to

illegally acquire funds or control electronic banking or credit card accounts. Identity theft, for example, is a financial crime and often also constitutes bank fraud.

Despite frequent occurrences of identity theft and many other forms of online crime, the amount of financial loss and other social and economic harm caused by or associated with cyber and Internet offenses is not truly known, and the accuracy of any estimate depends on how offenses are defined; however, specific forms of online crime are periodically estimated for specific forms of crime, and annual economic losses from cybercrime have been estimated to be in the tens of billions of dollars worldwide. A single release onto the Internet of a malicious virus, Trojan, or worm program has on more than one occasion affected millions of users and cost billions in damages to information systems and loss of data (e.g., the “I Love You” virus released in May 2000 was estimated to have cost between \$1 billion and \$10 billion worldwide).

The wide variety and apparent increases in many forms of online offenses make it very difficult to determine or even estimate the social and economic costs of primary, secondary, or tertiary victimization that result from cyber abuse and crime in society. Part of the problem is that America’s national crime reporting systems, such as the National Incident Based Crime Reporting System and the Uniform Crime Report Program managed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in cooperation with thousands of U.S. law enforcement agencies, do not specifically identify or distinguish between many forms of online offenses. Nor do they effectively distinguish between traditional in-person forms of crime that are substantially facilitated by online activities of offenders.

Victimization surveys also generally do not ask questions about specific computing and telecommunication technologies involved in crimes that have been committed, though this is beginning to change. Since 2001, the U.S. Department of Justice has conducted specific studies of cybercrime against business and identity theft. Results of this research suggest that millions of businesses and households are affected by online offenses each year. For example, of 7,818 businesses surveyed in National Computer Security Survey by the Bureau of Justice

Statistics, 67% identified one or more cybercrimes in 2005, nearly 60% detected one or more attacks against their information systems, 11% discovered a cyber theft of data, and 24% experienced other types of information security events.

The Computer Security Institute based in San Francisco and New York City, in partnership with the FBI, issues annual reports of cyber offenses and information security issues of concern to security professionals employed in large firms, academic and health institutions, and government agencies. The National White Collar Crime Center, also in partnership with the FBI, provides the annual *Internet Fraud and Crime Report* based on complaints received by consumers through the Internet Crime Complaint Center. Studies consistently reveal that cyber and Internet offenses threaten many organizations, families, and individual users of computers and other types of IT devices and information systems.

Likely Victims of Cyber and Internet Offending

Cyber offenses can directly or indirectly harm anyone. Indeed, everyone who connects to the Internet via unprotected information systems or IT devices. The great variety of online offending methods also means that thousands, even millions of victims, can be harmed anywhere they happen to be connected to the Web while browsing, chatting via instant or text messaging, emailing, blogging and uploading or downloading any form of content (e.g., text, pictures, video, or audio recordings). The greatest potential danger rests on using unprotected systems and IT devices, along with having confidential information discovered and used or manipulated for illicit purposes.

Four primary types of victims likely to be targeted by cyber offenders include youth, elderly people, financial institutions, and government, health care, and academic organizations.

Youth

Millions of youth now use computers and IT devices to game online, for other social computing purposes, for schoolwork, and to shop. In the process, many “friend” other youth online via personal profiles on Web sites like MySpace and

Facebook. They exchange personal information about themselves and their friends and family. If they are not extremely careful, they may be “socially engineered” by online offenders who pretend to be someone they know or betray them later, as when cyberbullies create and spread rumors that cause embarrassment. Youth who are never taught about Internet safety, information security practices, *and* cyber ethics are especially vulnerable. Many youth do not regularly patch up their operating systems and software applications or backup their valuable data. Combined mobile and social computing abilities along with willingness to share personal information make youth extremely vulnerable to being manipulated and victimized online.

In a major study of more than 40,000 K–12 students in 14 New York State school districts, researchers discovered important facts about cyber offending and victimization experiences of youth, including:

- Cyberbullying begins in the second grade when children first report “being mean” to each other online.
- Of students surveyed in second and third grades, 35% reported having been exposed within the prior year to online content that made them feel uncomfortable, 13% reported they used the Internet to talk to people they do not know, 11% reported having been asked to describe private things about their body, and 10% reported being exposed to private things about someone else’s body.
- In fourth through sixth grade, the overall number of youth cyber abuse and crime offenders exceeded the number of youth cyber abuse and cybercrime victims.

Researchers also discovered online promiscuity among seventh- through twelfth-grade students, some of whom reported taking nude photos of themselves or each other and distributing them via the Internet. Youth also reported that they send and receive from each other unwanted pornography and solicitations for sex, and also chat online about things of a sexual nature. By middle school, students are exposed to all known forms of online offending and abuse and begin to specialize in the types of offending they commit. This trend continues into high school and college and has serious

implications for the policing of high-tech crimes by adults.

Elderly People

People who grew up prior to the widespread use of the Internet (beginning in about 1993) often do not understand the risks being online. Many, though not all, elderly people have limited savvy when it comes to using computers or other types of IT devices. As a group, elderly people tend to be very trusting and consequently may be susceptible to being manipulated online. Many older people also have a limited or fixed income, are worried about their health and financial futures, and therefore are more vulnerable to being conned into “get rich” schemes. Conversely, many elderly people are proportionately quite wealthy. In fact, they naturally possess or control most of the most money in society. This combination of factors makes them attractive victims to cyber criminals.

Financial Institutions

Banks, credit unions, insurance companies, and other types of financial institutions that manage large amounts of money online are also often targeted for online and Internet crimes. This happens despite the fact that financial institutions employ the best policies, practices, and technology for keeping money safe. Special laws and government regulations specify the kinds of protections they need to have in place. Yet the vast sums of electronic currency and volume of financial transactions processed by banks and similar institutions is so large, in the trillions of dollars each day, that they remain very attractive targets for cyber thieves.

Government, Health Care, and Academic Organizations

These kinds of organizations are responsible for protecting massive amounts of sensitive and personal data. Cyber offenders recognize the value of such data for committing crimes like identity theft. Some offenders will go to great lengths to steal an identity. Until the late 1980s and early 1990s, most government, health care, and academic organizations were unregulated with regard to the provisions for data protection they afforded citizens,

patients, and students. Much has changed, with new laws and regulations now requiring organizations to ensure more protections. Mishaps continue to occur with alarming frequency, however, resulting in the personal data of thousands of people being used in various kinds of online offenses.

Prevention and Victim Services

Primary strategies that people can use to prevent becoming a victim of cyber and Internet offenses include buying computer and telecommunications products and services from reputable firms; regularly patching up operating systems, software applications, and drivers like those that enable printing functions with security updates; and backing up data on storage devices not always connected to a primary computer or other IT device as well as automatically to off-site locations. Users should also interact online only with people and organizations they trust and be wary of sharing personal or confidential information. Shredding documents containing personal information, using strong nonalphanumeric passwords (that do not spell a name or word in a dictionary in any language), and not sharing passwords along with changing passwords regularly can also help to prevent cybercrimes.

Many government and nonprofit organizations now provide Internet safety and information security tips for consumers. The OnGuard Online Web site of the U.S. Department of Commerce Federal Trade Commission is a great example. This resource provides cybercrime prevention content for consumers of all ages and for businesses that perform various kinds of online services. In addition, the National White Collar Crime Center maintains the Internet Crime Complaint Center, which works to report allegations of Internet offenses to appropriate state and federal authorities. Notable organizations that provide sound advice for educators, parents, and youth in how to prevent cyber and Internet offenses include the Family Online Safety Institute, Internet Keep Safe (I Keep Safe) Coalition, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, and the Cyber Safety and Ethics Initiative.

The latest and most ambitious efforts in the United States to prevent cyber and Internet offenses and provide victims with counseling, legal, and

referral services are now being piloted by the government and within certain state and local government agencies. For example, beginning in 2001 the Office of Victims of Crime (OVC), a Bureau of the Office of Justice Programs, solicited grant applications for demonstration programs to service victims of cybercrime. The Maryland Crime Victims' Resource to Center with OVC funding received in 2007 now provides counseling and referral services victims of identity theft and fraud, among other types of crime and abuse.

Samual C. McQuade III

See also Bullying; Child Pornography and Sexual Exploitation; Cybercrime, Prevention of; Human Trafficking; Identity Theft; Internet Fraud; National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); Offending and Victimization; Stalking Laws; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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Web Sites

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- Federal Trade Commission OnGuard Online: <http://www.onguardonline.gov>
- Internet Crime Complaint Center: <http://www.ic3.gov/default.aspx>
- Internet Keep Safe (I Keep Safe) Coalition: <http://www.ikeepsafe.org>
- National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: <http://www.missingkids.com>
- National White Collar Crime Center: <http://www.nw3c.org>
- Office of Victims of Crime: <http://www.ovc.gov>

CYBERCRIME, PREVENTION OF

Cybercrime is crime that occurs when computers or computer networks are involved as tools, locations, or targets of crime. This means that cybercrime may include a wide variety of traditional types of crime, such as theft or even extortion, but that these may take on novel forms because of the opportunities provided by the cyber environment.

Scope of Cybercrime

Since computers and networks now pervade almost every corner of our lives, from making a telephone call to driving on the freeway, the crimes that occur in the cyber environment are many. Some of these crimes may or may not be crimes, depending on the jurisdiction, especially as the Internet transcends international borders. Gambling, for example, or even trading in child pornography, may not be crimes in some countries. Some of these crimes are old crimes with a new face. For example, a thief may purchase an item from an online store using a false identity or credit card; a robber may force a victim to divulge his PIN number at an ATM; an embezzler may siphon off money from online bank accounts.

New crimes inherent to the cyber environment are shown in Table 1.

Apart from the cyber enhancement of traditional crimes described above, we are probably all victims of some aspect of cybercrime, since the costs (both economic and social) of maintaining secure networks is in the long run passed on to consumers. This is reflected not only in the necessity of purchasing antivirus software to protect our personal computers, but also in the high risk we take when we give out personal information to the many organizations with which we deal in our everyday lives. The opportunities available for the theft of our personal information are legion. The challenge for prevention, therefore, is to identify these opportunities and reduce them.

Cybercrime Prevention

Identifying Opportunity

The cyber environment enhances the attractiveness of targets, the effectiveness of tools, and the viability of locations for carrying out cybercrime.

Computers and Networks as Targets

Generally, in the cyber environment, information is *the* target, and a very attractive one. Its features are almost identical to those Ronald Clarke delineated as characterizing a “hot product” coveted by thieves; that is, CRAVED—concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable, and durable. Examples of these features of information are described as follows.

Table 1 Types of cybercrime

Hacking	Offender uses existing security flaws in computer and network operating systems to break into private or corporate computer networks
Privacy violation	Offender uses keystroke detectors, spyware, and other advanced technologies to spy on computer use
Release of viruses	Offender releases viruses that exploit weaknesses in existing computer systems
Identity theft	Offender uses the cyber environment to obtain the personal information of others and assume their identities
Pfishing	Offender uses trick Web sites and emails to con individuals into giving up their private information and/or money
Denial of service	Offender uses software techniques to take over hundreds of individuals' computers to mount an attack on a commercial or government Web site and cause its collapse
Information theft	Employee steals computer disks or files and sells them on the street

Concealable	Information can be easily hidden in untraceable computer files
Removable	Information does not have to be removed, simply copied
Available	Information is everywhere and readily available
Valuable	Credit card and bank account files are information
Enjoyable	Users enjoy the movies and songs they download illegally
Durable	Stolen identities can be used for months if not years before they are discovered

Cyber Tools

The cyber environment provides considerable tools, often at little cost to the offender. These include the ready availability of new techniques and technologies such as the following:

- A fake identity can enable a child predator to enter a chat room pretending he is a 15-year-old and find potential victims.
- Hacker software makes it possible to crack passwords, find security holes in networks, and much more.
- Hacker hardware such as keystroke recorders enable hackers to collect passwords and PINs, modify chips for use in mobile phones, and counterfeit documents of identification.
- Available Web site technology makes it easier to counterfeit the Web sites of respectable businesses and agencies.

Cyber Locations

These may be physical or “virtual” sometimes both. Offenders will use physical locations such as Internet cafés or public libraries in an effort to avoid identification through the computer they use to access the network. They may also enter virtual locations such as teen chat rooms, or online

gaming places such as Second Life, where they may play at and even commit actual crimes.

Techniques for Cybercrime Prevention

Ronald Clarke, in his book *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, has outlined a range of prevention techniques that can easily be adapted to cybercrime. These techniques are arranged according to four aspects of offending as shown in Table 2 with some cybercrime prevention examples.

Implementing the Techniques

These techniques of prevention must be applied to the specific situations in which they occur. This means that the guardians of the targets, tools, and locations of cyberspace must be employed to implement them. These will range from private individuals who must install firewalls on their own computers to large corporations that are responsible for designing operating systems that contain security flaws. Between these two extremes are organizations such as Internet service providers, including corporate and university computing services, that must take

Table 2 Prevention techniques and examples

Increase the effort	Use firewalls, ban hacker Web sites
Increase the risks	Conduct background checks of employees with access to ID databases, require a traceable ID for online chat rooms
Reduce rewards	Specify no social security numbers on official documents, institute severe penalties for hacking
Reduce provocation and excuses	Maintain positive management–employee relations, do not boast of security features in software, display responsible use policy in colleges, libraries, chat rooms

steps to protect information that is valuable to hackers and others.

Most of the techniques to prevent cybercrime do not involve complex computing skills. This is because the majority of major cybercrimes on record were achieved not through the brilliance of a computer wizard, but through human weaknesses where guardians of valuable information became offenders themselves, or were either duped or coerced into giving up passwords or other access information to offenders. Training and education in security procedures of those who are the guardians of information is therefore crucial. Technological innovations that transfer security procedures from humans to computers are the ultimate but difficult solution to the problem of cybercrime (such as, for example, “smart credit cards”), but even here offenders have demonstrated their ability to adapt to and overcome new technologies.

Graeme R. Newman

See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cyberstalking; Exploitation by Scams; Exploitation by Scams, Interventions for; Identity Theft; Internet Fraud; Situational Crime Prevention

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CYBERSTALKING

Cyberstalking is a relatively new phenomenon. So new in fact that many in the general public do not know what it entails. Though researchers and law enforcement professionals have adopted a wide array of definitions, cyberstalking is most generally defined as any course of conduct that utilizes

electronic communication devices to knowingly and willingly commit any of the following acts on two or more occasions, with no legitimate purpose:

contact or attempt to contact someone after being requested by that person to desist from contacting them;

persistently harass, torment, or terrorize someone;

steal or attempt to steal someone's identity or information about that person, harming that person;

make unwanted and unwarranted sexual advances toward someone; and/or

communicate violent intentions or threaten to cause physical injury to someone.

In this context, electronic communication devices include all devices that can electronically transmit text, images, or sound from one location to another through wires or via electromagnetic waves. This includes but is not limited to computers, cellular phones, and personal digital assistants (PDAs).

History of Cyberstalking

The birth and continued development of cyberstalking has closely coincided with advancements in technology. Many electronic devices, such as cellular phones, PDAs, and computers, have become staples in everyday life. Their speed, ease of use, and capabilities—in addition to their increasing affordability—have made them both widely popular and frequently used. Unfortunately, those same features, along with the relative anonymity of the Internet, have made many of these devices key tools for cyberstalkers. Though it is impossible to pinpoint the exact date cyberstalking became an actual phenomenon, both the Internet and mobile communication devices, such as cell phones, were adapted for widespread public use in the early 1990s. Conservatively, the birth of cyberstalking can be traced to that era.

Throughout the mid- and late 1990s, the number of cyberstalking incidents is believed to have increased dramatically, with cyberstalking developing into a large-scale problem by the turn of the 21st century. Research indicates that the numbers of reported and nonreported cyberstalking incidents have steadily increased since the beginning of the

21st century. Though cyberstalking has become an ever-increasing problem, there is still relatively little public knowledge regarding the extent or even the existence of cyberstalking. In fact, the bulk of the public's perception of cyberstalking actually stems from very specific subcategories of cybercrime that are often associated with cyberstalking, such as cyberbullying and identity theft. Further, there has been only a minimal amount of legislative and law enforcement progress in attempting to control cyberstalking.

Cyberstalking Versus Traditional Stalking

There has been a growing debate between members of the academic, law enforcement, and political communities as to the true nature of cyberstalking. On one side of the debate, cyberstalking is considered merely a component of the larger phenomenon of traditional stalking (also referred to as physical or offline stalking). According to this argument, the Internet, computers, and/or mobile communication devices are simply additional tools utilized by stalkers. On the other side of the debate, it is argued that cyberstalking is an independent phenomenon, which should be considered separate from traditional stalking. According to this argument, cyberstalking is a new and unique type of victimization that has been created and expanded with the development of the Internet, computers, and mobile communication devices.

The cyberstalking debate is further exacerbated by the limitations of stalking research. Very few research studies examine the occurrence of both traditional stalking and cyberstalking. Further, the methodology and measurement techniques utilized in many traditional stalking and cyberstalking research studies vary significantly, making it problematic to attempt to compare the findings of different studies. Many victimization researchers are of the opinion that the typical stalker may likely switch between traditional stalking and cyberstalking. What begins as traditional stalking may later involve the use of electronic communication devices, and what begins as cyberstalking may later evolve into traditional stalking. However, there has yet to be any substantial evidence to support this position.

No matter which side of the debate one takes, however, there are several clear differences between

traditional stalking and cyberstalking. First, one of the key components of traditional stalking is close physical proximity between the offender and victim. Traditional stalking frequently involves voyeurism, pursuant behavior, and direct physical communication. Conversely, cyberstalking does not require close physical proximity. With the use of the Internet and/or electronic communication devices, cyberstalkers could be long distances away from their victims.

Similarly, the majority of traditional stalking incidents involve a short time frame, meaning that offenders are typically at locations at relatively the same time as the victim. Actions such as pursuant behavior or voyeurism necessarily require the offender and victim to be in the same place at the same time. With cyberstalking, however, actions do not require a short time frame. For example, a cyberstalker could send harassing emails that the victim may not receive for days or even weeks.

Finally, there is a distinct difference in the type of guardianship most often utilized in order to protect potential stalking victims. For traditional stalking victims, guardianship often comes in physical forms. Friends and family, home security systems, and even restraining orders are often utilized to protect victims from offenders. However, guardianship from cyberstalking often comes in cyber forms. Improved Internet security, stronger firewalls, and privacy settings for email and social network accounts are the most common forms of guardianship against cyberstalking.

Extent of Victimization

Though it is generally agreed upon that the number of cyberstalking incidents has continued to grow each year, this is largely based on comparisons of results from cyberstalking research studies and law enforcement estimates. In actuality, the true prevalence of cyberstalking is unknown. Though this is typically the case for every category of victimization, as a large number of victimization incidents go unreported, it is especially true for cyberstalking. None of the major U.S. crime-victimization databases directly include cyberstalking as a measured category. The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) do not include categories of cybercrime. The National Incident-Based

Reporting System (NIBRS) and National Computer Security Survey do include cybercrime categories; however, neither specifically measures cyberstalking. As a result, the best estimate of the number of incidents of cyberstalking comes from large-scale research studies. The number of cyberstalking research studies has increased considerably since the beginning of the 21st century; however, the rate of technological advancements has increased exponentially, making it difficult for research to remain up-to-date with the newest technological developments.

While the actual number of cyberstalking incidents is unknown, the characteristics of the typical cyberstalking incident are known. Much like traditional stalking, cyberstalking victims are typically female. Also, cyberstalking victims are often relatively young (under the age of 30) and unmarried or divorced. Cyberstalking perpetrators, however, are typically male. As with cyberstalking victims, perpetrators are often relatively young (under the age of 30) and unmarried or divorced. In the majority of reported cyberstalking incidents, the perpetrator is known to the victim. In many cases, the perpetrator is a former spouse or boyfriend. Finally, very few incidents of cyberstalking are reported to the police or other agencies. This is especially true if the victim knows the perpetrator.

Legislation and Law Enforcement

Cyberstalking has proven very difficult for law enforcement to combat. Often, many of the actions taken by cyberstalkers are not technically illegal. Looking up information about others, communicating with others through email, chat rooms, or instant messengers programs, and/or sending or copying pictures are routine activities performed on the Internet. It is only when these normal activities pose a legitimate threat that legal measures can be taken. As previously stated, unlike traditional stalking, which most often involves the offender and victim being in the same spatial vicinity, a cyberstalker can be in a completely different city, state, or country than the victim. The potentially problematic effect of offender and victim being in different locations not only makes it difficult to determine what agency has jurisdiction, but also compounds the process of performing typical investigative techniques.

In the United States, stalking statutes became part of state and federal legislation in the early 1990s. However, neither state nor federal stalking laws originally included acts falling into the category of cyberstalking. The first state law recognizing cyberstalking went into effect in California in 1999. Several other states soon followed suit. As of 2008, 47 states had some form of cyberstalking legislation. The majority of states simply amended their previous stalking and/or harassment statutes to include acts involving the Internet and electronic communication devices, while a few created completely new cyberstalking statutes. Three states—Idaho, Nebraska, and Utah—and the District of Columbia have no cyberstalking legislation.

Cyberstalking was first recognized as a wide-scale issue by the federal government in 1999. In February of 1999, Vice President Al Gore assigned Attorney General Janet Reno the task of investigating the nature of cyberstalking—including the extent of occurrence, victim groups, and law enforcement techniques. At that time, several laws already in place could be applied to certain aspects of cyberstalking, such as 18 U.S.C. 875(c), which prohibits interstate threatening communication, and 47 U.S.C. 223, which prohibits the use of telecommunication devices to annoy, abuse, harass, or threaten someone without identifying oneself.

The Violence Against Women Act of 1994 was amended in 2000, and reauthorized in 2005, to include provisions prohibiting and providing increased protection against electronic stalking. However, these laws require very specific actions to occur before they can go into effect. To date, there are no federal laws that are specifically aimed at cyberstalking. In 2000, Senator Spencer Abraham (R-MI) proposed the Federal CyberStalking Bill (S2991), also referred to as the Just Punishment for Cyberstalkers Act of 2000, which would amend U.S.C. 18 to extend antistalking legislation to include cyberstalking. In 2000, Senator Spencer Abraham (R-MI) proposed the Federal Cyberstalking Bill (S2991), also referred to as the Just Punishment for Cyberstalkers Act of 2000, which would have amended U.S.C. 18 to extend antistalking legislation to include cyberstalking. The bill was placed on hold in 2000, however, because Senator Abraham was appointed Secretary of Energy by President George W. Bush. He is no longer in office and no other legislator adopted the

position of arguing for the bill. As a result, the bill never passed.

Cyberstalking: An Example

Soon after California passed the first state law recognizing cyberstalking, the first case was successfully prosecuted. In 1999, a 50-year-old security guard pleaded guilty to attempting to use the Internet to solicit the rape of a 28-year-old woman. After being repeatedly rejected by the young woman in a chat room, the security guard assumed her identity and placed personal ads stating she fantasized about being raped. The ads also provided her name, physical description, and contact information. He even gave information about how to bypass the woman's home security alarm. Eventually, six men came to the woman's home, offering to rape her. After extensive investigation, law enforcement agents were able to trace the ads back to the security guard. He was sentenced to 6 years in California state prison.

Future Developments

With advances in technology and electronic communication, in addition to the slow progress of legislation and the problematic nature of effectively policing incidents of cyberstalking, it is unlikely that the rate of cyberstalking victimization will significantly decrease in the near future. In fact, as a result of many new developments, such as online social networking and photograph/video-sharing sites, the rates of cyberstalking victimization will most likely show continued growth. Worldwide, millions of new online social network accounts have been created every year since 2000. Many of these account profiles include personal information—such as demographic, contact, and employment information, as well as addresses, daily schedules, and photographs. Much of this information is available to anyone who creates an account. Further, there has been a dramatic increase in the number and size of photograph- and video-sharing Web sites that allow individuals to post images and/or streaming video of their daily lives, viewable by anyone who logs on. Though extremely popular with users, these and other new developments in online communication directly increase the likelihood of exposure of potential targets to

potential offenders. It will take time to see if research and law enforcement can keep up with technology.

Billy Henson

See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cybercrime, Prevention of; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; Stalkers, Types of; Stalking; Stalking, Measurement of; Stalking Laws; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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- National Center for Victims of Crime (NCVC): <http://www.ncvc.org>
- Working to Halt Online Abuse (WHOA): <http://www.haltabuse.org>

CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, THEORY OF

Intimate partner violence has become a national and global public health and welfare problem. Much research has been conducted on the myriad issues related to intimate partner violence, including but not limited to the incidence and prevalence of violence and victimization, theories of battering behavior by the abuser, and theories explaining the behavior of the victim, which attempt to answer the long-standing question: Why doesn't she (or he) leave? This entry attempts to provide an answer to that question with a thorough

discussion of the cycle of violence theory, which was originally developed by Lenore Walker in 1979. In addition, the entry provides critiques of the theory, information about the implications of the cycle of violence theory, including battered woman syndrome and learned helplessness, the historical context of theory in the battered women's movement and the legal and social changes resulting from the movement, and prevention and intervention efforts that address the victim's behaviors in this cycle of abuse.

The Cycle of Violence: A Theory of Battering

The question of why women (or men) would stay in abusive relationships has been posed by researchers, professionals who work with victims, and the public. To stay with an abusive partner seems illogical at best, but some explanations for this behavior have been offered over the years. Psychological theories, for example, suggest that a number of factors may be responsible for victims' behavior: self-blame, denial, loyalty to the institution and sanctity of marriage, feeling responsible to the batterer and/or children. One of the first theories developed to explain this seemingly illogical response to a terrifying situation is the cycle of theory of violence, which was the theoretical brainchild of Lenore Walker. In 1979, Walker interviewed 1,500 battered women and found that each of them described a similar pattern of spousal abuse. In her research, Walker identified this pattern as the "cycle of violence," which contains three distinct phases. It begins with a period of positive or close relations in which tension builds over a period of time (the "tension-building" phase). This time frame will vary from couple to couple; it could be 6 weeks, 6 months, or 1 year or longer. During this phase, the abuser may behave in a charming, caring, gentle, and affectionate way with the victim. The abuser may even present her or him with gifts, go out of the way to do nice things, and make the victim feel accepted and loved. Over time though, according to Walker, tension develops. Tension can be generated by anything from a tough day at work, a personal crisis, to anything in between.

According to Walker, periods of stress and tension within the relationship occur prior to an act, or acts, of violence. Over time, with increasing

jealousy, paranoia, and shorter tempers among abusers, victims dance around their abusers, placating them and protecting them. For example, victims sometimes claim that the reasons for the appearance of physical injuries have nothing to do with abuse. Unfortunately, and typically, abusers' anger cannot be rationally calmed or quelled, leaving victims with few options for avoiding upsetting the batterer.

The battering incident occurs in the second stage of the cycle. This phase is sometimes called the "acting out phase" or "acute battering phase," which may or may not include physical contact; it may involve verbal, emotional, and/or psychological abuse. In this stage of the cycle, the abuser tries to gain power and control. When physical injuries do occur, they usually happen in this second phase. This phase typically ends when the batterer stops and the physiological tension between the two people markedly declines. Walker maintains that this decrease in tension is, in itself, reinforcing. In other words, violence wins because it works and the abuser gets what he wants in the relationship.

The third and final stage of this triangular cycle is the "honeymoon phase," when the batterer tries to reunite with his partner. The batterer may feel guilt but will minimize the event by claiming that it was the victim's fault that she was hit. Typically, both partners deny the severity of the abuse, often pretending as if nothing happened, and the cycle continues. The members of the couple convince each other that each abusive episode is an isolated event, claiming that the incidents are unrelated to each other, which ultimately provides the positive reinforcement necessary for the victim to remain in the relationship. Walker's results showed that the behavior exhibited by the abuser in this phase reinforces the relationship because it often has no tension or violence, yet offers no loving behavior on the part of the abuser. Sadly, the violence becomes more serious as time moves on, and eventually the possibility of a third stage that involves apology and denial no longer exists.

Walker's theory asserts that eventually, over a period of time that can range from a day to 6 months to a year or more, the acting out phase will circle around again into the honeymoon phase. Despite the fact that batterers can be very charming at times, victims often feel manipulated and chained to an emotional roller coaster from which

there is no escape. Walker argues that each phase becomes shorter and shorter in duration and distance from the previous incident and phase, until the victim either escapes or is killed.

Critiques

Since its inception, Walker's theory has endured criticism. Some researchers have argued that her sample size was too small and not representative enough to provide an accurate picture of violent relationships in the United States. Based on their own research, others have questioned the high level of predictability of violence in relationships that Walker claims in her study, as studies have shown vast differences in abuser behavior, motivation, level of manipulation, and method of abuse. For example, some abusers employ verbal and emotional tactics of abuse, while others resort mostly to physical harm. Additional critiques demonstrate that not all abusers cycle through all of the phases of abuse that Walker outlines in her research. Instead, some abusers vacillate between extreme violence and peace. Nonetheless, despite the fact that Walker's cycle of violence may not accurately predict or portray every instance of intimate partner violence, it remains an important volume of research.

Most of the battered women in Walker's sample did not perceive their abusers as being in control of their lives, despite the fact that their reality suggested otherwise. Walker concluded that one of the reasons that these victims, who were all women, did not terminate their marriages and leave the relationships is due to the fact that they did not realize that their batterers were in control of every facet of their lives.

In the years following Walker's contribution of the cycle of violence theory to intimate partner violence literature, additional related theories of battering, including learned helplessness and battered woman syndrome, emerged to explain the dynamics in abusive relationships.

Learned Helplessness

Learned helplessness explains the victim's psychological frame of mind over the course over the course of the abusive relationship. Though often described as a condition, it may be better described

as an effect of the cycle of violence on a battered woman. This theory was originally based on psychologist Martin Seligman's research on dogs. Seligman placed dogs in cages and administered random shocks to them. As in most intimate partner violence situations, the shocks were not administered in response to, or based on, the dogs' behavior. The dogs tried to escape but couldn't, so they stopped fighting and became helpless; they could no longer help themselves. It wasn't until the researchers intervened—and dragged the dogs to their rescue—that they escaped. Learned helplessness kicked in when they perceived their efforts to be pointless. That is why the battered woman's perception of her own situation is important in terms of her ability to escape—if she believes she cannot leave or cannot survive on her own, she will not leave.

Since the late 1990s, there has been some debate among researchers as to whether victims of intimate partner violence are actually helpless, since some battered women do make calls to friends and family for help, contact the police, and/or file a restraining order. However, numerous researchers have concluded that these women's feelings of helplessness may be better described as a reflection of their reality than as a response that has been learned. Given the cyclical nature of the violence, however, the helpless behavior indicates a pattern that gives the appearance of being learned. This learned helplessness, or feeling of helplessness, emerges during the course of the cycle of violence that has been ongoing over a period of time (at least 6 months or more). Early in the abuse cycle, perhaps in the honeymoon phase, battered women may feel that they can fix the relationship. However, over a longer period of time, the cycle of violence wears these battered women down mentally to the point where they perceive they can no longer help themselves or even conceive of thoughts of escape. In other words, when these women see the futility of their efforts to repair the relationship, escape, or survive, learned helplessness, or rather, a feeling of helplessness, emerges.

Battered Woman Syndrome

Battered woman syndrome is a psychological condition that develops over a long period of time, as a result of the cycle of violence, and it is related to the

cycle of violence theory and learned helplessness. Walker theorized that some women remain in physically, emotionally, and sexually abusive relationships due to extreme fear and the belief that there is no escape and that they have no choice but to stay in the abusive relationship. This is the effect of learned helplessness. Battered woman syndrome is a condition that, like learned helplessness or the feeling of helplessness, is formed over the course of many cycles of abuse, over a long period of time. In addition, with battered woman syndrome and the cycle of violence, the severity of the abuse also increases over time. However, both partners usually deny the increase in severity and have convinced themselves that each instance of violence is a distinct, unique event. Ultimately, the connection between battered woman syndrome and the cycle of violence that shapes the condition is that, with every passing cycle, the psyche of the battered woman is worn down to the point where she loses hope and cannot deal effectively with her situation.

Historical Perspectives on Battering and Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence and battering can only be fully appreciated and understood within a sociopolitical and sociohistorical context that examines women's status in the social and economic hierarchy and slow acquisition of rights over time. In the United States, there was historically an acceptance of abuse against women. In fact, women were regarded as property until the latter half of the 19th century. Until then, the "rule of thumb" and "stick rule" were applied to domestic relations; these rules specified that a husband could discipline his wife in any manner he saw fit as long as the implement involved was no thicker than the width of his thumb or a particular stick.

The turn of 20th century marked the establishment of family and domestic relations courts across the country. They were created to deal with incidents of family violence. Although they seemed to be a positive development at the time, they actually encouraged female subservience and economic dependence, thus rendering family and domestic violence a private, not criminal, problem to be dealt with in the private sphere. In the late 1960s, activists began to politicize the plight of the battered woman. At that time, the police usually

would not assist victims of domestic violence, despite the fact that such violence was against the law. Like many others within and outside the criminal justice system, the police viewed domestic violence as a private matter, or if it was to be dealt with publicly, as a social services concern.

It was not until the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s that battered women were recognized by the legal system. Following research done by Walker and others in the 1970s, testimony about battered woman syndrome was introduced in criminal trials. Prior to the 1970s, the battering and murder of women took place in a social context that considered wives to be property of their husbands. In fact, the topic of "marital rape" had never been considered and, therefore, was not considered a crime. One reason that domestic violence/intimate partner violence, marital rape, and incest have been handled so poorly socially and legally is due to the walls that have been erected around the place where these things typically occur—the home. Our society has placed a high premium on privacy rights, and, as a society, we are very reluctant to change. Why? Society does not want the government interfering with its private business; laissez-faire ideology has prevailed for a long time in U.S. social and legal history.

In order to truly understand the context in which the cycle of intimate partner violence occurs, it is important to examine U.S. political ideology and predisposition toward the separation of the public and private spheres. In general, as a society, the United States has been very reluctant to interfere with private behavior that occurs behind the walls of citizens' homes. Many legal decisions on child abuse and domestic violence cases rest on the notion that justice dictates that human rights considerations not be forsaken for the right of privacy. In other words, a home may be a castle for a "man," but it may be a torture chamber for victims. Battered women have had very few resources when violence occurs. Women have been driven to kill, and some been sentenced to life in prison for it.

Legal and Social Changes Resulting From the Battered Women's Movement

Between 1975 and 1980, 44 U.S. states passed some kind of domestic violence legislation. Presently,

all 50 states and Washington, D.C., have domestic violence laws on their books. This legislation focuses on the prevention of and protection from partner abuse and assistance for victims and prosecution of abusive partners. The criminal justice system also responded with changes with respect to arrest policies. Following the infamous 1982 Minneapolis Experiment, researchers and law enforcement personnel contended that the mandatory arrest of batterers in a domestic violence situation results in lower recidivism rates than other types of responses, such as mandated counseling or sending the batterer away for a night. Essentially, mandatory policies direct the police to a specific action (“shall arrest”) and limit police discretion, while pro-arrest policies might say that arrest shall be the “preferred” or “presumptive” response in a case of domestic violence.

Ultimately, this legislation provides protection orders for victims, establishes shelters and services for victims, and encourages the police and courts to adhere to the criminal code by asserting that violence between people involved in intimate relationships is still violence and should be treated as such under the law. *Thurman v. City of Torrington* (1984) forever changed the landscape of domestic violence legislation. In that case, the judge held the city’s police department civilly liable for the abuse sustained by the victim, Tracy Thurman. Thurman had been repeatedly abused by her husband, and though she called the police for help numerous times, they did not do much of anything to offer her assistance. In the wake of this case, police departments throughout the country began implementing pro-arrest policies and increasing training on domestic violence. Since the mid-1980s, states have passed laws expanding the police’s arrest powers in cases of domestic assault, although many police departments utilize alternatives to arrest, including mediation.

In the 1990s, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act; this law was reauthorized in 2000. This law mandates that various professions form partnerships and work together to respond to all forms of violence against women. The U.S. Attorney General is required to make a report to Congress annually on the grants that are awarded under the act and ensure that research examining violence against women is encouraged. In addition, the act provides funding for a variety

of research-based studies, and it also requires that federal agencies, such as the National Institute of Justice, engage in research regarding violence against women.

The battered women’s movement ultimately brought to light many acts and situations that were ignored by the law. First, the movement identified the dilemma of the victims who remained bonded to their intimate partners who beat them. The research on the cycle of violence, learned helplessness, and battered woman syndrome helped to define and give credence to the predicaments in which battered women found themselves. Second, the movement defined and recognized the types of violence and the heightened probability of repeated abuse that is reflected in the cycles of violence particular to partner abuse. Third, the movement challenged the law’s reluctance to treat this violence with the same concern that other violence received under the criminal law, and this reluctance has been partially overcome through legislative action. For example, in 1976, civil protection orders marked the commencement of modern domestic violence law in which victims could seek protection by the court on an emergency basis. The protection order typically prohibits further abuse and contact with the victims, including telephone contact.

Other grassroots efforts were aimed at developing shelters and providing services for domestic violence victims. In the 1980s, programs were developed and services offered that also recognized that wife beating is a crime. Shelters create a “safety net” for women escaping abusive domestic situations, and shelters and/or battery hotlines are the first sources to which most victims turn for assistance. Finally, the battered women’s movement, along with the feminist movement, focused its efforts on educating the public about domestic violence and changing society’s perceptions about victims of battering.

Finding a Way Out: Prevention and Intervention Efforts

As Walker’s cycle of violence theory illustrates, intimate partner violence is a problem that will continue to exist unless it is recognized and additional efforts are made to eradicate it. In her most

important work, *The Battered Woman*, Walker described her theory of battering and prescribed various options for helping victims out of violent situations. She provided two intervention prescriptions: primary and secondary intervention. Primary intervention involves mostly public education in which consultation with agencies, institutions, and other support groups is done to ensure that services are in place and efforts are being made to assist victims of intimate partner violence. Walker specifically identified four things that should be done: eliminate sex-role stereotypes during childhood, reduce violence in our society, reduce harshness in child discipline, and understand the victimization process of battered women and other victims. In terms of secondary intervention, Walker noted that shelters, or safe houses, need to provide immediate, temporary housing to victims. In addition, mental health services could also assist victims in dealing with the effects of battering, which can include posttraumatic stress disorder, self-esteem problems, depression, and other emotional and physical problems. At the moment, it is critical to address the immediate effects of battering on individuals, but on a larger scale, what is necessary is a societal and cultural transformation that recognizes that battering, in

any form, is not acceptable. Only then will the cycle of violence be broken.

Sue Cote Escobar

See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Intimate Partner Violence

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DATING VIOLENCE

Victims of intimate partner violence can be found within all cultures, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds. The term *intimate partner violence* often draws forth an image of a husband battering his wife. However, violence in relationships is not exclusive to married couples. The term *dating violence* is used when discussing violence that occurs among dating couples, and most often refers to young adults' and adolescents' experiences with intimate partner violence. This entry gives the definition of dating violence and examines theories regarding its causes. It then describes the prevalence, potential risk factors, and consequences of dating violence. The entry concludes with a discussion of prevention and intervention methods.

Definition

As with intimate partner violence, dating violence is comprised of several components: (1) physical acts of aggression or force, which range from minor acts of violence such as pushing and shoving to severe acts of violence such as punching, kicking, choking, or the use of a weapon; (2) sexual violence, which includes forceful sexual acts ranging from the use of physical force to verbal coercion; (3) emotional abuse, which includes calling a partner degrading names to eliciting feelings of worthlessness, isolation, and disempowerment; and (4) coercion and isolation, which include controlling the partner's mobility, finances, and social

networks. All of these components contribute to dating violence and can be examined independently or in conjunction with one another. However, dating violence research has focused primarily on physical violence.

The perpetration of dating violence is not exclusive to males or females and both can be victims of dating violence. Furthermore, dating violence can be found within heterosexual relationships and same-sex relationships. Although differences can be found among the type of violence used, rates of violence, and motivation with regard to gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and culture, no one group is immune to the victimization or perpetration of dating violence.

Theories

Many theories of the etiology of dating violence have been proposed, of which the most commonly discussed are social learning theory, attachment theory, feminist theory, gender symmetry, and coercive control. These are presented below.

Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory of dating violence is derived from Albert Bandura's theory of social learning, which states that individual patterns of behavior are developed by observing the behavior of others. Children model their behaviors predominantly after their primary caregiver and important figures in their lives. When applied to dating violence, social learning theory hypothesizes

that individuals who commit acts of violence against their intimate partner learned this behavior by observing a primary caregiver in a violent relationship. Regardless of whether their primary caregiver was the perpetrator of violence or the victim of the violence, the child internalizes this behavior as a way of interacting with an intimate partner.

In 1989, David Riggs and K. Daniel O'Leary developed a model based upon social learning theory of dating violence, which postulates that both contextual and situational factors contribute to dating violence. Their model stresses the importance of both having observed partner violence at an early age and physical victimization by a parent or caregiver. If the child accepts violence as an appropriate reaction to conflict, he or she may act out violently to solve conflicts in a variety of contexts, including intimate relationships. Situational factors that include alcohol and/or drug use, problem-solving skills, the partner's level of aggression, and the length of the relationship are further postulated to increase risk of violence within a relationship.

Attachment Theory

Similar to social learning theory, attachment theory emphasizes the importance of early childhood relationships with caregivers. Developed by John Bowlby in 1969, attachment theory differs from social learning theory in that it is not the observation of the caregivers' intimate relationship that develops inappropriate perceptions of conflict resolution, but rather the actual relationship between the caregiver and child that forms a child's image of intimate relationships. Therefore, if a child and caregiver have a relationship that includes violence, the child will later reenact this dynamic with an intimate partner in a dating relationship.

While many dating violence researchers assume a social learning or attachment theory perspective, few have directly tested models based on theory. Moreover, both social learning and attachment theory are criticized for not taking into account power disparities between partners and people's ability to modulate their own behaviors separate from their history of abuse.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theories of dating violence argue that men hold greater power than do women in most

areas of life, that this patriarchal power is socially sanctioned, and that relationship violence is used to ensure male-female domination. Crime statistics, which indicate higher levels of male-to-female dating violence than female-to-male dating violence support traditional feminist theories. However data from community and college populations challenge this theory: These data find that young men and women are equally likely to use relational violence. The debates on whether men use violence to control women unidirectionally or whether both men and women use violence to exert mutual control has stimulated two different schools of thought, the gender symmetry school and the coercive control school, which uses fundamental principles of feminist theory.

Gender Symmetry

Proponents of gender symmetry theory question the assumption that men are socially privileged over women and instead argue that individual differences in power sharing exist that are not rooted in culturally sanctioned gender difference. Gender symmetrists argue that the perpetration of dating violence is equally likely to be initiated by men and women for the same reasons and that both parties should be held accountable. Most gender symmetrists agree that although both male and female partners may commit violence, males tend to cause greater injury. The strongest support for gender symmetry comes from young dating couples where data suggest that men and women use equal, albeit mild levels of violence. The strongest critique of gender symmetry comes from cases where there is extreme violence and or battering, sexual abuse and femicide research. In all of these more severe instances, most women do not use reciprocal violence. When they do retaliate in self-defense rather than initiate, they rarely acquire power through violence and are either severely injured or killed by male partners. Taken together, this body of research suggests that men continue to dominate over women and that relational violence is a form of control. In response, gender symmetry proponents argue that battered women populations and other victim populations represent the extreme end of violence and are not representative of dating violence.

Coercive Control

This theory argues that the definition of relational violence has a misplaced focus on physical acts of violence and should instead measure who has greater coercive power in the relationship. Proponents further argue that men typically have greater coercive power because of traditional gender roles and societal validation of such roles. Further, while physical and sexual abuse are correlated with coercive control, abuse can happen in the absence of coercion and successful coercion may preclude the need to use violence to control. Because this theory has only recently received attention, research in this area is new. Existing data support the notion of coercive control in older cohabiting couples, but the presence of coercive control has not yet been tested in younger dating couples.

Prevalence

Estimates of the occurrence of dating violence differ substantially across studies and range from 12% to 87%. When assessing the prevalence of intimate partner violence as a whole, numerous studies have found women use physical violence at similar rates as men and in some studies even higher rates. However, data drawn from crime statistics indicate that males are almost the sole perpetrators of partner violence. Research focused on the prevalence of dating violence finds rates among college students to be as high as 20% to 50%. In 2005, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that 43 per 1,000 females between the ages of 18 and 24 who are enrolled in college fall victim to violent crime annually.

Most research has focused on heterosexual dating college samples, and a lesser number focusing on the prevalence of dating violence in community samples of same-sex relationships. Their findings indicate that those in same-sex relationships experience dating violence at similar or even higher rates. These findings have increased awareness for the need to expand inquiry on the nature, type, and dynamic of violence within same-sex dating relationships.

Risk Factors

Risk factors for dating violence can be conceptualized as family-level risks, individual-level risks,

community-level risks, and larger, societal-level risks. At the family level, the most commonly noted risk factor is prior exposure to either witnessing partner violence between caretakers or experiencing child abuse. At the individual level, both past history of dating violence and an individual's personality or propensity toward the use of aggression is a risk factor for dating violence. At the community level, residents in neighborhoods with higher levels of crime and poverty experience higher levels of dating violence. Finally, at a societal level, risk factors include patriarchal values, inequities of power among gender, and normative beliefs surrounding violence. Few studies examine the intersectionalities across the levels, which closely correlate to researchers disciplinary loyalties, and debates remain about the degree to which each of these factors impact dating violence.

Consequences

As with partner violence, dating violence can result in severe physical and psychological injury. Victims of dating violence often report lowered self-esteem, disempowerment, and feelings of isolation. All of these factors may result in more severe forms of depression. The cycle of ill effects may be intensified because dating violence may impede a person in taking steps to end the violence or leave the abuser and may isolate that person from outside support systems due to feelings of shame.

Prevention and Intervention

Most prevention programs focus on educating young couples to communicate effectively without violence, as well as in effective conflict resolution and relationship equality. Other programs seek to teach appropriate perceptions of dating violence. Interventions with individuals currently experiencing dating violence typically involve individual and/or couples counseling. To date, it is not clear which strategies will lead to higher prevention. Efforts to intervene once violence has occurred can take many forms and depends on the therapist's training. As such, strategies may address the power imbalance in the relationship, as well as focusing on anger control for the perpetrator and trauma healing and supportive resources for the victim.

Dating violence remains a widespread problem, affecting numerous young adults and adolescents. Through continued research and increased awareness, dating violence may be understood in greater depth and lead toward the prevention of this epidemic.

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See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS/CTS2); Domestic Violence; Femicide; Intimate Partner Violence; Male Victims of Partner Violence; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys

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death notification is the process undertaken to share with a surviving family member or members that a loved one has died. Whether the death was expected or unexpected, the task is a difficult one and carries with it a host of emotions for both the receiver of the information and the notifier.

Typically, death notifications are carried out by coroners, medical examiner office staff, or police officers. Few of these individuals receive adequate training concerning the best and most effective approaches to carrying out a death notification. Rather, death notification techniques tend to be developed through practice. While trial and error can be an effective means of developing best practices, in this case it may lead to deleterious consequences for notifiers without the benefit of sufficient training as well as for survivors.

While effective training can produce a more competent and confident notifier capable of addressing the myriad survivor needs, no level of training can truly prepare a criminal justice professional for the unpleasant task of death notification. However, the following discussion is intended to inform the reader of some practices that might ease the difficulties found within this role. It is not intended as a substitution for professional training within this area.

Death Notification Literature

It has only been in the past 30 years that most death notification literature has been published, and the literature on this topic has tended to focus on three areas. First, there have been practical pieces provided in law enforcement trade journals, and training keys published by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) are available. Second, there are publications dealing with a variety of criminal justice personnel who deliver “bad news,” including Deputy U.S. Marshals who serve arrest warrants. Third, scholarly articles and book chapters addressing the psychological nature of crises and effective notification techniques based on a clear understanding of crisis theory are also available. Some training videos have also been made on this topic, one of which is by Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD).

DEATH NOTIFICATION

The death notification task is one of the most difficult and dreaded within criminal justice. The

Preparation for Death Notification

Most of the literature on death notification directs the reader to the importance of understanding the

nature of personal crises. Since the death of a loved one is one of the most traumatic experiences that might befall a person, professionals' grasp of crisis responses to a death notification is essential. While death notifications can follow either expected deaths (e.g., attended deaths in hospitals and other health care facilities) or unexpected deaths (e.g., accidents, suicides, homicides, and natural causes), death notifications by criminal justice professionals tend to be conducted after deaths from accidents and natural deaths that are not expected. This adds to the difficulty of death notifications, as the notifier is bringing crisis-producing news to the receiver of the information.

It is advisable for a professional to do the notification in person. If this is not possible due to the involvement of different jurisdictions, it is usually possible for a professional to find a trustworthy and experienced person in another jurisdiction who is willing to give a notification. This is sometimes necessary when a person dies far from where the surviving family members are located. In this case as in other cases, it is essential for the notifier or investigator to have all the necessary information about the incident and the circumstances surrounding the death.

Once all information about the case is assembled, the notifier should take time to prepare to deliver the notification. There are two key reasons that time and attention should be given to preparation. First, while the notification may be one of many a professional has delivered or will deliver, individual notifications have a lasting impression on the receivers of the news. A second reason is less obvious. The death notification may perhaps be the only crisis situation criminal justice practitioners encounter that involves bringing the crisis-producing news. In most if not all other crisis situations, the practitioner is responding to a crisis already in process. For these reasons, the death notification provides the notifier with a unique opportunity to fully prepare and to try to anticipate possible responses.

Delivering the News

While a number of authors and trainers have provided specific steps or phases to the death notification, most experts agree that it is best to provide the news of a death in "doses." In a dosing procedure,

the notifier provides information in smaller pieces in an effort to allow the receiver of the information time to incorporate its reality. The first steps of a notification must always be to identify oneself, gain entry to the location where the notification will take place, request that the receiver to be seated, and confirm that the correct party is being notified. Concerning confirmation, a simple statement such as "Are you Mr. Smith, the father of Virginia Smith who lives at [address]" can be sufficient to determine that the correct party is being addressed. Once this is established, the notification can proceed.

While there is little one can do to ease the shock of the receiving the information that a loved one has died, giving the information in doses can assist the receiver. One can begin with a statement such as, "Your daughter was involved in an accident this evening," "Your husband was involved in an accident at work," or "The police and EMTs were called to your brother's home." Once there is acknowledgment from the receiver that he or she has understood the statement, one can proceed by giving the receiver slightly more information, until it is appropriate to share the news of the death. Ideally, the notifier wishes for the receiver to be ready to receive this message. If the receiver asks if the person has died, this can then be confirmed. The purpose of this dosing procedure is to allow the receiver an opportunity to incorporate the news of tragedy and to adjust to the information provided. The sample dialogue below illustrates the process that follows the initiation of the conversation:

Notifier: I have some bad news for you.

Receiver: Yes, what is it?

Notifier: Your son John was involved in a traffic accident.

Receiver: What happened?!

Notifier: John was driving down Highway 2 and his car went off the road and hit a tree.

Receiver: Is he okay?

Notifier: No, he is not. He suffered very serious injuries.

Receiver: How serious?

Notifier: I am sorry to inform you that John died of his injuries.

As can be seen from this sample dialogue, several techniques are incorporated into the notification process. First, the notifier sets the stage at the very beginning with the phrase "bad news." This sets the tone for the conversation, making it clear that the visit deals with a serious matter. Second, the notifier uses the name of the deceased several times. This is important because it maintains the focus on the fate of the deceased. Third, the information is provided to the receiver in doses that allow the individual time to digest each conversational exchange.

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See also Bereavement Process; Victim Support Groups

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DEFENDANTS' RIGHTS VERSUS VICTIMS' RIGHTS

The ability of the criminal justice system to simultaneously deliver defendants' and victims' rights has been a concern throughout history. In the United States, defendants' rights are upheld by the

Constitution; victims' rights have more recently been entered into the system through state statutes and constitutions as well as legislation of the federal government. A brief history of the development of victims' rights is provided in this entry, as well as a more in-depth examination of defendants' and victims' rights that includes arguments for and against formal inclusion of victims' rights in the criminal justice system, specifically the court process.

History

The United States built its penal institution on English common law traditions, including the belief that the criminal court process is one that puts the federal or state government's interests above the interests of the individual. Consequently, the criminal court is designed for the collective "we" of society, not the specific victim against whom the crime was committed. Historically, victims were not of great concern or importance unless they were needed to act as witnesses and provide testimony. Traditionally, victims' needs were not addressed through the criminal court process because the rights of victims were not as highly regarded as defendant rights. Subsequently, the civil court process was created to aid individuals in addressing personal wrongs perpetrated against them, including the ability to gain restitution from criminal perpetrators. Hence, the United States constructed its criminal proceedings not to honor victims but to shield society.

Due to the possibility of government and court officials misusing the power bestowed upon them during the criminal court process, checks had to be placed on officials' use of power to protect defendants who could easily become subject to abuse. This situation contributed to the development of the Bill of Rights to ensure that the federal government could not remove rights from citizens while they were engaged in the court process as defendants.

Although concerns existed about the importance of the victim's role in the criminal court process and about the victim's rights, these were not deemed important issues until the mid-1900s. The concern for victims' rights and rise of the victims' rights movement correspond with the civil rights movements in the 1980s and 1990s. The push for

victims' rights also was in response to the 1982 Presidential Task Force on Crime, which asserted that victims were being mistreated by the criminal justice system and made recommendations for balancing the rights of defendants and victims.

Currently, all 50 states have adopted legislation either by statute or constitutional amendment that provides victims' rights during the criminal court process. In 2004 the federal government passed the Crime Victims' Rights Act, or what has been termed the Justice for All Act; however, the ability and intention of the state and federal courts to implement victims' rights has been questioned. It is therefore important to understand the controversy and arguments for and against victims' rights being placed in the criminal court process, as well as why opinions exist as to the inability of defendants' and victims' rights being simultaneously honored without the erosion of defendants' rights.

Defendants' Rights

Federal and state due process rights are afforded to defendants by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, but they are also based on a lengthy history of English common law. These traditions support the separation of private and public matters between the civil and criminal courts in order to ensure that defendants and society are protected. Further, the criminal court process must honor several protections and rights of defendants as outlined in constitutional amendments. Specifically, defendants are granted the following due process rights during criminal investigations and court functions:

- Fourth Amendment—protection against all unreasonable searches and seizures,
- Sixth Amendment—right to a speedy trial and to be tried by an impartial judge and/or jury,
- Eighth Amendment—excessive bail shall not be imposed nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

Further, these rights are ensured under due process clauses of the Fifth Amendment (federal) and Fourteenth Amendment (state). These rights guarantee that defendants are not taken advantage of or persecuted by the government, criminal justice system, or criminal court process.

The crux of the arguments against placing victims' rights in the criminal court process is that this will erode and diminish the courts' capacity for ensuring the above due process rights and protecting society as it fights for the collective "we." The specific concerns with respect to the erosion of defendants' rights are as follows:

- The Fourth Amendment can be eroded if emotional or contextual information is allowed into the court process. This passes undue information to the judge and/or jury that the defendant was not aware of at the time of the offense and is similar to letting unreasonable evidence into the legal process.
- The Sixth Amendment is of concern in that it affects the court's ability to provide a speedy trial. If victims must be notified of proceedings and have a right to be heard at crucial decision points of the process, the progress will be slowed and proceedings will take more time as more information will be provided. In addition, allowing the victims to present their emotions and concerns during trial and sentencing may unduly bias the jury and/or judge and impact the ability to remain impartial and concentrate and the legal facts of the case.
- The Eighth Amendment is of concern because if impartiality is compromised, bias may be added to the system, which ultimately alters the type and length of sentences received. Thus, if a judge or jury is swayed by the emotion of the victim, it may result in harsher and disparate sentences.

Victims' Rights

Historically, victims' rights were ignored, but recently they have been placed into the criminal court process as legitimate rights to be upheld at the federal and state level. States first provided victims' rights in the latter part of the 20th century. Wisconsin led the movement in 1979 by creating a statute offering victims' rights, and California passed the first state constitutional amendment in 1982. Currently, all 50 states offer victims' rights protections in criminal courts. Although states vary as what they protect, the following general rights are afforded to victims in all states: the right to compensation, the right to notification of court appearances, and the

right to submission of a victim impact statement before sentencing.

This state response urged the federal government to place victims on their agenda and the Presidential Task Force of 1982 launched the federal concern over victims by declaring that victims were being subjugated by an uncaring and unsympathetic system and defined an agenda for restoring a balance between the rights of defendants and victims. It called for increased participation by victims throughout criminal justice processes and for restitution in all cases where victims suffered a financial loss. Federal legislation has since addressed victims' rights through the Victims' Rights and Restitution Act of 1990, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, and the Crime Victims' Rights Act of 2004.

The Victims' Rights and Restitution Act of 1990 gave crime victims in federal cases the right to notification of court proceedings and the right to attend them, the right to notice of changes in a defendant's detention status, the right to consult with prosecutors, and the right of protection against offender aggression. The omnibus Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 gave victims in federal cases the right to speak at sentencing hearings, made restitution mandatory in sexual assault cases, and expanded funding for local victim services. The Crime Victims' Rights Act of 2004 provides the most comprehensive protection to victims, including the right to be heard during critical states of the process, the right to attend court proceedings except if it may alter personal witness testimony, the right to be notified of all court dates within a reasonable time frame, and the right to be treated with fairness, dignity, and respect at all times.

Concerns and Controversies

Although the victims' rights now protected by state and federal criminal courts do not appear overly taxing, many concerns and controversies exist as to why criminal courts need to afford rights to victims. The overarching question is whether victims' rights and defendants' rights are compatible and if both can be protected without the erosion of defendant due process rights. This section addresses the arguments against and for providing victims' rights in the criminal court process.

Arguments Against Victims' Rights

In addition to the due process arguments addressed above, several other arguments have been made against victims' rights. Some argue in favor of purposively separating the victim from the process, in line with the historical roots of the court and common law traditions. They believe that victims' rights simply do not have a place in criminal court proceedings, and that as long as the facts of the case are presented and societal concerns are addressed, the victim has been served. Further, the argument has been made that since the purpose of the civil court is to address private wrongs, functions such as restitution should be a civil not a criminal matter. In addition, some argue that since the criminal court is already clogged with cases and defendants who must be protected, there is no time or resources for victim concerns. Finally, one last concern is the inability to properly define who is and is not a victim when taking into account all direct and indirect harm caused by the offense. This has the potential of making the list of potential victims limitless. To illustrate, if someone has been found guilty of murder, it is necessary to ask if the direct victim who was killed was the only victim. Indirect victims could include the victim's family, friends, employer, co-workers, and anyone attached to the individual in anyway. If these are all victims, do they all have rights to be heard and involved in the criminal court process, and if not, where should the line be drawn?

Arguments for Victims' Rights

The strongest argument for victims' rights rests with the belief that victims should be engaged in and allowed to participate in the criminal court process because they were the individuals who were wronged. To leave victims out of the process increases feelings of victimization and beliefs that the system is uncaring. Further, victims should not be forgotten, and allowed a chance to heal and have their voice heard by the judge and/or jury instead of making crime nothing more than the facts. It is argued that crime is a psychologically draining event that diminishes individuals' trust in society; however, when individuals are allowed to take part in the criminal trial process, they can gain closure for the traumatic event and gain satisfaction and confidence with the societal function

and process of court. In addition, if the victim remains intertwined with the process, restorative functions and mediation can benefit not only the victim but also the defendant. Finally, victims will be more understanding of the criminal court process and have less questions and concerns about what happened and why.

Implementation

Although rights have been afforded to victims at federal and state levels, scholars, academics, politicians, judges, victims' rights groups, and others still debate over the necessity and compatibility of defendants' and victims' rights in the criminal court process. It can be simply stated that whether one is for or against victims' rights, implementation of these rights is the main concern for both groups. The argument can be boiled down to whether defendants' and victims' rights are compatible and if criminal courts have the ability, safeguards, and construction to afford to provide the victim rights without sacrificing those of the defendant. Ultimately, implementation is of urgent concern, as it is now the duty of all state and federal courts to provide and protect rights of the defendant and victim.

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See also Civil Litigation; Court Appointed Special Advocates for Children; Double Victimization; President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982; Victim-Offender Mediation

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DEFENSIBLE SPACE

Defensible space is the term introduced into criminological literature by North American architect Oscar Newman to describe residential environments that are designed and utilized in ways that maximize their security and protection against crime. Defensible spaces are created when the design and layout of the physical environment is manipulated in such a way that it facilitates the supervision, maintenance, and overall control of residential spaces by residents themselves. In this way, defensible space is aimed at using physical design and layout characteristics of the environment to obstruct opportunities for crime, disorder, and other related outcomes by generating opportunities for residents to defend their residential space. Thus, Newman's defensible space theory was put forward as the first comprehensive theoretical framework of its kind to clarify the ways in which environmental characteristics of a place can help explain crime and victimization patterns.

The components of defensible space include *territoriality*, *natural surveillance*, and *image and milieu*, all of which explain the various ways in which people's behavior and interaction with space are determined by their responses to environmental cues. These components offer explicit strategies for minimizing the risk of victimization in residential environments by manipulating people's perception of environmental cues and determining their behavioral response to those cues. The concept of defensible space, therefore, naturally fuses together the areas of victimization and crime prevention as it explains how the design of residential spaces either increases or decreases the risk of victimization, while simultaneously offering explicit techniques for preventing various types of crime that occur in residential areas. This entry explains the tenets of defensible space theory in greater detail, engaging in a critical discussion about how the theory has developed, exploring what it reveals about crime victimization patterns, and discussing how it has formed the foundation for internationally applied crime prevention initiatives.

Dimensions of Defensible Space

The creation of defensible space is dependent on the confluence of four critical dimensions, all of which

can be activated through the implementation of specific environmental design/layout interventions.

Territoriality

The first component central to the creation of defensible space is *territoriality*. Territoriality refers to the use of the physical environment to create clearly defined zones of territorial control and influence. These zones are created primarily through the use of physical and symbolic barriers and are intended to be easily perceived by local inhabitants and outsiders. Physical barriers include walls, fences, and gateways, while symbolic barriers include hedges, shrubs, and other forms of plantings or landscaping, as well as property signs and nameplates. These physical and symbolic barriers are used as territorial markings that serve three important functions: (1) to make marked distinctions between public, semipublic, and private space by using barriers that clearly delineate where public space ends and private space begins, and in doing so, (2) to psychologically convey the message of restricted access to private spaces by using barriers to direct the flow of movement along public spaces and away from private spaces, and finally, (3) to communicate to outsiders that residential space is well managed, cared for, and controlled by its inhabitants.

Territoriality, therefore, is central to the creation of defensible space, as the physical and symbolic barriers that it employs are vital to the subdivision of space into smaller zones of control and influence. Smaller, more identifiable zones of control enhance place management capabilities by residents, as they determine what behavior is or is not acceptable in that delimited space. As a consequence, this makes it easier to detect crime or related behavior that is not part of the established norm. The restriction of accessibility encouraged by territoriality mechanisms also reduces the flow of movement within defensible spaces, making it easier to identify the users of space and detect potential offenders. Furthermore, expressions of territoriality have the potential to affect other residents' perceptions of their residential space by reinforcing a sense of community and a desire to work collectively in defense of their residential space.

Territoriality, however, can easily result in *fortressing* if physical and symbolic barriers are used

excessively to encourage privacy, as this can compromise the visibility between private and public space and therefore undermine the defensibility of an area.

Natural Surveillance

The second essential component of defensible space is *natural surveillance*, or the opportunities provided by the design and layout of the physical environment that enable residents to carry out surveillance over residential space. This concept is hinged on bringing the residential environment under the control of its residents by maximizing their potential to supervise residential space during the course of regular daily activities within the home. This can be achieved, in the first instance, by ensuring that residences are designed to face each other and overlook public space, so that doors and windows are oriented toward the street. This creates the opportunity for residents to clearly and easily monitor the activities occurring in the space immediately surrounding their homes.

In the second instance, natural surveillance is achieved by ensuring that the lines of sight between private residences and the public street are clear and unobstructed by trees, plants, or walls. In light of the mechanisms it relies on for effective functioning, natural surveillance can easily be compromised if physical and symbolic barriers are used in excess as a means of barricading properties for privacy. The natural surveillance techniques are designed to help maximize the visibility of an area by ensuring that residents are likely to have a clear view unto their own property, the properties of others, and the wider residential area when they look out of their windows or open their doors. This increased visibility of private residences and the semipublic and public space around them contributes to the creation of defensible space by (1) increasing the likelihood of detecting potential offenders or potentially deviant behavior within a residential space, and (2) reducing the fear of crime and increasing the sense of security among users because they are under the constant supervision of other residents. In this way, natural surveillance also helps to encourage the mechanisms that foster territoriality, as it boosts the ability to exercise territorial control and the desire to act in defense of residential space.

Image and Milieu

The final components of defensible space are *image and milieu*, or the capacity of the layout, management, and geographical location of the physical environment to create a perception of the aesthetic image and reputation of a place. This dimension of defensible space suggests that the image of a place provides a symbol of the lifestyle and degree of control of its inhabitants, and this image is reinforced by the milieu or the types of areas and facilities that surround it. As a result of the aforementioned factors, image and milieu are mechanisms that are dependent on the outward appearance of a place, its location, its layout, the ways in which it is utilized, and the type of activity that is encouraged therein.

Defensible space theory suggests, for example, that if a residential place has the appearance of being abandoned, run-down, and badly maintained (indicated by environmental cues, such as graffiti, broken windows, or general disrepair) it runs the risk of being negatively differentiated from adjacent areas, and therefore, more susceptible to criminal victimization. Not only does it communicate low levels of resident care and control over their space to outsiders, it also reinforces negative territorial attitudes by increasing fear of crime and resulting in residents' withdrawal from caring for and maintaining their surrounding space. On the other hand, if a residential area is clean and well managed and maintained, it creates the perception that residents are invested in the care and control of their space, and serves to reinforce community pride and the desire to utilize communal spaces and to participate in the continued maintenance and defense of space. Adjacent areas are said to benefit from this image of safety simply because of their proximity and association with nearby areas.

Analysis

The preceding explanation of the dimensions of defensible space highlights the ways in which the concept represents a fusion of psychological, planning/architectural, and criminological perspectives that aid in illuminating some of the ways in which the physical environment can be used to provide mechanisms that reduce the chance of criminal victimizations at places. These defensible

space mechanisms have a dual function that serves to (1) empower the resident to become a capable guardian over potential targets and target areas, and (2) remove opportunities for crime as they are perceived by the potential offender through a series of cues that are provided by the physical environment.

In this way, defensible space can be viewed as a framework that suggests ways of reducing opportunities for crime by increasing opportunities for informal guardianship, as it draws attention to the importance of citizen participation in crime prevention and control. This highlights the natural connection that exists between defensible space and the opportunity perspectives on crime, specifically the *routine activity* (or *routine activities*) and *rational choice* approaches. Defensible space considers residents in the same way that guardians are conceived in routine activity theory, as informal control agents against crime. Much of the explanation in this entry thus far has focused on the how residential guardians or informal control agents can exploit the physical environment to enhance their ability to defend their space.

Defensible space also provides the alternative perspective of the offender, explaining potential offenders' perceptions of crime opportunities in terms of risk, effort, and reward, along lines similar to rational choice and routine activity theories. Defensible space suggests that crime can be prevented in residential spaces by manipulating offenders' perception of the risk that they will be detected. This is achieved by using territoriality, natural surveillance, and image cues to increase the offender's perception that the residents are in control of the area, and that he or she is, therefore, more likely to be caught in the act and apprehended in that area. Thus, defensible space emerges as a system that offers residents the potential to gain control over their residential environment, while outsiders and potential offenders are provided diminished opportunities to misbehave.

Perhaps one of the most vital contributions of defensible space is the clarification it provides in explaining *where* people are likely to become crime victims. Defensible space essentially shifts the focus from *who* is being victimized, and *by whom*, to *where* the victimization takes place, as it draws attention to the fact that physical place

characteristics play a significant role in determining vulnerability to victimization; it may also help explain spatial patterns in offending.

Development and Details

Defensible Space as a Sociospatial Concept

Notwithstanding its contribution to our understanding about crime prevention at places, defensible space theory has weathered criticisms about its vague definition of concepts and the absence of systematic explanation of how defensible space is perceived at the macro level following its implementation at singular units. The most forceful critiques came from those who argued that the concept of defensible space promoted ideas of physical determinism that assumed fully committed residents and neglected the importance of residents' social characteristics in creating defensible space.

Testing of the theory and subsequent developments in its conceptualization have since revealed that there are indeed dimensions of defensible space that go beyond the physical dimensions previously highlighted. Tests of territoriality in particular revealed socioeconomic factors—including the homogeneity of residents and the extent of social ties among residents—to be key variables that interact with physical defensible space factors to affect the extent of residents control over their space and the amount of crime experienced there. Several other empirical studies have shown that the extent to which residents in an area know each other and the degree of their social cohesion can function as a protective factor against criminal victimization at places. Social psychologists have theorized that the development of these types of social bonds can also be promoted by the physical design of the environment by including communal areas that encourage residents to use public space more readily, and therefore create increased opportunities for social interaction.

The concepts of image and milieu have also been developed further by research that examines the extent to which the image of a place and its land-use patterns affect residents' ability to exercise control over their space. There is much debate about whether the defensibility of an area is negatively affected by a high volume of daily users. Defensible space is based on the assumption that

insiders or residents act as guardians or crime controllers, while outsiders represent the potential threat to defensibility. In line with this assumption, defensible space suggests that one of the main ways in which an area can be made more defensible is by controlling its accessibility. Restricting accessibility results in limiting the volume of users of space, thereby restricting the opportunities available for offending and making it easier to carry out natural surveillance of space.

This perspective is in direct conflict with that expressed by Jane Jacobs regarding safe urban planning. Jacobs argued in favor of mixed and diverse land use in order to encourage a steady and consistent flow of users, whom she characterized as extra “eyes on the street,” to provide a secondary source of natural surveillance and contribute to the control of crime. There is, however, a growing body of literature from the field of environmental criminology that demonstrates that increased accessibility and nonresidential land uses serve, under certain conditions, to create a negative effect on resident control over those places, resulting in higher levels of crime as well as physical and social incivilities.

Defensible space has thus evolved into a sociospatial concept that draws on the interaction of several different but interrelated dimensions of space that include physical/spatial and social/demographic components. In so doing, it has highlighted a network of manipulable environmental factors that provide a promising avenue for place-specific crime prevention initiatives.

Practical Application and Policy Implications

Defensible space highlights the roles of two critical actors in the crime event—the capable guardian and the potential offender. In doing so, it suggests the importance of (1) the role of the capable guardian in contributing to the creation of defensible space by blocking opportunities for crime that are available in a residential space, and (2) the ways in which the behavior of capable guardians may be used to manipulate the potential offender's perception of the risks and effort required to commit a crime in that space. This structure intuitively lends itself to the situational crime prevention framework, as it highlights specific strategies that can be

employed in residential contexts to thwart crime opportunities. These strategies involve elevating the offender's perception of the risk and effort involved in committing crime and thus ultimately lead to deterrence.

Consequently, defensible space has been used as the justification for the proliferation of the gated community and cul-de-sac configurations, both of which are viewed as residential designs that implement many of the design and layout principles highlighted by defensible space. The most noticeable of these is the limitation of accessibility to outsiders through the use of single entry and exit points, and the layout of residences so that they face each other and facilitate natural surveillance that maximizes coverage over the residential area.

Perhaps even more significantly, over the course of the last 30 years defensible space has been adopted as the cornerstone for crime prevention initiatives and housing design and planning policies all over the world, including crime prevention through environmental design in North America, New Zealand, South Africa, and parts of Australia and Europe, and its adaptations, such as Designing Out Crime in Western Australia and Europe, Secured by Design in the United Kingdom, and Politiekeurmerk Velilig Wonen in the Netherlands. These initiatives systematically employ defensible space guidelines in new constructions as well as the redesign of housing and housing developments, commercial establishments and shopping centers, and institutions such as schools and prisons. These defensible space-based initiatives have also been adopted at large-scale social events and ceremonies as mechanisms through which crime can be controlled.

However, little is known about what specific types of victimization, beyond property victimizations, are effectively controlled by defensible space. While its effectiveness in deterring property crime is to be expected, it is unclear whether its effectiveness extends to other types of crime, such as street violence or domestic abuse. In this way, the limits of the preventive capabilities of defensible space have yet to be explored. On the whole, empirical studies evaluating these defensible space-based initiatives suggest that they do demonstrate some level of success in controlling crime, although very little is understood about why these initiatives are successful, and what specific features of defensible

space result in lower crime levels. The environmental interventions and the mechanisms that stimulate them as outlined by defensible space are so fluid, and closely interconnected, that it creates challenges for isolating discrete variables and their direct effect on crime and related outcomes. For many years, the academic community has been concerned with testing defensible space theory, and investigating whether or not it works to control crime. Now that the relationship between environmental design and crime has been demonstrated empirically, and some consensus has been established in terms of its effectiveness as an avenue for crime prevention, the future of defensible space rests on developing our understanding of why it works.

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See also Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention; Situational Crime Prevention, Critiques of

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DETACHED YOUTH WORK INITIATIVES

Detached youth work is a unique approach to connecting with disadvantaged, at-risk youth in the community. Targeted youth include those who are not reached by typical youth initiatives. Youth workers meet with adolescents and young adults in areas where youth typically congregate, such as on the street, in parks, and outside stores and shopping malls. This entry provides an overview of detached youth work initiatives, a brief discussion of the evolution of these programs, and a comment on the current research on these programs.

Overview

Detached youth work initiatives, also called youth outreach initiatives, encompass a broad array of programs and services designed to facilitate the personal, emotional, and social development of young people. These can include informal conversations, drama productions, workshops, service agencies referrals, advocacy, transportation, and residential programs. Often times these services focus on issues pertinent to young people, such as racism, drugs and alcohol, sexuality, education, employment, homelessness, bullying, abuse, and delinquency. Many programs aim to empower teens to make better decisions by giving them tools to make informed decisions.

History and Evolution

Detached youth work initiatives began to take place in the United States in the latter part of the

1800s. Individuals, often religious groups and child advocates, who were concerned with the welfare of street youth began creating clubs or groups for these children to join as well as providing residential settings for these children to live. While youth clubs were the most common form of youth work, other individuals found themselves being approached by youth and asked for help. One such encounter resulted in the creation of the now well-known Boy Scouts of America.

Throughout the early 1900s, more and more groups began forming and expanding. Most of these groups were highly organized, requiring youth to be present during specified hours for predetermined activities. The Federated Boys Clubs was one such club that developed in Boston during this time period. It is now known as the Boys and Girls Club of America. It was also at this time that the Girls Scouts of America was formed.

Following World War II, these types of arrangements began to change to reflect the shifting social climate. Youth were allowed to “drop-in” when they desired and clubs began allowing mixed-sex membership. Despite concern among policy makers, it was decided that participation among youth in these programs should remain voluntary for fear that some form of premilitary training would result if mandatory participation was instated. In later years, some youth even created their own clubs, such as the Salinas Warlords Youth Outreach Project. This project was created by former juvenile delinquents in order to help other similarly situated youth. They provided peer counselors at their youth-run service center to assist with employment, educational, and social problems. While the program received mixed reviews from the community, official agencies such as the California Youth Authority and the Office of Economic Opportunity have provided continued support.

It was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that the idea of youth work initiatives took hold in the United Kingdom, where they remain most popular. Individuals had heard about these programs developing in the United States and were interested in utilizing them in their own country. This was a particularly attractive idea to the British public, as the increasing news coverage of delinquent youth and street gangs terrorizing the streets of the United States caused them to fear problems with youth in the United Kingdom. Funding

became available for experimental programs in this area as the fear of these youth and their prospective futures increased. Unfortunately, this initial support and funding did not continue long term. Instead, youth workers began having to focus limited resources on what they believed were the worst neighborhoods with the teenagers who needed services the most.

With the increased popularity of the Internet, some youth workers are also turning to social networking Web pages to contact youth and create awareness for community groups. Youth workers are also networking on the Internet in order to share ideas and sparse resources with other youth workers across the globe. This type of contact can reduce travel expenses and can reach an entirely different group of untapped youth and colleagues. This is leading to a much different picture of how detached youth workers interact with the juveniles in their areas.

While the programs that target at-risk youth have changed over the past century, the underlying principles of youth work initiatives have also changed. Now, detached youth work initiatives have evolved into more of a case management approach. Rather than focusing on long-term support of groups of youth, youth workers spend their time providing short-term interventions to individual high-risk children or specific groups of high-risk children to meet their individual needs. While these youth work programs have declined, resources such as Alan Rogers's book, *Starting Out in Detached Work*, still exist to guide youth workers in the skills of the past.

Research to Date

At the current time, research on the topic of detached youth work initiatives remains limited. Few studies have been conducted to evaluate their effectiveness, with most publications consisting solely of program reviews. Common problems reported by youth in these programs include mental health issues, drug and alcohol abuse, and criminal activity, suggesting a great need for services in these areas. Also of concern is that most programs tend to service considerably more boys than girls. Reviews of programs also report high staff turnover, with a great reliance on volunteer workers due to the unstable nature of employment

positions that fluctuate with the programs offered. Many programs also report problems with an increasing lack of funding.

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See also Bullying; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Youth Centers; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, United States

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DETERRENCE

Deterrence can be understood as the prevention of criminal behavior through fear of punishment. Deterrence theory posits that criminal behavior can be prevented by threatening would-be offenders with punishment that produces pain or loss that outweighs any pleasure, reward, or gain associated with criminality.

Types

There are two types of deterrence, special or specific deterrence and general deterrence. Special or specific deterrence means punishing an offender with the specific intent of instilling fear in that offender so that he or she will not commit crimes in the future. Typically, special or specific deterrence

is aimed at people who have already broken the law in order to deter them from breaking the law again. General deterrence involves punishing offenders to instill fear in society generally so that others will not want to commit crimes. Special or specific deterrence is aimed at stopping a known criminal offender from committing future crimes, whereas general deterrence is aimed at teaching others a lesson about what might happen if they were to commit crimes.

Deterrence is evident throughout the fight against crime. For example, the most common punishment in the United States—probation—leads to the application of many rules to offenders who are allowed to live in the community. Offenders should be deterred from committing future crimes for fear that they might have to check in with a probation officer, abide by travel restrictions, and so forth. Similarly, individuals should be deterred by the thought of being incarcerated in prisons or jails, given that they are violent and repressive places. Any criminal who goes to prison ought to be afraid to go back. In addition, all of society should fear suffering the pains of imprisonment, which include loss of freedom, loss of autonomy, loss of privacy, loss of goods and services, and so on. Thus, crime will be specially and generally deterred. Capital punishment is built around the assumption that executions deter would-be murderers.

Deterrence is based on the logical notion that being punished for criminal activity will create fear in people so that they will not want to commit crime. Deterrence as a justification for punishment is based on several assumptions:

- Offenders are hedonistic or pleasure seeking (and criminal behavior provides pleasure or reward);
- Offenders seek to minimize costs or pains associated with crimes (i.e., they do not want to get caught and be punished); and
- Offenders are rational (i.e., they choose to commit crime after weighing the potential costs or punishments and benefits or rewards).

Many criminologists believe human beings are rational and motivated by the desire for personal pleasure and the desire to avoid pain. If these assumptions are accurate, it is perfectly logical to assume that punishment should deter would-be law-breaking behaviors. However, for punishment

to deter criminality, it must be certain, swift, and severe.

Elements of Punishment

These three elements of punishment—certainty, celerity or swiftness, and severity—are important to the effectiveness of deterrence. Certainty of punishment refers to the likelihood that punishment will follow a criminal behavior. Celerity or swiftness of punishment refers to the amount of time that passes between the crime and the punishment. When the duration is short, it can be said that punishment is swift; when the duration is long, the punishment is not swift and thus celerity is absent. Finally, severity of punishment refers to the amount of pain produced by the punishment. When the punishment is more painful than the pleasure or reward produced by the crime, one can say the punishment is severe; if the pleasure or reward of the crime outweighs the pain of the punishment, then severity of punishment is lacking.

To deter would-be offenders effectively, punishment must be certain (or at least likely), swift (or at least not delayed by months or years), and severe enough to outweigh the pleasures associated with crimes. Of these requirements, the most important is the certainty of punishment, although this varies based on the type of offense being studied, the level of sophistication of the offending population, would-be offenders associations with deviant peers, and other social influences.

The more likely that punishment is to follow a criminal act, the less likely the criminal act will occur. Here is an example: If a lightning bolt were guaranteed to strike an offender who stole property, how many thefts would there be each year? Probably not many. If it was absolutely certain that some higher being would strike a person dead upon stealing someone else's property, then everyone would know this and would refrain from committing theft in order to remain alive.

Such punishment would be certain, swift, and severe. But this example is misleading. For deterrence to be effective, it must be certain and somewhat swift, but it has to be only severe enough to outweigh the pleasure gained by committing the offense. For most crimes, certain death by lightning strike is not required.

The noted Italian criminologist Cesare Beccaria wrote, in his 1764 *An Essay on Crime and Punishments*, that certainty of punishment is much more important than severity since the inevitability of the punishment is paramount to most people. Most contemporary research supports Beccaria's original statement. For example, criminologist Alfred Blumstein has noted that research routinely shows that certainty has a greater impact than the severity of the punishment. However, this does not mean severity of punishment does not matter. In fact, each component of deterrence is significant as to whether punishment works to reduce future crimes. For example, getting caught will mean little to an offender in terms of deterrence unless a significant punishment follows.

Probability of Punishment

When scholars assess the effectiveness of American punishment to deter crime, they begin by establishing the likelihood of punishment following a crime. The key question is: Is punishment a certainty in the United States?

Comparisons of data from the Uniform Crime Reporting Program and National Crime Victimization Survey demonstrate that for every 100 serious street crimes, only about 40 are known to the police. Of these 40 crimes, only about 10 will lead to an arrest. Of those arrested, some will not be prosecuted, and some will be prosecuted but not convicted. Finally, only about three of the original 100 crimes will lead to an incarceration in prison or jail. Thus, only 10% of serious crimes in the United States lead to an arrest, and only 3% lead to a serious punishment like prison or jail. Studies show that the largest effect of incarceration on the crime rate is a reduction due to incapacitation rather than deterrence. These data show that punishment is anything but certain in the United States. Not surprisingly, experienced offenders know this.

Why is punishment so unlikely? There are two main reasons. First, studies confirm that there are not enough police in the United States to deter crime sufficiently. For example, Matt Robinson recently demonstrated that there are only about 3 police officers for every 1,000 people in any given city. Of every 1,000 people, roughly 50 to 80 regularly commit crimes, meaning there are only about 3 police officers for every 50 to 80 serious criminals, not to

mention the remaining hundreds who occasionally commit crimes and/or disturb the peace. Second, a large portion of crimes are never reported to the police in the first place, as there are various reasons people choose not to report their victimizations. When police do not learn of crimes, they cannot make arrests, thereby eliminating the possibility of deterrence through official government action.

Problems With the Deterrence Argument

There are at least four major problems with the deterrence argument. First, the main problem with deterrence as a justification for punishment is that it is impossible to demonstrate empirically that deterrence works. How can researchers prove the absence of criminal activity as a result of some criminal justice policy or program? This is one reason why many criminal justice scholars argue that there is no empirical evidence supporting deterrence.

Second, many criminal justice scholars posit that deterrence of criminal behavior through deterrence is a myth because numerous human behaviors seem quite irrational. Many forms of criminality are impulsive, shortsighted, stupid, and risky behaviors—the types of behaviors that are not likely to be deterred by future punishment.

Third, many types of crimes are committed with only short-term gain in mind and with little or no thought of likely outcomes. This is not consistent with the view of the rational criminal underlying deterrence theory.

Fourth and finally, the great bulk of evidence suggests that what is important in terms of preventing criminal and antisocial behavior is informal sources of control such as parents, teachers, and religious figures. That is, if deterrence occurs, it is likely due to threats of punishment carried out against children by their parents, although positive reinforcement of prosocial behavior is much more effective.

Deterrence and Capital Punishment

Much of the research on deterrence has been conducted with regard to whether capital punishment deters murder. Although it is certainly logical that the thought of execution ought to create fear in would-be murderers—thereby producing a general deterrent effect—the vast majority of the available scientific evidence suggests that the death penalty is

not a deterrent to murder. The primary reason why executions are not thought to be a deterrent by capital punishment scholars is that the most important element of punishment—certainty—is missing.

National data show that there were 592,580 murders and nonnegligent homicides from 1977 to 2006, an average of 19,752 killings per year. During this time, there were only 7,225 death sentences, an average of 241 death sentences per year, and only 1,099 executions for an average of 37 executions per year. Thus, only 1.2% of killings nationally lead to death sentences and only 0.185% of killers have thus far been executed.

These numbers include non-death penalty states; in death penalty states, only 2.2% of killers are sentenced to death. Even Texas—which has executed 37% of all death row inmates in the United States since 1977—sentences only 1.6% of its killers to death and thus far has executed only 0.63% of its murderers. In other words, more than 98% of killers in Texas will not die for their crimes. The rare use of capital punishment is precisely why it is so ineffective at providing a deterrent effect.

Studies from dozens of states have shown that executions do not serve as a greater deterrent to murder than alternative punishments such as life imprisonment. Deterrence studies tend to compare states with the death penalty and without, nations with the death penalty and without, changes in crime rates in jurisdictions before and after having death penalty, the effects of highly publicized executions, and relationships between executions and the murder rate, controlling for other factors. All of these studies lead to conclusions inconsistent with the deterrence hypothesis.

According to the evidence, murder rates are lower in states without the death penalty than those with it, and these rates are lower in nations without the death penalty than with it. In addition, according to Robert Bohm, when states and nations abolish capital punishment or simply stop carrying out executions, the murder rate generally falls. Highly publicized executions tend not to have any effect on murder rates. And empirical studies, properly conducted, rarely find a deterrent effect of executions on murder rates. Given the findings of such studies, it is not surprising that top experts in the nation—including criminologists, death penalty scholars, and even law enforcement chiefs—report that the death penalty does not deter murder.

The largest, most sophisticated study of murder rates from 1935 to 1969, conducted by Isaac Ehrlich, did find evidence of deterrence and concluded that for each execution, eight murders would be prevented. However, this study was replicated numerous times and no effect was found. The study was plagued by numerous flaws that rendered the results almost meaningless. Although there are not many studies of the modern execution period, most of these studies have found no evidence consistent with the deterrence hypothesis.

A bit of controversy recently emerged over the deterrence argument when some of the most recent studies did support a general deterrent effect of executions. These studies, using various methodologies and data sets, found that each execution was associated with between 3 and 150 fewer murders. This research, some of which has not been published in peer-reviewed journals or replicated, offers findings that are inconsistent with the great breadth and depth of knowledge on this topic. The studies are thus viewed with great skepticism by capital punishment experts. Because of numerous flaws in the studies, the findings have been highly disputed.

For example, John Donohue and Justin Wolfers, who examined recent studies finding deterrent effects of the death penalty, point out several very significant problems with the studies. The many problems with the prodeterrence studies include failing to control key (and also unknown) variables, leading to spurious findings; confounding the effects of capital punishment with broader trends in society; failing to use rates of executions to control for population size in states; failing to consider the effects of imprisonment on crime rates; presenting results that are inconsistent with the regression models actually run; relying on measures of key variables generated by scholars with clear ideological biases; using invalid instruments; reporting faulty confidence intervals; and reporting biases caused by inappropriate treatment of standard errors.

Final Thoughts

The great bulk of evidence with regard to criminal punishment suggests that it is generally not a deterrent to future criminality. While some forms

of punishment can be effective, this is only possible when the likelihood of punishment is high, that is, when punishment is certain.

What many offenders do tell us, and what is evident from their offending patterns, is that the great bulk of criminal behavior seems to be motivated by the desire to obtain short-term, immediate pleasures and gains. Long-term concern about potential punishment seems not to enter the minds of most offenders. If they thought there was a good chance of getting caught, after all, offenders would not likely engage in their criminal behaviors, especially if they are as rational as criminologists tell us. Further, there are numerous risk factors that increase the likelihood that individuals will choose crime. This suggests rationality is not something possessed equally by all.

Finally, it appears that informal sources of social control, particularly parents, are the most effective sources of deterrence. This suggests that parental influences on prosocial and criminal behavior are much more significant than effects of formal sources of social control such as government-imposed punishment.

Matthew Robinson

See also Corporal Punishment; Crime Prevention; Electronic Monitoring; Offender-Based Programs; Restorative Justice

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DEVELOPMENTAL AND SOCIAL CRIME PREVENTION

Developmental and social crime prevention seeks to address a variety of conditions that affect the likelihood of future crime. The argument for such efforts is based on the growing body of research identifying the individual, familial, community, and social structural factors that place individuals and communities at risk for future crime and disorder. A variety of terms are found in the literature to describe social and developmental crime prevention interventions. In this entry, however, *social crime prevention* refers to interventions targeting macro-level problems and structural processes that may engender crime. Efforts to reduce unemployment and improve employment opportunities, develop the quality of educational services, and increase access to social services can be considered social crime prevention. *Developmental crime prevention* attempts to reduce early childhood risk factors for future delinquency and crime and strengthen those factors that appear to protect individuals from future persistent criminal behavioral patterns. This entry begins with a discussion of the developmental crime prevention. Next, risk factors for serious delinquency and adult criminality are reviewed. This is followed by an examination of interventions consistent with a developmental perspective. Finally, the social crime prevention model is reviewed and examples of interventions consistent with this approach are described.

Developmental Criminology and Crime Prevention

Most generally, developmental models of crime examine how social and psychological processes at different stages of the life course affect the likelihood

of the development of negative behavioral outcomes, and how life experiences and transitions can alter individual pathways away from or toward criminal behavioral patterns. From this perspective, it is most fruitful to engage individuals, families, and communities at the earliest stage possible, before such pathways become negatively “embedded.” Developmental interventions aim to improve the likelihood that individual paths will lead away from crime and other antisocial behaviors prior to becoming a behavioral pattern. Thus, many interventions from a developmental perspective target risk factors for future criminal behavior rather than crime itself. The goal of such interventions is to create healthy, happy, and prosocial children and individuals. Crime reduction is thus a by-product of successful interventions at a much earlier life stage.

The Scholarly Debate

There is some debate between the advocates of a life course approach to studying crime, and desistance from crime, and those who emphasize targeting early developmental protective and risk factors. While some of the debate concerns methodological and statistical questions, there are some important differences between these perspectives for purposes of crime prevention. For example, *life course criminology*, which studies behavioral patterns over the individual life, places considerable emphasis on turning points in later life associated with desistance from crime. Many who examine crime from a developmental criminology perspective, however, focus on the relationship between infant and early childhood experiences and circumstances and the extent to which these are associated with future violent or deviant behavior.

Although these differences may appear insignificant, and they are certainly not mutually exclusive views on crime, they do have significance for crime prevention policy. A life course approach would allocate crime prevention resources across the life span, such as job and life skills training, drug treatment, marriage/family counseling, and targeted programs for offenders that may lead to significant “turning points” (such as marriage, employment, etc.) that encourage desistance. While developmental criminology would likely value such efforts, its emphasis on early life experiences *prior* to criminal behavior would focus resources

on interventions targeted at the very earliest stages of child development, such as parent–child bonding and proper behavioral reinforcement. Given the limited funds for crime prevention efforts, the debate is one of resource allocation. Although many of the interventions discussed in this entry are consistent with life course and developmental perspectives, the following focuses on early child, family, and larger social interventions that are touted for their ability to prevent the onset of crime, rather than its desistance.

Risk Factors for Criminal Behavior

Rather than speaking in terms of “causes” of delinquency and criminal behavior, developmental and social crime prevention efforts target risk and protective factors. *Risk factors* are individual or environmental conditions that have been found to be associated with an increased likelihood of antisocial behavior such as crime or substance abuse. *Protective factors* are those individual or environmental factors that tend to increase resistance to or inhibit the development of problematic behaviors or outcomes, even when risk factors may be present. While there are exceptions, protective factors are often positive indicators on measures of known risk. Thus, while poor parent–child bonding is an important risk factor, evidence of emotionally warm and caring relationships between children and parents has been found to be an important protective factor, even in the face of multiple risk factors. Children exposed to multiple risk factors have a substantially greater likelihood of future delinquency, though the presence of protective factors may exert sufficient influence to counterbalance such factors. The following discussion focuses on risk factors for serious and/or persistent offending, rather than risk factors in general. This highlights characteristics related to offending patterns identified as most problematic and avoids the repetitiveness of reviewing frequently related protective factors.

Risk factors at the individual and familial level are among those that receive the greatest attention. While the strongest and most consistent predictor of future crime and violence is a prior history of such acts, developmental crime prevention efforts are most interested in those risk factors that may be altered prior to the onset of offending and problematic behaviors. For example, the early presence of conduct

disorders has been one of the most consistently identified risk factors other than prior criminal acts. In particular, behavioral patterns that have identifiable attributes, such as conduct disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and oppositional defiant disorder, are considered significant risk factors for juvenile and adult antisocial behavior. Other individual risk factors include aggressive and antisocial behavior, having antisocial peers, negative attitudes toward school, and poor school performance.

It should be no surprise that familial conditions and behaviors are associated with individual behavior. In particular, having criminal or antisocial parents or siblings is consistently found to be a risk factor for future criminality. Other family risk factors include child abuse and neglect, parental conflict in the home, a lack of familial support, and poor child-rearing practices. Particular parenting strategies and actions such as a lack of adequate supervision or monitoring of children, insufficient or excessive discipline, and a lack of child–parent bonding have also been found to be risk factors for future offending.

Research has also found a number of nonfamilial risk factors for future offending. The relationship between having delinquent peers and delinquency and future criminality is central to several important criminological theories and continues to be found as an important risk factor. Several characteristics related to school and educational activities, such as negative attitudes toward school, truancy, and negative school environments, have also been found to put a child at risk. Finally, there are several social and environmental risk factors, such as low socioeconomic status and income inequality, that increase the likelihood that a particular individual or group will have higher levels of involvement in serious or persistent offending.

Developmental Crime Prevention Interventions

There is often skepticism about the ability of social programs to make significant improvements in individual behavior, especially among at-risk populations. However, studies report that recent interventions have met with considerable success in improving important protective factors and reducing risk factors, resulting in reduced levels of antisocial behavior among participants. The use of

improved quasi-experimental and true experimental designs in the implementation and evaluation of these programs offers even greater confidence in these results.

Individual-Focused Interventions

Many early childhood interventions address low intelligence, poor academic performance, and cognitive deficiencies and are often provided in preschool settings in conjunction with home visits. Programs such as Head Start, the Yale Child Welfare Project, and the Syracuse Family Development Program attempt to intervene in the earliest stages of a child's development to improve intellectual and cognitive skills and success in later educational contexts. A number of these programs have shown considerable success, including better school performance, fewer behavioral problems, and lower levels of crime and antisocial behavior among participants. In particular, when early educational interventions are combined with prenatal and parent training services, significant improvements in child, family, and parent outcomes are reported.

Other individual-focused interventions provide children with problem-solving techniques, teach negotiation and interpersonal skills, and help children to develop self-control. Such programs may involve prosocial behavioral messages and reinforcements, academic enhancement strategies, and social competency training and skills development. Programs such as Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS) have demonstrated success at reducing the number of behavioral problems among participants. Research has found, however, that the intensity and duration of the program, as well as the quality of programmatic components and instruction, can significantly affect outcomes.

Family-Focused Interventions

There are also developmental interventions designed to improve the family environment, parenting skills, and parent–child relations. Various prenatal and infant nursing programs target parent knowledge about child care, nutrition, and social bonding techniques, and provide important medical and nutrition services to pregnant women and their infants. The first 3 years of a child's life appear to be particularly important for physical

and cognitive development, and these programs target risk and protective factors considered essential to healthy social development. A number of health-related factors have been associated with intelligence, aggression, and hyperactivity, and these have been linked with antisocial and delinquent behavior. Prenatal care and perinatal follow-ups can reduce the frequency and seriousness of health problems among infants and reduce the likelihood of child maltreatment and neglect, both of which are risk factors for later antisocial behavior and delinquency.

Family interventions designed to improve parent management skills teach parenting skills that emphasize identifying problematic behaviors, communicating clear and consistent expectations for conduct, and providing appropriate positive and negative consequences for prosocial and antisocial behavior, respectively. Increasing the level of communication between parent and child and the use of token economies have been found to be effective at improving family relations and reducing antisocial behaviors. Given that parental rejection and excessively harsh and inconsistent punishments are strong risk factors for delinquency, a primary target of these interventions is to improve parent–child relations.

Prenatal care visits, parent education combined with preschool programs, and school-based child and parent training programs have demonstrated significant improvements in a variety of risk and protective factors and reducing antisocial behavior. It is clear that dysfunctional family environments are not conducive to providing proper supervision, positive role modeling, or behavioral reinforcements, or developing children's cognitive and behavioral skills. However, the context and mechanisms required to successfully alter those factors is not yet completely understood.

Multimodal Interventions

Problems such as poor school performance and attachment, emotional and mental health problems, and problems in the family environment are likely overlapping and interactive rather than independent. As a result, several programs have been created to simultaneously address problems on multiple dimensions and utilize a systematic approach to crime prevention. For example, the multi-systemic therapy (MST) program involves the provision of

parental and family interventions, social–cognitive strategies, and academic skills services to address a range of related risk factors and behavioral problems. Despite the fact that MST deals with a traditionally difficult population, studies have found MST to significantly reduce a number of important target outcomes, including recidivism.

Another example of a comprehensive crime prevention strategy is the Seattle Social Development Project, which created the “Communities That Care” program. This program targets known risk factors at different stages of child development (e.g., preschool, elementary, middle, and high school) and builds upon available protective factors. Evaluations indicate that the project has been successful at reducing a number of negative behavioral outcomes, including violence and drug and alcohol use. This intervention is commonly cited as an example of the importance of a community-led, multifaceted crime prevention strategy utilizing a social and developmental approach.

The Seattle Social Development Program and other comprehensive interventions have provided insight into the programmatic elements essential to successful developmental interventions. First, children must be provided meaningful opportunities to make responsible contributions to the people and institutions that define their social lives. Children and families must also possess the skills necessary to capitalize on opportunities. Interventions such as antibullying programs, early education programs, parenting skills training, and cognitive skills–building programs target improving individuals' decision making and self-esteem, as well as children's intellectual development and academic performance and parenting management practices. The possession of these skills and protective factors can provide children and parents the tools to improve their behavioral choices and the ability to take advantage of positive opportunities. Finally, children must receive recognition and positive reinforcement for their efforts, be provided with clear explanations about why certain behaviors are inappropriate, and receive consistent consequences for such actions.

Social Crime Prevention

Social crime prevention efforts seek to improve structural processes such as economic and political

opportunities that directly affect the environment in which children, families, and schools exist. Since its inception, social science research has noted the relationship between poverty and community disorganization and crime and antisocial behavior. Political and public support for large-scale changes necessary to improve such conditions, however, has often been lacking. The remainder of this entry discusses how community and poverty are thought to affect the nature and frequency of crime and provides examples of interventions designed to alter criminogenic social conditions.

Community Crime Prevention

The idea that changes in the organization and social processes of a community can have a direct effect on crime and disorder has a long history in social science research. For example, influenced by research in the Chicago School of sociology, crime prevention programs such as the Chicago Areas Project sought to alter the larger social environment thought to affect levels of crime and disorder in that community. Community mobilization, structural improvements, and increased resident participation in the political and social life of the community are often undertaken to strengthen residents' commitment to their community. The degree of involvement in community affairs, the extent and quality of social networks, and the nature of internal social processes and relationships significantly influence the quality of life within a community. These are also important for their influence on how well residents can exert informal social controls, the everyday norms and expectations that tend to inhibit disagreeable or deviant conduct. Zoning laws and the use of tax expenditures for social services and physical infrastructure influence where residents live, whether they remain in a community, and the types of activities in which they engage. While community improvement programs have improved various areas of community life, they have not all resulted in unqualified success. A major problem is that residents' commitment to and participation in community life is often affected by larger and underlying conditions and factors that require interventions of a more complex and controversial nature.

Poverty and Income Inequality

Although the issues of poverty and income inequality are not the only social crime prevention concerns, the manner in which economic forces shape social life cannot be overestimated. Research has demonstrated that extreme poverty and inequality reduce the social supports necessary to control antisocial behavior, such as crime and drug use. Furthermore, poverty reduces the ability of families, social institutions, and communities to exercise informal social controls over its youth and residents. In particular, isolated and concentrated areas of extreme poverty reduce the amount of social, human, and cultural capital available to individuals and families in these areas. Communities with relatively few individual, family, institutional, or community resources provide few positive opportunities for residents while placing numerous constraints on individual choices. Life in these communities is characterized by a number of barriers and distractions, such as heightened family stress, violence, and high levels of substance abuse, which weaken attachment to school activities and increase the difficulties for academic achievement. Many scholars argue for an approach to crime prevention that utilizes developmental strategies to address individual and family risk factors and combining these with policies designed to address some of the social and economic conditions that put individuals and families at risk in the first place. Policies directed at creating a "living" minimum wage and improving access to physical and mental health care could reduce important risk factors while strengthening protective factors for individuals, families, and communities. Social policies that allow parents to spend more time with their family can increase parents' ability to exercise formal and informal controls over their children. Ultimately, social crime prevention seeks to create conditions that facilitate the development of healthy and prosocial individuals, families, and communities that, in turn, protect against the onset and/or persistence of serious offending and unhealthy behaviors. Even healthy families and communities, however, can benefit from developmental efforts to minimize the likelihood that observed risk factors develop into embedded negative behavioral patterns.

Jefferson E. Holcomb

See also Cost-Benefit Analysis and Crime Prevention; Early Education Programming; Offender-Based Programs; Perry Preschool Project; Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency; Seattle Social Development Project; Substance Abuse, Prevention of; Substance Abuse, Treatment of

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DEVELOPMENTAL AND SOCIAL VICTIMIZATION

Developmental and social theories of victimization are a subset of the larger body of literature related to the assessment of risk factors. These theories recognize that children are more susceptible than adults to certain types of victimization

as a consequence of their lack of maturational development. Instrumental to developmental theories is an understanding of the degree of autonomy and independence children have at various stages of development. Developmental and social theories are also concerned with the impact of victimization on the individual, and they include analysis of the short-term maladies associated with victimization as well as their impact on the future trajectory of the individual. The theories emphasize how those consequences manifest themselves at various stages of development, which is related to a notion derived from social theories that posits that where a child envisions himself or herself in relation to the social status of his or her peers impacts his or her likelihood of victimization. This entry outlines some of the theoretical issues surrounding developmental theories of victimization, identifies some of the risk factors associated with the victimization of youth, and discusses the impact of victimization on the developmental process of individuals.

Theoretical Issues

David Finkelhor, sociologist and director of the Crimes against Children Research Center, proposed the concept of “developmental victimology” in 1995. He articulated that the study of childhood victimization is important for a variety of reasons. First, children are “in the process” of maturational development, and victimization can have serious ramifications for the normal progression of this development. Developmental theories of crime causation concerned with the correlates of delinquent and criminal behavior have found that victimization in childhood (particularly with respect to physical or psychological abuse) is highly correlated with the early onset of subsequent deviant behavior on the part of the victim. Second, children may be more susceptible to certain types of victimization, which is conjectured to be related to their dependent status. For example, neglect is typically an offense charged to those who care for dependents, be they children or animals, and is taken seriously given that both are dependent upon others for essential care. There is no adult analogue, given the relative ease with which we are capable of living among the ostensibly neglected homeless populations of adults. Third, criminology (as a

discipline) is typically only concerned with children insofar as they are the perpetrators of delinquent and criminal acts, a focus that is not without merit given the long-standing empirical validity of the relationship between age and crime, which some criminologists contend is invariant.

Finkelhor noted that the key to a developmental theory of victimization resides in the limited amount of autonomy young people possess. As they mature, children become more autonomous, and the nature of their victimization changes. Consequently, he proposed that the victimization of children can be thought of as occurring along a continuum representing degrees of dependency. In general, very young children spend most of their time at home with their parents or guardians, and thus victimization of these children usually occurs in the home; they are rarely the victim of stranger-perpetrated homicide. In contrast, adolescents have been viewed as making choices that increase their risk of being victimized (like staying out on the streets late at night), and as a consequence are seen as contributing to their own victimization, a variation of the “blaming the victim” mentality. The focus on adolescents as perpetrators by mainstream criminology has been implicated in an ideology that sees them as complicitous in their own victimization. Exacerbating this is the empirical evidence indicating that children who have been victimized are more likely to have affiliations with delinquent youth, which differential association research shows is correlated with delinquent behavioral outcomes.

Risk Factors

Developmental and social theories of victimization account for the risk factors associated with the victimization of children as well as the impact victimization has on a child’s prospective development and psychological well-being. The risk factors associated with the victimization of children include their suitability as targets, their ability to protect themselves, and environmental factors that may contribute or mitigate their susceptibility to victimization. Thus, the theory accounts for factors that are similar to those included in several existing theories and perspectives related to the positive causes of criminal and delinquent behavior. The concepts of children’s “self-protection ability” and

“level of suitability as targets” are functionally similar to Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson’s routine activity theory (also called routine activities theory), which states that crime is more likely where there is a motivated offender and a suitable target in the absence of capable guardians, a theory driven by the philosophical underpinnings of rational choice theory. The inclusion of environmental factors like neighbors’ ability to monitor the activity of potential offenders against children is epistemically related to the structural components of social disorganization theory.

Several risk factors have been identified as salient to the victimization of children, although researchers are quick to note that the most frequently used official sources of data on crime and delinquency (i.e., those from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and National Crime Victimization Survey) do not include data on the victimization of children at all ages. This is limiting in testing the verisimilitude of developmental hypotheses, since they are contingent upon examining victimization at the very earliest stages of childhood development for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, this is where most data sources fall short due to the anonymity typically granted young victims of crime. Consequently, some researchers have suggested using data retrieved from child protective services, although its validity has been the subject of debate among researchers.

Developmental and social theories of victimization presume that children are susceptible to victimization at rates that vary, depending upon their stage of development. For example, very young children (under age 5) are less likely to become the targets of robbery than are their adolescent counterparts, who are more likely to carry money in public places, making them significantly more attractive targets to potential robbers. Also, empirical research indicates that young women are more likely to become the targets of sexual abuse after they have reached sexual maturity, pedophilia aside. Another example resides in the fact that as children age, they become more capable of fleeing, as well as defending themselves against, attacks from potential offenders. Empirical evidence shows that parental physical abuse is more prevalent when children who are the subject of such abuse are very young.

There is empirical evidence linking children’s self-perception of social status with victimization

in the school setting. Of particular relevance is their perception of self-worth within their peer group. Where children place themselves in a position of lower social value, they are at greater risk for victimization. This has been hypothesized to occur for several reasons. First, feelings of inadequacy and social failure in children have been linked to increased rates of victimization. Second, where children are more confident of their social standing among their peers, it can serve as a bulwark against victimization. As a result, researchers have suggested assertiveness training may have some impact on preventing future victimization from peers in social settings.

Aside from the developmental and social characteristics of children themselves, there are environmental factors that vary with maturational development that impact their susceptibility to different types of victimization. These factors are functionally similar to those invoked in the name of routine activities theory, namely that children are more likely to be victimized where they are in close proximity to a motivated offender, or where there is the absence of capable or willing guardians. However, the traditional interpretation of both of these constructs is challenged when one considers that children are frequently victimized by their intimates and family members. In these cases, an abusive parent may serve as a motivated offender to a dependent child who is incapable of distancing himself or herself because of his or her dependent status. Furthermore, it is often the case that the neighborhood itself (and not parents) serves as a capable guardian in instances of parental abuse and neglect. Where neighbors are unwilling or incapable of intervening, the child is often left without suitable protection, increasing the likelihood of victimization. Exacerbating this situation is the fact that, as much empirical research indicates, victimization is not evenly spread throughout society. Those most likely to be victimized are young, minority males who come from socioeconomically disadvantaged communities, a finding compatible with the empirical findings related to social disorganization theories of crime causation.

Impact

The impact of victimization on the future development of individual children is also within the

domain of developmental and social victimology. Unfortunately, most of the literature related to victim experiences tends to be framed in terms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which has traditionally been applied to either adults or children suffering the consequences of having experienced gross traumatic experiences like natural disasters. PTSD typically manifests itself in individuals' reexperiencing the stressing event, avoiding the circumstances that brought about the event, and experiencing hypersensitivity to analogous events. It has been noted in the literature that children may manifest the effects of PTSD differently than do adults. For example, they may assume a more limited view of their future prospects, altering the trajectory of their development.

It has been proposed that children experience two distinct types of effects as a consequence of victimization—developmental and localized effects. *Localized effects* are described as those that typically do not have long-term consequences for an individual's development. Examples of localized effects are insomnia, experiencing nightmares, and feelings of anxiety around grown persons.

Developmental effects refer to those effects that broadly inhibit or impact a child's prospective development, often with significant ramifications. Some examples of developmental effects are exhibiting age-inappropriate signs of hypersexuality, developing eating disorders, becoming withdrawn from interactions with adults, and engaging in unusually aggressive behavior. Developmental effects are more likely to occur for a variety of reasons related to the nature of the victimization. First, when the victimization occurs over a protracted period, it is more likely to impact the developmental process. Second, the victimization is more likely to result in developmental effects when a child or adolescent experiences it in conjunction with some other type of serious stressor. Examples of additional stressors are suffering from the loss of a parent or family member and experiencing racial discrimination. Third, when the victimization involves those who are part of the child's primary system of support, it is more likely to have long-term consequences; this is likely to impede normal development, which presumes the existence of such a support system. Fourth, developmental effects are more likely to be experienced when the victimization occurs in the midst of some critical stage of

personal development. For example, developmental effects may become manifest if a youth were to become the victim of a robbery while working the very first day on his or her first job.

The consequences of victimization also vary depending upon the stage of development of the individual. For example, victimization can interfere with the formation of attachments with other individuals. This restriction on attachments can carry through to other stages of development throughout the life course. As hypothesized in social control theories of crime causation, preclusion of attachment to prosocial individuals may be associated with delinquent and criminal behavior.

Victimization can also lead to chronic dissociation with others, as well as other psychological abnormalities. There is strong empirical evidence indicating that adults who suffer from multiple personality disorders tend to have suffered from physical or psychological abuse at a young age. Research also shows that children who have been victimized are at increased risk of showing physiological signs of the experience, in the form of impaired endocrine and neurological functioning as well as a delayed onset of puberty. Some researchers implicate impaired cognitive development to victimization in young children, although the results of that research have been the subject of considerable debate. For example, some researchers have found that children were impacted more by how their parents reacted to their victimization than they were by the victimization experience itself. Empirical evidence also does not support the suggestion that younger children are more traumatized as a consequence of victimization; it stands to reason that they may be incapable of recognizing the full gravity of the victimization when it occurs.

Stephen Shirk noted that the symptoms associated with victimization manifest themselves in accordance with the individual victims' stage of development and are a product of victims' use of the age-specific "vocabularies" available to them. He provides the example of very young girls tending to display "hypersexualized" behavior subsequent to sexual abuse. In contrast, older teens and adolescents tend not to exhibit such behavior, instead displaying symptoms of withdrawal, self-injurious behavior, and/or substance abuse.

Victimization has also been implicated in impacting subsequent delinquent and criminal behavior

on the part of the victim, perhaps exacerbating the difficulties in interpreting the relationship between age and crime. Empirical evidence indicates that youth are more likely to be victims of violent offenses than are adults, and violent victimization has been implicated in the early onset of delinquent behavior, perpetuating what has been termed the *cycle of violence*. According to empirical research related to developmental theories of crime causation, the early onset of delinquent behavior is associated with criminal "careers" characterized as both long in duration and active in terms of the frequency of offenses committed over the life course. Some scholars suggest this is related to the acquisition of what Edwin Sutherland termed *definitions* favorable to the commission of crime. Others suggest it may lead to the adoption of a subculture of violence favorable to the subsequent commission of criminal and delinquent acts.

The physical abuse of children has been implicated as a precursor to theft, prostitution, and illicit drug use. A limitation of research in this area is that researchers typically do not specify the stage of development in which the victimization occurred, obfuscating the relationship between development and subsequent antisocial behavior. Preliminary findings from studies that control for stage of development have found that childhood-only victimization is not related to delinquency while adolescent and that persistent victimization is positively related to an increased risk of delinquent behavior on the part of victims.

The effect of victimization on the development of the individual transcends its impact on prospects for subsequent delinquent and criminal behavior. Victimization can also have consequences for educational and occupational attainment. Empirical evidence indicates that abused children tended to perform more poorly in school, in the form of increased rates of truancy, lower grade point averages, and lower graduation rates. Compatible research has found that victims of abuse in childhood also suffered significant consequences upon entering the workplace. One study found that those who were subject to violent victimization at a young age earned 14% less per hour in young adulthood than did nonvictims.

It has been reasoned that these consequences result because victimization undermines two

fundamental sets of beliefs within the individual: perceptions of self-efficacy/self-agency, and perceptions about the intentions of others. Perceptions of self-agency and self-efficacy are hypothesized to be related to the loss of control experienced as a result of victimization, and they are associated with enhanced perceptions of vulnerability concerning the potential for future victimization. They are also related to negative self-images in the form of feelings of helplessness or the perceptions of being weak in relation to others. In a related vein, research has found that some victims blame or see themselves as deserving or contributing to their own victimization. Victimization has also been found to impact the way victims view the intentions of others in society. This is troublesome because victims often unwarrantedly view potential systems of support as potential threats.

Developmental and social theories of victimization account for the risk factors associated with the various stages of development, as well as the ramifications of victimization on individual development. In doing so, they bring together theoretical constructs form a variety of theories of victimization as well as theories related to the positive causes of crime and delinquency.

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See also Age and Victimization; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Correlates of Victimization; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency

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DEVELOPMENTAL VICTIMOLOGY

Developmental victimology focuses on the victimization of children. Its attention is expansive and includes abuse and neglect and physical and sexual abuse as well as other kinds of victimization, such as peer and sibling assaults. It looks at the ways children are victimized throughout their developmental period, the categories of victimizations, and the possible reasons that this phenomenon is underreported. An important aspect of developmental victimology is that it addresses the need for more serious study by sociologists, criminologists, developmental psychologists, child behavioral specialists, and educators.

Definitions

Victimization by definition is the act of exploiting or victimizing another, typically through an act of force or power over another. Child victimization is the exploitation of a child between 0 and 17 years of age. This form of victimization is especially serious

because children's dependence upon others makes them particularly vulnerable to harm. Other terms that are used to refer to child victimization are *child maltreatment*, *child abuse and neglect*, *child sexual abuse*, and *child physical abuse*.

Children are the most victimized group within the larger society, yet there is less understanding about child victimization than about adult victimization due to the lack of data on the extent of the problem. According to David Finkelhor, a widely published author on this topic, the lack of information is due to a number of factors, including how current data are collected. For example, in the United States, the National Crime Victimization Survey and Bureau of Justice Statistics both report on victims ages 12 and above; hence, data on crimes against children younger than age 12 are excluded. Also, much of public policy concerning younger children is driven by information about child abuse and neglect and child abduction, but these items are not part of the collected data. The absence of such information has created a paucity of theoretical guidelines for the field. Developmental victimology recognizes the theoretical gaps surrounding child victimizations as a result of this theoretical scarcity and seeks to provide a means of getting new information through more inclusive survey instruments and broader definitions of victimizations to capture the attention of criminologists, developmental psychologists, and justice studies.

This effort requires a new understanding of childhood victimizations. Finkelhor has categorized it in three ways: pandemic victimizations that are prevalent throughout the development of the child, acute victimizations, and extraordinary victimizations. The pandemic victimizations include peer assaults, assaults by siblings, theft, vandalism, and robbery. These can be described as common occurrences of childhood, which may be the reason they are not seen as problematic. An example of a pandemic victimization is peer assault. This issue is typically attended to by a caregiver, so the matter never comes to the attention of the police or a child protective agency as it might with older children.

The second category is that of acute victimizations. These may occur less frequently and in a smaller number of children, but they are more severe. These kinds of victimizations include physical and sexual abuse and abandonment, neglect,

and abduction by family. This category has received the most research and public policy attention.

The final category is extraordinary victimizations, which include homicide, child abuse homicide, and abduction by a stranger. There are fewer occurrences of these victimizations, but they demand more attention and are easier for criminologists to fit into their paradigm.

The lack of attention to the first category is noteworthy because of its prevalence. This category tends to be more difficult for criminologists to fit into their paradigm for action. The pandemic victimizations are viewed as less serious to the development of the child, yet the child's view of these events is unknown because it is unsolicited. Younger children are viewed as incapable emotionally and cognitively of providing accurate and plausible descriptions of their experiences, so their perspectives are often overlooked. Another part of this lack of communication from the child's perspective is the fact that a child who has been victimized early in development learns from his or her environment the code of silence. This child is less likely to want to talk to authorities, for fear of further harm from his or her environment. A child who has experienced such victimizations is more likely to have personality disorders, emotional and mental health problems, and academic difficulties.

Historical Overview of Child Victimization

Childhood victimization is a part of the history of the United States. Up until the late 1800s, immigrants from many European countries who came to the United States with their children faced great economic challenges and often dealt with their children as if they were property, selling them into apprenticeships or involuntary servitude as a means of alleviating the financial burden of caring for a child. Children were required to work like other members of the family without any regard for their unique developmental needs. Young children were made to grow up quickly and infant mortality rates were very high. Until the Settlement House Movement started by Jane Addams and others in the late 19th century, there was little regard for the overall well-being of children. Public policy began to change with the enactment of child labor laws, and there began a wide social movement to ensure the protection of children. In 1912,

the Children's Bureau was created to oversee the welfare of the country's children. Three years later the Children's Welfare League was established, and in 1930 the Social Security Act was amended to include child welfare and protective services.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the topic of child physical abuse was brought to the nation's attention, and by 1974 Congress enacted the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. There was a growing national awareness of the reality of child victimization and the need to address it. There are now federal, state, and local agencies and laws in place to focus on children's rights to be protected and safe within their environments.

Incidence of Victimization of Children

Neglect and physical abuse are the two most commonly reported forms of child victimization. In 2006, about 905,000 children were reported to be victims of child abuse or neglect. The maltreatment rate was 12.1 per 1,000 during the federal fiscal year 2006. In 1998 there were 903,000 children who were victims of abuse or neglect. During this same time, children under the age of three accounted for 75% of the annual deaths. The data consistently show that children who died as a result of maltreatment from one or both parents. During 2005, about 1,300 children died as a result of abuse or neglect. Children under the age of 3 are more likely to be victimized at rates of 16.5 per 1,000, compared to 6.2 per 1,000 of children ages 16 to 17.

Recent research has enabled us to better understand the victimization of children younger than 2 years of age. For example, researchers Robin Karr-Morse and Meredith S. Wiley have documented that a child experiences indirect victimization in utero, and that this trauma can create serious changes to the brain's functioning that impacts the release of certain hormones which regulate responses to stress and danger. These children have more incidents of aggression, hostility, and other violence than their counterparts as they move into early childhood and adolescence. The predominant research about domestic violence supports this fact: Young boys who have witnessed violence in their homes are more likely to become adult men who abuse their partners. The notion that this victimization begins before birth (i.e., during gestation) is what is noteworthy.

Effects of Childhood Victimization

Children who have been victimized are often at great risk of being revictimized. The notion of polyvictimization has been documented by Finkelhor and others. Polyvictimizations are serial victimizations, and the literature is showing increasing relationships between witnessing domestic violence and child abuse or sexual victimizations in childhood and adolescence. The Developmental Victimization Survey provides statistical confirmation of the notion that younger children who experience an initial trauma during their development are more likely to be a target for future victimizations. The revictimizations are different and occur over a developmental time period.

One of the reasons for this stems from the nature of the child himself or herself. The child is the most vulnerable member of the family, the child's primary social group, and is the least likely to be able to protect himself or herself from this environment. Younger children are more likely to be victimized by a caretaker, as the data show that the likelihood of their reexperiencing a subsequent victimization is very high.

An example of how indirect victimization from family violence can result in polyvictimization is evidenced by the story of a 4-year-old Black male child. He was the youngest boy and the middle child with an older brother and a younger sister. At the age of 2, he had witnessed violence against his mother; he also experienced sexual assault at age 3 by his older male sibling. He then went on to be sexually aggressive with his younger sister, as he had witnessed his older brother sexually act out against her. This child suffered great remorse and guilt and expressed suicidal ideation. He had a suicide plan, although he did not act it out. At the age of 4, he was targeted as child with behavioral problems often showing anger and using profanity against his teachers. His family no longer experienced physical violence within the home, but he witnessed his mother's substance abuse and his brother's sexual assault of their younger sister. This child's situation is an example of what the study regarding polyvictimization uncovered.

The Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ), a complete questionnaire that gathers information from young children and their caregivers, provided the data regarding polyvictimization. The data

reflected the number of victimizations occurring within a single year. The results showed that the average victim was Black and male, with a lower socioeconomic level who was living in an urban setting in a single-parent home. These findings are important in understanding certain traumatic symptomatology. They might also help predict patterns of victimizations but the question that remains is the reason for the polyvictimizations.

Implications for Further Study

The JVQ can be a useful tool for future studies to establish the validity of the polyvictimization argument. The findings certainly point to the need to determine the need for improved assessments to gain a more holistic approach to understanding child victimization that can lead to more effective public policy and research. Focusing on those types of child victimizations that are pandemic but not currently getting attention warrant more research and expanded child welfare public policies can benefit from the polyvictimization studies. This new focus can help those within the criminal justice community, child welfare specialists, and sociologists intervene earlier and ultimately put in place methods of prevention for children at earlier points in their development.

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See also Bullying; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Child Protective Services

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DIFFUSION OF BENEFITS

Outcome evaluations of crime prevention efforts focus on changes in the level of the targeted crime, fear of crime, and/or citizen behavior. The fact that most prevention programs are place specific means that evaluations typically focus only on changes within the target neighborhood or community. At the same time, crime prevention programs could have an impact beyond that which is intended. The other changes could be either positive or negative. The crime prevention techniques in one area may unintentionally result in increased crime in another area, on other targets, or at different times. In essence, the level of crime or fear may have simply shifted in response to the prevention efforts. This shift in crime is referred to as crime displacement. The opposite may also occur. Crime prevention efforts targeted at a specific problem in one location may have a positive impact on other locations or crimes. That is, there may be a diffusion of benefits. This entry examines the idea of the diffusion of benefits and

presents evidence on the extent to which such diffusion occurs.

Defining Diffusion

After Thomas Reppetto delineated different forms of displacement in 1976, research began to consider the degree of displacement in evaluations, particularly in terms of the movement of crime from one location to another. The tenor of most discussions of displacement was clearly one of disappointment or dismay at the thought that crime is simply being moved rather than eliminated. Robert Barr and Ken Pease, however, suggested that displacement may be a positive result of prevention actions. This *benign displacement* would benefit society by spreading crime around the community rather than concentrating it in one location, or by substituting less harmful offending in place of more serious criminal behavior. Barr and Pease proposed that the main question should be how displacement can “be used to achieve a spread of crime that can be regarded as equitable” (p. 284). One possible equitable outcome of crime prevention would be the displacement/shift of the crime prevention impact. Essentially, this would diffuse the positive effects of the intervention.

Ronald Clarke and David Weisburd define diffusion of benefits as “the spread of the beneficial influence of an intervention” (p. 169) to other people, places, times, or things that were not the specific focus of the intervention. This means that two things have probably occurred. First, there has been a positive impact on crime as expected in the planning of the intervention. Second, the prevention efforts have benefited people and places besides those specifically targeted. Diffusion has been discussed under a variety of names, including “halo effect” and “free bonus effect.”

What accounts for diffusion? Clarke and Weisburd offer two potential sources for diffusion—deterrence and discouragement. Deterrence can have an impact in various ways. While many prevention efforts are short-lived, the impact on crime often outlasts the period of intervention. Similarly, targeting one location or certain merchandise may result in protecting other targets. In each case, there is an assumption that the chances of being apprehended are heightened and potential offenders are deterred by the risk of being

caught. Discouragement works by reducing the payoff and increasing the effort needed to commit a crime.

Interestingly, displacement and diffusion have traditionally received little attention in the crime prevention literature. It is only in recent years that evaluations have begun to make claims about apparent displacement or diffusion. The difficulties inherent in assessing displacement and diffusion mean that these issues are not central to many evaluations. In every case, the degree to which displacement or diffusion occurs is related to the degree to which offenders can and do make judgments about offending.

Uncovering Diffusion

Diffusion of benefits means that areas, items, or individuals not targeted by a crime prevention program also benefit from the intervention. For example, if half of the homes in a neighborhood join block watch, mark their property, and take part in surveillance activities, and everyone in the neighborhood experiences reduced victimization and fear, it is probable that the crime prevention of the participants had an impact on the nonparticipants. This would be a diffusion of benefits. However, measuring diffusion is very difficult.

Attempts to assess diffusion need to consider a couple of factors. First, diffusion is not necessarily limited to movement from one place to another. As with displacement, prevention techniques can diffuse across several dimensions. It is possible that prevention efforts will diffuse to different places (territorial/spatial), times (temporal), victims or items (target), methods of committing an offense (tactical), and/or other offenses (functional). All of these possibilities of diffusion should be considered. Most analyses only consider territorial diffusion and ignore the other forms.

A second concern in investigating diffusion is that each crime/problem being targeted by the prevention initiative should be examined in detail. Several key questions should be answered. Who are the likely offenders? When are the offenses taking place? How are the crimes being committed? Where are they occurring? What purpose does the crime serve (i.e., why does it happen)? The answers to these questions will provide insight to what types of diffusion could be expected. It may not be

necessary to investigate for diffusion across all possible dimensions if what is known about the crime and potential offenders suggest only one or two possibilities. Interestingly, while most crime prevention programs answer these questions when developing the intervention, they are typically ignored when discussions of diffusion (or displacement) occur (if they are discussed at all).

A typical approach to measuring diffusion is to examine the change in crime and fear in areas contiguous to the target area. Reductions in the contiguous areas could be due to diffusion effects. At the same time, however, the reductions in both the target and control areas could be a result of general decreases in society. Rather than a diffusion effect, the crime prevention intervention has no impact. Determining whether there is no change or if the changes are due to diffusion would require study of additional comparison areas (or targets) that would not be expected to experience diffusion due to distance or other circumstances.

Another problem with identifying a diffusion effect would appear when both the displacement of crime and diffusion of benefits occur at the same time, resulting in no apparent change in the nontreatment area. In this case, the crime prevention program is successful at reducing crime and/or fear in the target area. At the same time, some of the reduction is the result of displacing offenses to another area, which would normally mean that crime and/or fear in the other area increases. A simultaneous diffusion effect of equal magnitude, however, would offset the increase and show no net change in crime and/or fear in the other areas.

Evidence of Diffusion

Despite these concerns with identifying diffusion effects, evaluations are beginning to pay more attention to the possibilities of diffusion in their designs and analyses. Efforts to address drug problems in neighborhoods have reported a diffusion impact in areas surrounding the targeted sites. Evaluations of Neighborhood Watch in various communities also have found evidence that the watch efforts diffuse to nonparticipating targets in the same area. Street lighting has been tried as a prevention tool in many areas. The expectation is that nighttime offending should diminish after the

installation of lights or the improvement in existing lighting. Interestingly, research has found that daytime offending in areas that have had lighting improvements has also been reduced. This clearly suggests temporal diffusion. Diffusion also is apparent in the U.K. Safer Cities program, particularly in areas where the prevention efforts are intensively implemented.

In one interesting study, Marcus Felson and his colleagues reported that diffusion may actually occur in the opposite direction from what would be expected. That is, changes occurring outside the target area may impact on the target, leading to the appearance of program effectiveness. In their study of the New York City bus terminal, Felson and his colleagues found that reductions in crime outside the terminal, dating from prior to the terminal improvements, may have contributed to crime reductions inside the terminal. In essence, reductions in robbery and assault occurring outside the terminal may have diffused into the terminal. The fact that the reductions inside the terminal were greater than outside suggested that the targeted prevention efforts were effective beyond any possible diffusion that took place.

A final interesting finding in relation to diffusion involves the idea of *anticipatory benefits*. Anticipatory benefits refers to changes in crime which predate the actual implementation of a crime prevention program. That is, the impact may actually occur prior to or separate from the actual prevention initiative. Publicity about the prevention program (or as a part of the program) may reduce crime in and of itself. In one sense, this could be a form of diffusion of benefits that arises most probably from the fact that offenders, victims, and others know about a forthcoming prevention activity and begin to respond prior to the activation of the intervention. Publicity about an impending intervention may be the impetus for the anticipatory benefits. Several studies reveal evidence of anticipatory benefits stemming from publicity. These analyses range from efforts to address theft of and from autos in parking lots to the use of closed-circuit television (CCTV) in town centers to burglary intervention programs. The publicity that precedes the actual intervention prompts crime reductions before any preventive activity has occurred. This is a diffusion of benefits in anticipation of an action.

Summary

While concerns over displacement have existed for some time in the literature, diffusion is a more recent topic. Diffusion should be considered as a counterbalancing force to displacement. Given the fact that both forces could be at work in a project, it is important to design projects that can uncover each of these possible factors. The inability to identify displacement and diffusion would result in an incomplete analysis of program effectiveness.

Steven P. Lab

See also Crime Prevention; Displacement

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DISABILITIES, VICTIMIZATION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH

Disability is an impairment that limits one or more basic functions such as seeing, hearing, walking, communicating, processing information, or caring for oneself. Disability can also be seen as the barrier individuals face in architectural designs, practices, or attitudes that were based on a conception of human functioning that excludes those with disabilities. The high rates of victimization of these individuals in some categories of crime and significant barriers to effective intervention and prevention outcomes related to disability make studying victimization of those with disabilities particularly important.

Incidence

More than 51 million individuals with disabilities are living in the United States, according to recent U.S. Census Bureau data. The data on rates of victimization of individuals with disabilities are generally acknowledged to be problematic. Disability information is rarely included in crime data collection. When disability data are collected, they are frequently related to certain types of crime and sample only a subcategory of disability, such as developmental disability. The incidence of victimization of individuals with disabilities as a general category including all crimes and all disabilities is unknown.

There is evidence linking certain categories of disability to high rates of victimization in certain categories of crime. Women with disabilities have been found to be the victims of sexual assault or intimate partner/domestic violence at rates four or more times greater than the rates for women in the general population. The incidence is even higher for women with developmental disabilities, which are defined as cognitive, physical or both types of disabilities that appear before the age of 22 and are likely to be lifelong. Individuals with severe mental illness are victims of violent crime at rates significantly higher than those of the general population. Children with disabilities may have higher than average rates of maltreatment such as neglect, physical abuse, or sexual abuse, although this has been debated.

Incidence data may be improved as a result of the Crime Victims with Disabilities Awareness Act of 1998, Public Law 105-301, which resulted in new National Crime Victimization Survey instruments to measure the nature of crimes against individuals with developmental disabilities and specific characteristics of the victims of those crimes.

Intervention

Individuals with disabilities who are victimized rely on the same sources for assistance and intervention as any other citizen in a community, although there are disability-specific services available. Intervention efforts for individuals with disabilities have a number of aspects relevant to disability. Successful intervention faces a fundamental barrier in the low reporting rate of crimes against individuals with disabilities. Several factors contribute to this low reporting rate. Crimes may not be reported due to the fear of losing critical services from agencies that might be implicated or inconvenienced. Individuals with disabilities may not report crimes if they have not been educated as to what their rights are or how to identify victimization. Individuals with disabilities may also choose not to report a crime because of past experiences in which their ability to understand or communicate was discounted.

When individuals with a disability choose to report a crime, the reporting process must be accessible to them. The process is defined as accessible if it is able to be used as effectively by people with disabilities as by those without. An individual who is deaf may require an interpreter or video conferencing. An individual with an intellectual disability who expresses himself or herself differently may not be taken seriously, or be misunderstood, unless intervention professionals have been trained to be aware that there is a broad range in the way people think and communicate. Obtaining intervention services also requires that affordable and accessible transportation be available to the victim with disabilities.

Intervention may also be hampered by resistance from service providers who feel unprepared or otherwise unable to adequately serve an individual with a disability. Even subconscious beliefs can affect services, including the belief that an individual with a disability is not likely to be the victim

of a crime. In the criminal justice system, there is evidence of low rates of prosecution when the victim has a disability, especially if it is an intellectual disability. Individuals with disabilities who have reported a crime may be discouraged from proceeding with prosecution based on the belief that prosecution will not be successful. Another factor contributing to the low rate of prosecution is the concern that individuals with disabilities, in particular intellectual disabilities, may not be competent to testify on their own behalf or able to handle the stress of court proceedings. An assumption of incompetence of individuals with intellectual disabilities may still exist in some legal systems.

Prevention

Prevention efforts are primarily concerned with educating and empowering individuals with disabilities, the professionals that work with them, and the community at large. The involvement of individuals with disabilities in all aspects of community life is a relatively new development. Several factors associated with this development have hampered prevention efforts. The late 20th century saw the release of many individuals with disabilities from residential institutions that did not prepare these individuals to protect themselves from victimization. The historical isolation of individuals with disabilities, in institutions and other segregated settings, has also contributed to the idea that these individuals are not subject to the risks of victimization that come with participation in community life.

The belief that individuals with disabilities are not capable of contributing to their own safety is in decline but still affects prevention efforts that rely on empowerment of the individual. The concept that individuals with disabilities are childlike or incapable of making decisions on their own behalf has also contributed to the encouragement of habits of compliance at the expense of assertiveness and the ability to protect oneself.

As is the case with intervention, prevention efforts for victims with disabilities succeed when they are accessible (i.e., they enable individuals with disabilities to maneuver in the setting where services are provided, communicate, and be welcomed). Successful prevention is also connected to skill building and increased awareness that recognizes

the challenges and dynamics described above. The Crime Victims with Disabilities Awareness Act of 1998 and the Violence Against Women Act of 2000 contain provisions designed to reduce the victimization of individuals with disabilities along these lines.

Robert Bonney

See also Domestic Violence; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Institutional; Intimate Partner Violence; Mental Illness and Victimization; Rape; Sexual Victimization

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DISPLACEMENT

Displacement, or more specifically crime displacement, is the phenomenon of criminal activities shifting in some form as a response to crime prevention initiatives such as increased policing, Neighborhood Watch, and target hardening. Displacement is an important phenomenon to consider when designing crime prevention initiatives because if crime is simply displaced to other locations, times, methods, crime types, or victims, crime prevention is a zero-sum game for society. Moreover, if displacement of some form and degree does occur the societal benefits to crime prevention are not as great. This forces us to ask whether

crime prevention initiatives should be undertaken or not, as well as what crime prevention initiatives should be undertaken given that we expect some form of displacement to occur. This entry discusses the context of displacement in terms of theoretical expectations, the forms of displacement, methodological issues with measuring displacement, and evidence for the existence of displacement.

The Displacement Model of Crime

The fact that researchers and practitioners discuss the possibility of displacement means that there is some underlying belief in the structure of crime that would lead to such a phenomenon. Consequently, there is a model of displacement in the criminological literature that is referred to sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly. Steven Lab outlines the four primary assumptions of such a model, a useful starting point for considering the impact of crime prevention initiatives.

The first assumption is that offenders have a need to commit a certain number of offenses. The place, time, crime classification, method, and target are not particularly important, as crime must simply be performed. Such a view almost necessarily implies some form of pathology or antisocial characteristic within offenders that forces them to satisfy this need. Lab uses the term *inelastic* to describe this need for committing crime. It is a term used in choice theory (most commonly in microeconomics) to describe a product that must be consumed at a certain level. The best example of an inelastic good is insulin. Regardless of the price, a diabetic must consume a certain quantity of insulin to avoid health complications. In the context of the offender, regardless of the “price” of offending (risks, payoffs, etc.), crime must be committed.

The second assumption is that offenders are willing to be mobile. This simply means that offenders are willing to operate in different locations, at different times, use different tactics, select different targets, and perform different types of crime. Consequently, if a crime prevention initiative is undertaken, then offenders must be flexible and able to adapt to the changes it brings.

The third assumption is critical and become very important when questioning the displacement model of crime: Offenders act rationally. Though a contentious statement at times, the rational

offender is the only type of offender that is displaced. Otherwise, the offender will continue to undertake crime in the manner before any crime prevention initiative began. Derek Cornish and Ronald Clarke point this out through the use of the term *choice-structuring properties*. Choice-structuring properties of crimes involve the assessment, by offenders, of the potential payoffs of a crime and its corresponding risks. It is because of any changes in payoffs and risks that offenders choose to displace their criminal activities.

The fourth, and last, assumption is that alternative places, times, methods, crimes, and targets are *available* to the offender. If the second assumption of willing to be mobile is satisfied, then this fourth assumption must also be satisfied for crime to be displaced.

Questioning the Displacement Model of Crime

The purpose of questioning the displacement model of crime is not to deny that displacement exists, or that some offenders are always willing to commit crime no matter how it comes about. Rather, the purpose of questioning this model is to show that displacement is not absolute.

The assumption of the inelastic commission of crime assumes that the root of all crime is within the offenders. As mentioned above, this could be some pathological condition or other antisocial characteristic. Both Marcus Felson and Ronald Clarke challenge this view. They state that it is opportunity that is at the root of crime. In his book *Crime and Everyday Life*, Felson goes into great detail to show how this is the case. These theorists do not deny that motivation for committing crime exists, but they do stress that motivation means nothing without the presence of suitable targets. If criminal activities are at least partially opportunistic and/or unplanned, the assumption of the inelastic commission of crime is violated.

The assumption of mobility is also easily challenged. Though the methods used to commit a crime, the crime type chosen, and the victims of crime have some degree of substitutability, location and time are not always flexible. Patricia Brantingham and Paul Brantingham have outlined the importance of geography to criminal offenses, describing the geometry of crime. Offenders do not

commit crime randomly in their environment. Rather, crimes are committed in the places they frequent most often as well as the pathways between them. In the context of time, there are certain commitments that people have. Consider a young offender in school; if the criminal opportunities between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. are removed, the young offender has few options to commit other crimes.

The assumption of the rational offender is particularly instructive here. If offenders change their criminal activities because of the perception of increased risks or decreased rewards, then it must follow that risks can be made high enough and reward low enough to prompt some (or most) offenders desist from criminal activities. As such, the displacement model of crime contains an assumption that does not have to be shown to be violated. The mere presence of the assumption states that displacement is not inevitable.

Finally, the assumption of (available) alternative targets for crime is probably the easiest to accept. As discussed below, there is evidence of displacement, so there must be alternative targets available. However, not all targets are equally attractive to all offenders. This may be the simple reason why crime concentrates in particular areas of urban (and other) environments. The easy and most attractive targets are chosen first. Once these targets are removed, less attractive and more difficult targets are selected, and so on. However, this process can only go so long before the payoffs are simply not worth the risks.

Forms of Displacement

Regardless of whether one subscribes to a displacement model of crime or not, displacement comes in a number of forms. More than 30 years ago, Thomas Reppetto listed five different forms of displacement: territorial, temporal, tactical, target, and functional. Each is discussed, in turn.

Territorial, or geographical, displacement is the most common form of displacement that is expected to occur. To paraphrase David Weisburd and his colleagues, crime simply moves around the corner. For example, if there is some form of crime prevention activity in one neighborhood (Neighborhood Watch, increased police presence, target hardening, etc.), criminals simply move to another neighborhood without such crime prevention activities. Most often, territorial displacement is assumed to

occur in neighborhoods, or areas, close to the original crime area, but this is not necessarily the case. Rather, crime moves to the next best location for committing the relevant offense that *may* be in close proximity.

Temporal displacement occurs when offenders commit their offenses at different times of the day, days of the week, and so on. This form of displacement will only occur in response to certain forms of crime prevention activities. These are the type of activities, defined by the presence of a citizen or police patrol, that only occur at certain times of the day or week. Depending on the nature of the offenders, who may also be constrained by time, temporal displacement may be expected. A crime prevention activity such as target hardening is not expected to result in temporal displacement because such an activity is always present. In addition, if temporally based crime prevention activities are targeted at youth who are enrolled in school (extra police patrols between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., for example), temporal displacement is not expected to occur.

Tactical displacement is a change in methods used by offenders to commit crime. This form of displacement is most likely a response to target hardening crime prevention initiatives. Changes in the technology to prevent automotive theft has shown this to be the case quite clearly with the advent of steering column locks, steering wheel locks, alarms, and electronic disabling devices. Automobiles are still stolen, just through different means.

Target displacement occurs when there is a change in victims, but no change in the area where offenders search for opportunities. A prime example would be a target hardening initiative that only some proportion of homes undertakes within a neighborhood. If that crime prevention initiative is identifiable by the offenders (burglar alarm signage, for example), the remaining homes in that same neighborhood would become the victims of crime. Though the distinction between target and territorial displacement is an important one, target displacement may be thought of as micro-territorial displacement: Crime still occurs; it just occurs next door rather than in another neighborhood.

Functional displacement occurs when an offender actually stops committing one type of crime and switches to another type of crime. In this situation, the crime prevention initiative removes all criminal opportunity, or makes the commission

of crime so difficult that it is easier for offenders to switch their activities, albeit to other criminal activities. Functional displacement may also be subdivided into two different forms: benign and malign. Robert Barr and Ken Pease point out that even if displacement occurs, perfectly, it may actually benefit society. Though this may initially be thought of an odd statement, most people, if asked about their “preferences” for victimization would prefer one crime over another; the cost of a simple assault to the individual and society is far less than the cost of a sexual assault. Of course, functional displacement may go the other way: Rather than committing automotive thefts, offenders may switch to committing armed robberies.

Finally, Barr and Pease also have contributed to the measurement of different types of displacement through the addition of a sixth form of displacement: perpetrator displacement. In this form of displacement, one offender stops criminal activity (incarceration, ages out of crime, begins to view criminal activities as too risky, etc.), but another offender takes his or her place. Alternatively, though a crime prevention initiative may make crime unattractive (too risky or too few rewards), it may allow another offender to see opportunity.

It should be clear from this brief discussion that it is possible to predict, to some degree, the form of displacement that will occur. Consequently, holding the view that displacement is not always perfect, or 100%, enables those involved in crime prevention activities to take them in stages to minimize overall displacement.

Methodological Issues for Measuring Displacement

Being able to classify and, potentially, predict the form of displacement is a powerful tool for those involved in crime prevention. However, actually measuring displacement can be problematic. Though there are other difficulties, as outlined in some of the Further Readings at the end of the entry, one methodological issue is particularly problematic: measuring significant change. The most obvious example of this problem involves the use of territorial displacement, but similar difficulties exist with other forms of displacement.

Consider an urban environment that is divided into a set of equally sized neighborhoods, representing a

grid. Suppose there are nine of these neighborhoods organized in a square, and a crime prevention initiative is undertaken in the center neighborhoods. The crime prevention initiative is undertaken in the middle neighborhood because it has the greatest volume of crime (an average of ten per some unit of time), whereas the other neighborhoods have much lower volumes of crime (an average of five per the same unit of time). Now suppose the crime prevention initiative is a success with a 50% reduction in crimes: now five per unit of time. However, there is perfect displacement. The five crimes that are reduced now occur in five of the adjacent eight neighborhoods. Here is the problem: Because crime will vary over time, an increase of one crime in five of the other neighborhoods will likely not lead to any statistically significant changes being measured. Based on averages, those assessing the crime prevention initiative may think that territorial displacement has occurred, but they cannot make any meaningful statements. This problem only becomes more difficult when the number of neighborhoods to which crime may move increases.

This measurement problem, however, is not confined to territorial displacement, as indicated above. If an assessment of increased police presence after school hours is being undertaken, then temporal displacement must be considered a possibility. Again, suppose crime falls between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., but there is a corresponding increase in crime at other times of the day. If the comparison period is the rest of the day, then displaced crimes that were committed 3 hours of the day will be counted with crimes that occur in the other 21 hours of the day. Measuring any statistically significant change will likely be very difficult even if perfect displacement occurs. Tactical, target, functional, and perpetrator displacement may also be difficult to measure for similar reasons; it takes time for some of these forms of displacement to occur, so are they due to actual displacement or the variability of crime over time?

(A Lack of) Evidence for Displacement

This methodological difficulty, and others not discussed here, has not stopped researchers from attempting to assess the presence of displacement from crime prevention initiatives. Though there

has not been a comprehensive review for over a decade, the 1990s saw three such reviews of the empirical assessments of displacement undertaken by Barr and Pease, John Eck, and René Hesselning, all of which are listed in the Further Readings at the end of this entry.

Because it is easiest to measure, it should come as no surprise that territorial displacement is the most common form of displacement investigated. This is followed by target displacement and offense displacement—temporal and tactical displacement are studied the least of all forms. All three of the reviews come to the same conclusion: Displacement is not inevitable, and if present, is not significant enough to have cause for concern. These rather strong statements are made by these authors because more often than not there is evidence of some, but not perfect, displacement. In fact, both Eck and Hesselning suggest that different types of crime prevention initiatives and different crimes will have different degrees of displacement. Given the methodological problem discussed above and the fact that these authors can identify differential degrees of displacement for different crime prevention initiatives and crimes, displacement should be taken seriously. Because of the methodological problem outlined above, however, the measurement of displacement is likely to be biased downwards.

An additional problem for assessing the evidence for displacement, as pointed out by Weisburd and his colleagues, is that most evaluators of crime prevention initiatives do not employ methodologically sound research designs for detecting displacement. This lack of methodologically sound research designs is because of a number of constraints (time, money, and other resources), but it is very real and has not been dealt with until very recently in the context of territorial displacement.

Weisburd and his colleagues set out to assess territorial displacement in the context of drug crimes and prostitution. They assumed that if territorial displacement was to occur, it would occur within these crime classifications because of the explicitly economic nature of these crimes. In their study, many of the methodological problems are dealt with at the outset of the research or dismissed based on their results. They find no evidence of territorial displacement, but do find evidence for the diffusion of benefits. The diffusion of benefits

occurs when crime is reduced in areas close to, but not included in, the targeted crime prevention area. Thus the methodological concern outlined above is not relevant in this particular case.

However, there are some limitations in their analysis. Weisburd and his colleagues only asked whether or not crime moves around the corner. This assumes that the second best locations for crime are geographically close to the targeted area. This is not necessarily the case. It may be that the second best area for crime is across town and easily accessible by public transit—a parking lot at another shopping mall 3 miles away, for example. Given the limitations of the displacement model of crime discussed above, it is unlikely that perfect displacement will occur, and only measuring crime in immediately adjacent areas is limited, at best. Also, Weisburd and his colleagues have found evidence for tactical displacement. Though the quantification of this form of displacement is difficult, the fact that it can be observed or measured indicates that its presence is significant.

Consequently, the current state of research evaluating displacement indicates that displacement is not a significant concern for those implementing crime prevention initiatives. Or, alternatively, displacement is not significant enough to discourage the implementation of crime prevention initiatives. However, as with most social science, very few definitive statements can be made.

Martin A. Andresen

See also Burglary, Prevention of; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention, Domains of; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Diffusion of Benefits; Methodological Issues in Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention; Situational Crime Prevention

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DISPUTE RESOLUTION

The field of dispute resolution developed as an alternative to formal court processes. As such, it typically refers to a process of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) or informal dispute resolution. Rather than going through formal court proceeding, the dispute is negotiated or facilitated by a third party, often through mediation or arbitration, out of court. Through this less formal and rigid process, the facilitator assists people in dispute (the parties) by listening to their concerns and helping them negotiate an agreement. This process often results in a more consensual outcome, compared to adversarial court proceedings. While the most common forms of ADR are negotiation, mediation, collaborative law, and arbitration, there are many other forms: judicial settlement conferences, neutral fact-finding, ombudsmen, restorative justice, and so on. Though often voluntary, ADR is sometimes mandated by the courts, which require that disputants try mediation before the case is heard by the court.

Although informal dispute resolution goes back hundreds of years, across many cultures, alternative dispute resolution has grown rapidly in contemporary society since the political and civil conflicts of the 1960s. During this time, new laws protecting individual rights, as well as less tolerance for discrimination and injustice (particularly in the areas of race, sex, or national origin) led more people to file lawsuits in order to settle conflicts (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1964). These new laws gave people new grounds for seeking compensation for injustice. Other social (e.g., women) and environmental movements further highlighted a range of issues, which led to further court cases. The result was a significant increase in the number of lawsuits being filed in courts. This increased demand led to long delays in cases being brought forward, overburdened court professionals, and procedural errors within a stretched system. Hence, informal alternative dispute resolution soon became a popular way to deal with a variety of conflicts, as the process helped relieve pressure on the overburdened court system.

Informal dispute resolution processes are now used to settle a variety of disputes across a range of institutions, including the family, religious institutions such as churches, schools, the workplace, government agencies, and the courts. As already noted, the most common forms of ADR are negotiation, mediation, collaborative law, and arbitration. Negotiation is a voluntary process where there is no third party who facilitates the resolution process or imposes a resolution (although the parties involved may be coached behind the scene by a professional or support person). Mediation is a process where there is a third party, a mediator, who facilitates the resolution process (and may even suggest a resolution, typically known as a “mediator’s proposal”) but does not impose a resolution on the parties. Collaborative law is a process where each party has an attorney who facilitates the resolution process within specifically contracted terms. The parties reach agreement with support of the attorneys (who are trained in the process) and mutually agreed upon experts. Unlike formal legal proceedings, no one imposes a resolution on the parties. Arbitration is a process where a third party acts as a private judge and imposes a resolution. Arbitrations often occur in the context of contractual agreements, wherein it

is agreed that disputes will be resolved by arbitration. Arbitrators are also brought in when a stalemate has developed within a form of dispute resolution where a resolution is not imposed.

Informal dispute resolution is argued to be a better option to lawsuits and litigation for a range of reasons: It is generally faster and less expensive than formal adversarial proceedings; stalemates can be avoided; it is based on more direct participation by the disputants, rather than being run by lawyers, judges, and the state; and disputants can outline the process they will use and define the substance of the agreements. This degree of participation by the disputants has been shown to increase people’s satisfaction with the outcomes, as well as their compliance with the agreements reached. The integrative approach of most ADR processes is more cooperative and less competitive than adversarial court-based methods like litigation, and consequently can curb the escalation of conflict and ill will between parties. In fact, some research has found that the participatory process of ADR can potentially strengthen the relationship between the disputing parties rather than weaken it. This is a key advantage in situations where the parties must continue to interact after settlement is reached, such as in child custody or labor management cases.

There are potential drawbacks and criticisms of alternatives to court-based adjudication. For some, ADR is seen as a less legitimate form of justice, as it aims to be a more “informal” justice process, with less rigorous procedural safeguards in place. As such, ADR has been referred to as “second-class justice,” particularly as people who cannot afford to go to court are those most likely to use ADR procedures, and less likely to “win” their case due to the cooperative, and potentially compromising, nature of ADR.

The confidential and private nature of ADR has also been criticized, as the settlements are not in the public record and exposed to public scrutiny. For example, private disputes with companies and organizations can result in an agreeable settlement between the parties, but not resolve the issue for other potential disputants. For example, consumers may be affected differently by a defective product. While one disputant could find an agreeable settlement, others may not be aware of the defective product or reach an agreeable settlement. A

court ruling, on the other hand, could force the company to fix all problems associated with the product or remove it from the market.

While the arguments for and against the development of alternative (informal) dispute resolution remain, the field continues to grow and develop, with hundreds of different models and forms now available, including the delivery of ADR services through the Internet.

Brenda Elizabeth Morrison

See also Peer Mediation; Restorative Justice

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Since the late 1970s, attention paid to domestic violence has increased exponentially. It is now one of the types of victimization garnering the most policy and research attention. Initially, domestic violence was defined narrowly as physical violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives. This definition has evolved in the last 30 years as people have come to realize that violence exists in all kinds of romantic relationships. Here *domestic violence* is defined broadly as abuse perpetrated by one romantic partner (or ex-partner) against another. Other terms used to characterize abuse in romantic relationship are *intimate partner violence*, *spouse abuse*, *battering*, and *dating violence*. This entry details how common domestic violence is, the kinds of abuse victims experience, risk factors for abuse, and how abuse impacts victims, their children, and the community.

Prevalence and Incidence

There are two ways to measure how common domestic violence is: incidence and prevalence. In the case of domestic violence, incidence is best thought of as the number of acts of domestic violence during a given time in a given population.

Prevalence is best thought of as the proportion of a population that has experienced domestic violence in a specified time period. If every victim experienced only one act of domestic violence in a year, incidence and prevalence numbers would be the same for that year. However, typically incidence figures are higher than prevalence figures when based on the same data. These are typically calculated on an annual and lifetime basis, so both are presented here.

Yearly national estimates of domestic violence are taken from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), an annual national survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. In 2008, the NCVS estimated that there were 593,100 incidents (69,100 against men and 504,980 against women) of violent victimization by an intimate partner in the United States, which translates to an annual incidence rate of less than 1 victimization per 1,000 men age 12 and older and 4 victimizations per 1,000 women age 12 and older. The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) was a one-time national survey focused on physical violence, sexual assault, stalking, and threats of violence. The NVAWS (conducted from 1994 to 1996) estimated there were 2.3 million domestic violence victims (counting physical assault and sexual assault) in the United States, which translated to an annual prevalence of 1.2% of the population age 18 and older (a rate of 12.1 per 1,000 people)—1.5% of women and .9% of men. The NVAWS also provided estimates of how many adults in the United States had experienced domestic violence over the course of their lives. The lifetime prevalence estimate was 16.5% of the population age 18 and older (a rate of 165 per 1,000 people)—24.8% of women and 7.6% of men. Homicide is the most extreme form of domestic violence, and it is tracked by the FBI through its Uniform Crime Reporting Program's Supplementary Homicide Reports (UCR-SHR). In 2008, there were 1,333 intimate homicides in the United States. According to the NCVS and UCR-SHR, domestic violence has declined considerably over the last few decades. Between 1993 and 2008, the annual rate of domestic violence victimization reported by the NCVS has dropped 60% for women, from 9.8 to 3.9 per 1,000 women age 12 or older, and more than 50% for men, from 1.6 to 0.7 per 1,000 men age 12 or older. During the same

time, domestic violence homicides tracked by the UCR-SHR have dropped from 2,201 in 1993 to 1,333, even as the U.S. population increased.

The weakness of all of the estimates in this section is that they measure only physical acts of violence and thus underestimate the true extent of domestic violence. The more severe an act of domestic violence, the less common it is. So, for example, screaming at, swearing at, or threatening a partner are much more common forms of abuse than hitting or beating up a partner.

Abuse Experiences

Initial conceptions of patterns of abuse focused on abuse of women by men and were based on work by Lenore Walker in the late 1970s and the “power and control wheel” created by Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs. Walker outlined the concept of a “cycle of violence” with three stages. In the initial stage, abuse and tension build, leading to the second stage, which is the explosion of abuse. Following the explosion is stage three, the “honeymoon” period, in which perpetrators attempt to make up for their abuse and the relationship is often characterized positively by victims. Inevitably, the honeymoon fades and tension builds again, according to the theory, and the cycle repeats itself. Since psychological and related types of abuse typically onset in a relationship before physical abuse, the initial passes through the cycle may not even include physical abuse. However, over time, it is believed that the cycle accelerates, abuse increases in intensity and frequency, and in some cases the honeymoon disappears altogether. This can lead to severe physical abuse, to which the term *battering* is often applied.

Domestic violence encompasses far more than acts of physical abuse. It involves a perpetrator attempting to exert power and control over his or her partner, and a variety of types of abuse can be used as tools to achieve that goal. These can include physical abuse (e.g., hitting the victim, physically restraining the victim, breaking objects, physical acts against others); sexual abuse (e.g., rape, unwanted touching); verbal, psychological, and emotional abuse (e.g., swearing, ethnic slurs, insults, playing “mind games,” isolating victim from friends and family); financial abuse (e.g., running up debt in the victim’s name, barring victim

access from money, not allowing a victim to work); and threatening acts against victims and others, most notably the children, family members, and pets. It is impossible to create an exhaustive listing of actions that can be abusive, but perpetrators are creative, taking advantage of their intimate knowledge of their partners. Understanding aspects of a partner such as his or her religious or cultural context or immigration status allows a perpetrator to profit from that knowledge. For example, in Orthodox Jewish communities, a perpetrator can refuse to grant a “get” (Jewish religious divorce), which means that his wife cannot remarry or date in the eyes of the community.

The above conceptualization of domestic violence is what some victims experience, but is not the case for other victims. For example, while some victims experience a very high frequency of abuse, others do not. According to the NVAW, victims averaged 6.9 physical assaults for women and 4.4 physical assaults for men by the same partner over the course of a relationship. There is now a theory, advanced originally by Michael Johnson, that there is more than one type of domestic violence. The type already described, in which physical abuse is used as part of a larger pattern of power and control, with abuse that is more likely to be severe, frequent, and escalate over time, is referred to as “intimate terrorism.” This is also the type of domestic violence more likely to be seen by criminal justice and shelter/social service agencies, and the type that has been the subject of most research and policy attention. The other major type of domestic violence, “situational couple violence,” is not embedded in an attempt at power and control. It is best described as conflict that spins out of control and escalates to physical violence. It is less severe, less frequent, less likely to escalate, and less likely to be encountered by the criminal justice and shelter/social service systems than is intimate terrorism. The different types of domestic violence have different impact on victims and likely require different prevention and intervention approaches.

Risk Factors

Victims of domestic violence are men and women, of all races and ethnicities, rich and poor, young and old. However, domestic violence is more common in certain populations, which helps identify risk

factors. There is ongoing debate regarding gender and domestic violence—are men victims of domestic violence as often as women (gender symmetry) or are women predominantly the victims of domestic violence (gender asymmetry)? It is commonly understood that women are victims of domestic violence more often than men. National victimization surveys (NCVS and NVAW) find much higher domestic violence victimization for women. Female victims also dominate arrest statistics and are more than 90% of the clients seeking help at domestic violence service agencies. For less severe forms of domestic violence, the ratio of victims between men and women is roughly equal. Most of these comparisons are based only on measures of physical violence. If sexual violence is included, domestic violence victimization is more frequent for women. Domestic violence is a subcategory of general violence, and shares some risk factors, including age, substance abuse, and socioeconomic factors. Domestic violence decreases with age—older adults are less likely to be victims of domestic violence than are younger adults. Being victimized by domestic violence is more common for those with substance abuse problems. Finally, domestic violence knows no cultural boundaries, but it is more common among the poor and immigrants.

Risk factors for domestic violence also include characteristics of couples. Couples who are “just living together” or cohabiting are more likely to experience domestic violence than are married couples. Some risk factors for couples are a function of combinations of characteristics of partners. For example, an imbalance of power in a relationship, when a woman’s occupation yields higher income or occupational prestige, creates a higher risk for male perpetration of domestic violence. Similarly, a mismatch of attitudes about gender roles can increase risk of male perpetration of domestic violence. It appears that if a man believes in traditional gender roles, but his female partner does not, that increases the risk of his perpetrating domestic violence, although that may only be the case if the economic situation of the couple dictates that traditional gender roles cannot be maintained.

Impact and Reactions

Domestic violence is a social issue that has attracted hundreds of millions of federal dollars for prevention

and intervention. This is because the impacts of domestic violence are considerable for victims, their children, and other people in their lives, including family, neighbors, co-workers, and members of the general community. This is especially the case for victims who have experienced intimate terrorism, although victims of situational couple violence experience many of the same impacts and reactions, just at a lower level.

Physical

Physical injury is the most obvious impact of domestic violence for victims, especially if that injury is visible. Victims sustain physical injuries ranging in severity from soreness, cuts, and bruises to burns, broken bones, and internal injuries to, in rare cases, permanent disabilities and death. For women, there is the additional possibility of miscarriage, complications with pregnancies, and harm to an unborn child. Women are more likely to sustain a physical injury from domestic violence than are men, and women are seen in emergency rooms more often for domestic violence–related injuries. For example, the NVAW found that in the most recent domestic violence incident involving physical assault, women were injured more than 40% of the time, and men 20% of the time. Experiencing domestic violence over an extended period of time lowers the overall physical health of victims. This is likely a result of injuries from physical abuse as well as decreased physical health from the stress of the situation and from psychosomatic illnesses.

Psychological

Physical impacts of domestic violence are often focused on by outsiders, but many domestic violence shelter clients report that the nonphysical abuse and psychological impact were much more difficult for them to handle. Research has found that domestic violence negatively impacts psychological functioning across a host of measures. Those who are victims of intimate terrorism may exhibit especially high levels of fear, to the point that it drastically modifies their behavior. Domestic violence victims, compared to the general population, have lower overall mental health, and higher levels of depression, suicidal ideation, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), along with all of

its underlying symptoms, including anxiety, difficulty sleeping, inability to concentrate, hypervigilance, angry outbursts, detachment, and a limited range of affect. Battered woman syndrome (BWS) is a specific form of PTSD exhibited by domestic violence victims, and it is raised as an issue more in court cases than elsewhere. In BWS, a woman's ability to see outside her current situation is severely compromised, to the point that she may see very limited alternatives to her situation.

Behavioral and Lifestyle

Domestic violence victimization has considerable impact on victims' behavior and lifestyle choices in ways that affect the victims, their marriage or partnership, and any children they may have. For instance, domestic violence victims have higher levels of use and abuse of alcohol and drugs than the general population. For some, this may be because they are using these substances to escape their situation or self-medicate for their physical and psychological injuries. Their use of drugs and alcohol may exacerbate the abusive situation and escalate the violence.

One of the most common questions asked of domestic violence victims is why they did not leave. In fact, most women do ultimately leave abusive relationships—on their own, using private resources, or utilizing outside services. While in domestic violence relationships, victims often actively try to manage the abuse. In some of these relationships, victims are successful in managing or eliminating the abuse, although very little is known about such relationships. For those who do leave, leaving is a process, often a long one. The process entails managing the abuse and considering a number of things, including how they feel about the relationships and how leaving would impact their lifestyle, their safety, and any children they have. Although the relationship includes domestic violence, victims' desire is often for the abuse to stop, but for the relationship to continue. Like other intimate relationships, these relationships typically did or still do include love, companionship, coparenting, and fun times together. Victims may not want to lose that, and often feel the pressure to keep the family together. In terms of the relationship, marriages with domestic violence are of lower quality than marriages without violence and are more likely to lead to divorce.

Divorce or otherwise leaving the relationship introduces a number of negative possibilities, including decreased standard of living, perhaps even poverty, residential instability, and homelessness. Some of this is complicated by how domestic violence may have impacted victims before they left the relationship, such as how the victimization negatively impacted their employment. For some, it kept them out of the workforce, while for others, it limited what jobs they could take or compromised their ability to do a job because they were not very productive, were harassed by their partner at work, and had high use of sick days to cover their injuries. Things like this lead to an uneven work history or poor references, which limits victims' ability to financially support themselves should they leave. Leaving the relationship and/or divorce does not guarantee that the domestic violence will cease. In many cases, victims continue to suffer abuse after leaving the relationship, and abuse may even increase as victims try to leave or after they have left.

Children

Victims of domestic violence evidence considerable concern about the effects of the violence on their children. In spite of that conscious concern, domestic violence victimization can decrease victims' quality of parenting. These parents are more likely to neglect or abuse their children, as is the perpetrator. Therefore, in addition to witnessing violence, children in homes with domestic violence are at higher risk of other forms of child maltreatment. For example, it is difficult for domestic violence victims suffering from PTSD to marshal the energy and focus to parent consistently. All their energy for parenting may be exhausted by attempting to manage the abuse and keep the children isolated from it. The reduced quality of the parenting children receive, as well as exposure to separation and divorce, are difficult for children. In addition, exposure to domestic violence has been linked to a number of problematic outcomes for children, the severity of which may in part depend on the age and gender of the child. Children who witness domestic violence exhibit increased externalizing behaviors (e.g., physical aggression, criminal behavior) and internalizing behaviors (e.g., withdrawal), impaired mental health, and lower

self-esteem. Externalizing behaviors are more likely for boys and internalizing behaviors are more likely for girls, although increased levels of both are found for girls and boys who live in households with domestic violence. The greatest concern has been a particular externalizing behavior—that of becoming involved in domestic violence as an adult, which is often referred to as the intergenerational transmission of violence or as a cycle of violence. Children who were raised in a home with domestic violence are more likely to be involved in domestic violence as an adult, as either a perpetrator or a victim, but most children do not repeat the “cycle.”

Community

Costs of domestic violence are also borne by the community. It is estimated that billions of dollars are spent annually in medical expenses, lost wages, and reduced work productivity. For example, one study estimated that female victims of intimate partner violence cost health care plans an additional \$1,700 annually. This is a figure that does not include the increased out-of-pocket costs for those victims in terms of copayments or costs not covered. Millions of taxpayer dollars are spent annually on the costs of policing domestic violence, processing and enforcing restraining orders, prosecuting domestic violence cases, treating and monitoring convicted domestic violence offenders, and providing services to domestic violence victims and their children.

Alison C. Cares

See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Dating Violence; Domestic Violence, Same-Sex; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Intimate Partner Violence; Women's Shelters/Help Lines

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, COMMITTED BY POLICE AND MILITARY PERSONNEL

Concerns about incidents of domestic violence committed by police and military personnel arise from the special nature of their occupations. Both occupations involve training in use of force and general deference to their authority. In addition, uniformed personnel often receive the benefit of the doubt when their accounts of events are in conflict with others', even if the other is their spouse. Though police and military personnel share superficial similarities (uniformed service and firearms), the primary link between them lies in the risk factor of exposure of service personnel to highly stressful situations. The two groups are distinct in important other ways.

Military

The link between military service and domestic violence has been brought into high relief by a series of domestic homicides on military bases. These incidents made headlines during a relatively short period of time, and were unrelated except for a single common thread. All the homicides were committed by servicemen who had recently returned from overseas deployment in the Middle East, in either Iraq or Afghanistan.

The homicides opened the door for inquiry into nonlethal forms of domestic violence among military personnel. Incidents of violence that occur in private housing off the grounds of military bases fall under local police jurisdiction, and are reflected in the statistics of those agencies. On-base offenses fall under the U.S. Military Code of Justice rather than the state's criminal code, and are not necessarily reflected in the official data collected by the criminal justice system.

It is possible to argue that an unhappy coincidence of rare events created a media-driven moral panic. However, domestic violence by soldiers falls under a larger umbrella of concerns about the long-term impact on soldiers of exposure to asynchronous warfare. Concurrent studies of the impact of deployment, and particularly combat, on military personnel stem from high numbers of diagnosed cases of posttraumatic stress disorder, suicides, and brain injuries suffered during the Long War conflicts.

It is logical to infer that increased levels of domestic violence may reflect the frustrations and other trauma resulting from combat and combat-theater assignment. Domestic violence may be one of many difficulties associated with making the transition from combat environments back to stateside and civilian life.

Definitive data are not yet available, and it is not possible to make conclusive determinations as to whether the cluster of homicides is a statistical anomaly or the leading edge of a systemic problem. The armed services are treating the issue seriously, however, providing both predeployment counseling and postreturn support. Command-level attention to the problem may not be equal across bases, or even within them. Numerous advocacy Web sites contain victims' assertions that their spouse's superiors failed to treat their complaints seriously, though others report positive responses from the base's chain of command. Minimizing of the offense is commonly cited, as is active discouragement of pursuing the matter because it might jeopardize the spouse's career.

The role of one potential protective factor has been publicized in the mainstream media: the establishment of mutual support systems among the spouses of deployed personnel. Whether these support networks function as a protective factor against domestic violence, or are undercut by the traditional reflex to keep interpersonal troubles private, it not yet known.

Police

Domestic violence by police officers charged with enforcing the law has long been one of policing's dirty little secrets. As with intimate partner violence

among military personnel, reliable data are difficult to come by, though for different reasons.

Domestic violence by police officers is often explained as a symptom resulting from the stresses of police work. While generally insulated from the dangers of improvised explosive devices and ambush attacks by insurgents to which military personnel may be subjected, police officers encounter a wide range of stressors in the course of their duties. Rotting corpses, horrible injuries inflicted on children, mutilations in automobile and industrial accidents, and many other events can create trauma. Though police officers have access to mental health services and other forms of relief, they have been reluctant to make use of them. A major reason for this avoidance is a lack of trust in the confidentiality of employer-sponsored services, and the belief that seeking assistance for mental health issues will be injurious to their career.

Police culture has traditionally been based on a "suck it up" reaction to traumatic events. A systemic ethos of "don't take the job home" prevails: officers are reluctant to discuss the most powerful events they encounter with family members, thinking that they are protecting their loved ones from the horror. Keeping those horrors bottled up can lead to psychological changes, of which angry outbursts and even violence are one result.

An older hypothesis asserts that the predominately male police are heavily invested in male superiority. In this view, domestic violence is utilitarian in nature, maintaining male officers' dominance in the household. This theory of police behavior has also been used to explain police officers' reluctance to take seriously the domestic violence episodes that they respond to in the course of their duties.

Both hypotheses are anchored in studies and surveys of earlier generations of police, and their validity in the absence of reliable contemporary data is suspect. Officers entering police service now come of age in a more gender-balanced world than their fathers and grandfathers. Two-officer marriages are not uncommon. Organizationally and culturally, the police have a more nuanced understanding of the impact of job stress. Postshooting teams of officers (who have been shot or had to shoot suspects) are assembled to assist other officers through the steps in the process that follows

such events. While the approach is not comprehensive, it is considered far superior to the old “suck it up” attitude, and it has at least opened the door for peer-to-peer discussion of the psychological impact of other traumatic events.

High-profile cases such as the April 2003 shooting death of Crystal Brame by her estranged husband, the chief of police of Tacoma, Washington, keep the issue alive. The Web page of the National Center for Women and Policing cites studies from the early 1990s indicating that 40% of police families suffer domestic violence, compared to 10% of American families overall. The studies were based on answers to questionnaires distributed to relatively small groups of police officers in single locations. Whether those results can be generalized to the occupation as a whole, or whether they represent only a geographically or time-bound cohort, is unknown.

Of greater concern is whether or not police officers actively close ranks, “protecting their own” by failing to respond to domestic violence committed by officers as the law requires. Anecdotal and testimonial evidence offered by police spouses suggests that in at least some departments, this is or has been the case. Whether it is a pervasive condition anchored in the police culture, or simply an episodic aberration, has not been determined.

For victims’ advocates, the issue of gatekeeping by the police is a critical one. Police hold the power to define an event as legitimate or “unfounded,” and access to police records is often limited. Verification of the phenomenon through official records is correspondingly difficult if the police refuse to acknowledge or record complaints by officers’ spouses.

The police do acknowledge in generic fashion that the problem exists: “We recruit from the human race” is a true statement, and domestic violence is found in almost all strata and groupings of humanity. The salient issue remains whether or not the police pursue their sworn duty, or avoid it, when faced with allegations and evidence that a crime has been committed by one of their own.

One plausible reason to suspect police officers’ greater reluctance to investigate domestic violence complaints against their fellow officers is found in the 1996 Domestic Violence Offender Gun Ban, which amended the U.S. Code established by the

1968 Gun Control Act (which barred felons from possessing firearms). The U.S.C. Chapter 18 §922(g)(9) prohibits persons convicted of crimes of violence (including misdemeanor domestic violence offenses) from possessing firearms, and the firearm is an essential tool of police work. Challenges to the law have failed in several jurisdictions (*Emerson v. United States*; *Gillespie v. City of Indianapolis*; *FOP v. United States*).

Police agencies have a variety of mechanisms for retaining officers who are temporarily relieved of their duty weapons or otherwise rendered incapable of street work. Light duty assignments allow injured or pregnant officers to contribute (and draw a salary) despite not being fully street certified. Officers involved in shooting incidents are often relieved of their firearms and placed on paid administrative leave: The action allows the officers a relief from the continued stress and affords the agency the opportunity to investigate the incident. Many large police departments have some form of “rubber gun” or “bow and arrow” squad for officers who demonstrate mental health problems.

All of those mechanisms are temporary, however, preserving the officer’s paycheck and status within the agency in the face of adverse or limiting circumstances. Postconviction removal of the right to carry a firearm is a permanent condition, one that renders the officer unfit for his or her position. To many officers, that penalty is disproportionate to the offense. Depriving officers of their livelihood is a heavier penalty than that imposed upon other citizens for the same offense. And police officers are far more likely to consider the act within a larger context of the offending officer’s service with the department, minimizing rather than accentuating its harm.

Victims’ advocates counter that police work demands a greater fealty to observing the law than is expected of the average citizen. Police misconduct constitutes an inherent betrayal of the public trust in addition to the betrayal of marital vows or nonmarital commitment. The act itself calls into question the officer’s willingness and capacity to respond to other cases of domestic violence fairly. Advocates also note the various ways that police officers and their agencies get around the law’s provisions, from plea bargaining to lesser offenses that do not trigger the law’s provision to agencies’ outright failure to implement the law.

Domestic violence committed by police officers and by military personnel tarnishes the carefully crafted image of those occupations as defenders of the weak. Developing conclusive evidence of a link to stress of the job or to personality types drawn to police work remains to be done. Establishing the true dimensions in each setting is difficult, and lack of evidence often gives rise to groundless speculation. The offense is a serious one regardless of the offender's occupation, but distrust of the investigative process in both services accentuates public concerns.

Michael E. Buerger

See also Domestic Violence; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication; Victimology; Violence, Theories of

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, SAME-SEX

Although scholars have studied intimate partner violence for decades, when it comes to same-sex domestic violence there is a considerable gap in the research, even though the issue has gradually received more attention.

Undeniably, family violence and intimate partner violence historically applied only to traditional,

heterosexual couples. So when scholars started studying same-sex domestic violence, attitudes from the public as well as social scientists ran from widespread ignorance to denial; either people believed that same-sex intimate abuse did simply not exist or they clung to stereotypical, sometimes homophobic, beliefs. However, over the years, the recognition of lesbian battering and violent gay male partnerships has continuously been challenging the view of domestic violence as unique to heterosexual intimate relationships. Although violence in gay male and lesbian relationships is in many ways similar to violence in heterosexual relationships, there are important differences. Some consider that gay male and lesbian batterers usually use the same coercive and abusive conducts as heterosexual male batterers, with identical motives and comparable consequences. This might be true to some extent; however, as described in this entry, there are unique features to same-sex domestic violence. This is apparent in the definition of domestic violence in this context and the behaviors that are labeled as violent, but it also shows in the way the phenomenon is somehow still invisible and in the way that many victims do not have anyone to tell.

Lesbian Battering and Violent Gay Male Partnerships

In *Naming the Violence: Speaking Out About Lesbian Battering*, a 1986 book edited by Kerry Lobel, Barbara Hart provided a definition of lesbian battering that could serve as a reference for many. Her definition situates the motives of violence in the victim's resistance to the perpetrator's control. Building on this idea, a decade later, David Island and Patrick Letellier presented in their work a definition of gay men's domestic violence. According to these texts, the forms that domestic violence may take in same-sex relationships include physical violence, sexual violence, isolation, psychological and emotional abuse, threats and intimidation, economic violence, and property destruction. This definition stems in essence from the classical definitions of domestic and intimate partner violence, with one notable exception: the appearance of the threat of "outing." When the abused partner is not out to his or her family, friends, or colleagues, or within the community, the abusive partner may use this secret as a way of

control. If controlling behaviors are common in intimate partner abuse, such homophobic control, as named by Hart, is by definition unique to same-sex domestic violence.

Prevalence of Violence in Same-Sex Relationships

For several methodological reasons—nonrandom sampling procedures and self-selection factors, among others—it is not possible to assess the extent of same-sex domestic violence. Studies on abuse between gay male or lesbian partners usually rely on small convenience samples such as lesbian or gay male members of an association. For example, many studies on lesbian battering have surveyed young, White, middle-class, educated women who were members of lesbians' rights associations or attending large social events for activists. These women are probably not representative of all lesbians and their experiences should not be generalized. Until researchers are able to draw a probability sample from the homosexual community, they will not be able to accurately determine the extent of same-sex domestic violence.

Yet many researchers have discussed the prevalence of gay men's domestic violence and lesbian battering. A common assumption is that lesbian battering occurs at a rate similar to that of domestic violence in heterosexual couples. In their pioneer study on lesbian battering, Claire Renzetti and Charles Harvey Miley estimated that between 22% and 46% of lesbians had been in an abusive relationship. As far as gay men's domestic violence is concerned, researchers have been more cautious and few figures have been published. Often-cited works include annual reports done by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs estimating the prevalence of domestic violence among gay male partners to around 25% of couples.

Theories, Risk Factors, and Explanations

Research on same-sex domestic violence is recent. Given that feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s put quite a lot of effort into developing a feminist analysis of domestic violence, the fear that same-sex domestic violence could be used to deny the central role of sexism in domestic violence partially explained the reluctance of social scientists to

address this issue. In a pinch, people could contemplate violence between male partners, but the image of the lesbian batterer broke traditionally established roles built upon the dyad violent husband/abused wife. For some theorists, male violence was considered intrinsic; hence, abuse between male partners appeared somehow logical, whereas domestic violence in lesbian partnerships was unthinkable. Indeed, according to some radical feminists, removing the man from the equation would amount to stopping the violence.

Mainstream gender-based feminist theories have attributed domestic violence to patriarchal values and traditional sex roles stereotypes. However, the idea that sexism and male dominance contribute to the prevalence of domestic violence seems of little help for explaining abuse within same-sex couples. Still, explanatory models specific to lesbian battering or gay men's violence are scarce. Most risk factors that appear to play a role in the occurrence of same-sex domestic violence have been shown to be predictors of violence in heterosexual couples as well. Unsurprisingly, scholars most of the time rely on explanations of heterosexual domestic violence to explain violence in same-sex couples. However, this leads to common misconceptions linking domestic violence in same-sex relationships to partners' role-play.

Domestic violence studies often focus on the existence of two roles within a relationship, those of perpetrator and victim. As pointed out by Renzetti and Miley, within the context of heterosexual intimate partnerships, these two roles become gender specific. Drawing upon studies presenting masculinity as often associated with aggression and control in intimate relationships, some researchers may wrongly conclude that, in homosexual partnerships, the abuser will be a more masculine character, whereas the victim will be more feminine. Following from this is the idea that violence is more likely to be reciprocal in homosexual couples than in heterosexual ones, because same-sex relationships are mistakenly believed not to reflect traditional power and control dynamics.

Beliefs and attitudes are changing, and studies that are more reliable have recently shown that there is as much diversity of roles in gay or lesbian couples as in heterosexual couples. Knowing that mainstream theories may be heterosexist enables

scholars to apprehend domestic violence not as an issue of gender but as an issue of power and control, and thus to understand same-sex domestic violence. In any intimate relationship, a partner of either sex might try to control the other partner. According to this perspective, male dominance in the history of the heterosexual family becomes one—although probably the most common—manifestation of the use of violence to control an intimate partner. The key element might then not be gender itself, but the opportunities created by the structure of society and social roles. Sexism creates an opportunity for abusive men to be violent toward their partners, and homophobia creates the same opportunity for abusive gay men and lesbians to exercise control over theirs.

Services Provided to Lesbian and Gay Male Victims of Partner Violence

For decades, battered women have received advocacy and support, mostly at the initiative of the battered women's movement and other feminist organizations. Services have been built on the idea that all batterers are men and all victims are women. In this context, same-sex domestic violence appears to be confusing for many, including social and mental health professionals and criminal justice authorities. Mistakes and misunderstandings are common. Abusive lesbians may be wrongly referred to a women's shelter or sent to mandatory treatment for violent husbands; abused gay men may be sent home with their abuser after the police considered the case as "fair fight" between two men.

It is commonly assumed by both the public and professionals that because lesbians are women, they can simply seek help at battered women's crisis centers or shelters. Most centers do have nondiscrimination clauses in their statutes, yet using gender-neutral wording is not equivalent to explicitly recognizing the existence of domestic violence between female partners and the need for the abused partner to find support. Research has shown that most battered lesbians do not seek help from conventional crisis centers. Either they truly believe that these services are for heterosexual women only or they simply feel uncomfortable going to the centers. Agency services for abused gay men are sparse, and victims are reluctant to

seek assistance from formal sources. Although battered gay men may seek support from individual counselors in diverse settings, these professionals by and large have not been trained to address the specific needs of victims of same-sex domestic violence.

At this point, some scholars have suggested that it may be more efficient to develop services and counseling within the gay male and lesbian communities rather than through the system. Whatever the model, alternative services need to be developed. Programs are rarely conceptualized to fit the specific needs of the homosexual community. Even when specifically designed to help gay men or lesbians, they are mainly oriented toward responding to hate crimes and not to domestic violence.

Victims' Rights and Reporting

Homosexuality is still stigmatized today. Homophobia in the police and criminal justice system has often been documented by researchers as one reason for gay male and lesbian victims not to report domestic abuse. Traumatic experiences of gay men and lesbians run from not being believed to being demeaned or insulted by officials. Real, and perceived, homophobia prevents victims from seeking help, as many fear they will be denied such support. Seeking help becomes even more delicate when victims have not told their friends or family about their homosexuality.

Gay male and lesbian victims of domestic violence often do not have the same rights as battered heterosexual individuals. In many U.S. states, it is not possible to prosecute such incidents as domestic violence because legal statutes require the partners be of opposite sex, legally married or civilly united. Even though, worldwide, more domestic violence laws now explicitly grant the same rights to same-sex and heterosexual partners, there is still a long way to go.

The Role of the Gay Male and Lesbian Community

Ironically, even though lesbian activists were working hand in hand with battered women for the recognition of domestic violence, the awareness of lesbian battering came much later. For their part, gay men were not particularly involved in the

movement and have had even more difficulty acknowledging that domestic violence also occurs between gay intimate partners. Traditionally, the homosexual community has been reluctant to address this issue for fear of homophobic reactions or conservative backlash. Alternatively, the concern was that it could be used as evidence of the inherently dysfunctional nature of same-sex relationships. Because of their history of rejection and discriminations, those in same-sex relationships wanted to protect the fragile credibility they have earned. Hence, fighting for civil rights, such as nondiscrimination and the right to get married and to raise children, ranked higher on activists' agenda. Yet, the problem of same-sex domestic violence is compounded when the homosexual community itself refuses to accept the seriousness of the problem.

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See also Domestic Violence; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Hate and Bias Crime; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND ARREST POLICY

As all states and the federal government have addressed domestic violence crimes through their criminal statutes, they have also consistently determined that arrest is the preferred law enforcement response in domestic violence cases. The process of the arrest has been widely studied by criminal justice researchers, especially the use of arrest in domestic violence cases. In the last 30 years, states have moved from treating domestic violence as a private family matter toward treating it as a criminal act against society. This movement, promoted widely by women's rights advocates, has led to dramatic changes in state and federal criminal law.

In the early 1980s, pioneering studies found that when law enforcement officers made an arrest in a domestic violence case (instead of merely separating the parties or trying to mediate the conflict), the arrest had a deterrent effect, and it was far less likely that the defendant would recidivate. Other researchers found similar results, and states began mandating or encouraging arrest in all domestic violence cases. By the 1990s, all states and the federal government had enacted statutes that guide the arrest decision in domestic violence cases.

Mandatory Versus Pro-Arrest Policies

There is a difference between the types of arrest policies that exist in state laws. There are two broad categories of arrest policies for domestic violence cases: mandatory arrest and pro-arrest. In mandatory arrest jurisdictions, a law enforcement officer must make an arrest when he or she has probable cause to believe that an act of domestic violence has been committed. This means that if, based on the evidence, it is more likely than not that a crime of domestic violence was committed the officer must arrest the perpetrator. In these jurisdictions, the victim cannot make a decision about the arrest. This means that even if the victim asks the officer not to make an arrest, the officer must do so anyway, as long as he or she has probable cause that a crime has occurred.

In pro-arrest jurisdictions, law enforcement officers are encouraged, but not required, to make

an arrest in a domestic violence case. This means that arrest is the preferred response. In these jurisdictions, officers have some limited discretion in deciding whether or not to make an arrest, even if the officer has probable cause. In some states where the statewide policy calls for pro-arrest, many local law enforcement agencies have individual policies that mandate arrest response. Some agencies state that they want to make the arrest decision easier by removing the officer's discretion once he or she has reached probable cause.

Determining Probable Cause

The determination of probable cause to make an arrest in a domestic violence case can be based on a number of factors known to the officer at the time of an arrest. Determining whether or not probable cause exists is one of the most important decisions an officer can make at the scene of a domestic violence call. Language varies from state to state as to what the officer should believe to establish probable cause. Most combine wording that there is probable cause to believe that an act of domestic violence was committed or, that continued violence is likely. The act typically is one of physical violence and consists of the officer's belief that is more likely than not that the act occurred. This standard is more than mere suspicion but less than proof beyond a reasonable doubt.

Statutory language often directs the officer to investigate to determine the "primary aggressor" in domestic violence complaints. Visible injury, bruising, or red marks are often, but not always, apparent. Interviewing available witnesses, including children in the home, is an important method of gaining information upon which probable cause may be based. The condition of the dwelling or location where the alleged act took place may provide further physical evidence. This may take the form of whether there is disarray at the location such as broken items or indications of a recent struggle.

The demeanor of all parties involved or present can provide further information about what occurred. The victim and offender may be excited, calm, or appear fearful. Officers must question each person to construct as accurate a picture as possible into what happened. There is not always the need to observe a physical injury to document the physical act. The victim's account alone, if

believed by the investigating officer, is sufficient to establish probable cause.

If the domestic violence involves stalking or harassment, there may be evidence in the form of recorded messages or caller ID readouts. The existence of a protective order or injunction should be determined as well as any previous reports of assault by the alleged offender. Officers can easily determine whether an active protective order exists by checking law enforcement databases. An offender can violate a protective order by simply going to the victim's residence or place of employment. In most states, the officer's probable cause obviates the need for a warrant normally required for arrest in a misdemeanor crime case. State laws have specified that officers can make an arrest in a domestic violence when probable cause exists. The victim's consent or cooperation is not needed for an arrest to be made or to establish probable cause.

Dual Arrests

Most state laws address the issue of dual arrests. Dual arrests occur when a law enforcement officer arrests both parties at the domestic violence crime scene. In many instances where dual arrests have occurred, officers claim that both parties committed crimes during the altercation. Yet many studies on domestic violence have shown that when there is a domestic violence incident, a victim may try to defend himself or herself during the altercation. Such defense may involve the use of some physical force for self-protection. An officer may find, for instance, that both parties have injuries consistent with the use of force by both. A defendant may have scratch marks or bite marks, while the victim may have facial bruises or contusions. State laws discourage the use of dual arrests, and instead give guidance to law enforcement officers in trying to determine the primary aggressor. If an officer can determine primary aggressor, state laws require that the officer arrest only the primary aggressor, and not both parties. In order to determine primary aggressor, an officer needs to investigate the scene closely and determine the following:

- Who called the police?
- Does the physical evidence show that one party was attempting to defend oneself?
- What is the demeanor of each party?

- What are the relative sizes and physical capabilities of the parties?
- Is there a history of domestic violence between the parties?
- Does one person seem afraid of the other person?

The answers to these questions should guide the officer in determining whether arresting both parties is necessary. Since state laws are clear on discouraging dual arrest, officers need to carefully attempt to determine primary aggressor.

The Use of Victim Advocates at the Scene

State laws on domestic violence also frequently suggest that law enforcement officers utilize victim advocates at the crime scene whenever possible. Victim advocates can assist victims and their children by providing emotional support. Victims may prefer to talk to victim advocates instead of law enforcement officers, and may be more willing to speak to civilians than to uniformed officers. Victim advocates employed by either a law enforcement agency or a prosecutor's office can assist in preparing a victim for what he or she may potentially face in deposition or court. The victim advocate can assist in the filing of a protective order or injunction and in filing for victim crime compensation funds where available. Victim advocates also serve the important function of following up with the victim days or weeks after the incident occurred.

Implications of Arrest

When there is an arrest in a domestic violence case, most state laws require specific conditions. One of the most common conditions is that the perpetrator cannot be released on bond until after a first appearance in front of a judge. Most first appearances do not happen until the day following the arrest. This means that most offenders will be required to spend some time in jail, and must wait to have their cases evaluated by a judge before release. This condition is a way to protect victims of domestic violence from the difficult situation of having an offender arrested and then quickly released to return home. When a judge conducts a first appearance hearing, the judge can review the defendant's prior history, can allow the victim to give input on whether the

offender should be released, and can determine whether any other special conditions should be placed on the defendant's release from jail pending the next court appearance.

When a law enforcement officer makes an arrest in a domestic violence case, state laws require the officer or agency to send a copy of the arrest report to the local domestic violence shelter. This process serves as a check within the system and assists the shelters in making contact with victims to provide follow-up services and support. The provision of the arrest report is typically mandated within 24 hours.

Model Law Enforcement Policies

Since state statutes have become so specific on the use of arrest in domestic violence cases, it is imperative that law enforcement agencies continue to provide training to their officers on handling domestic violence calls. These cases require special investigation, and officers need training on understanding the dynamics of domestic violence. Based upon the ongoing research into what works in domestic violence enforcement, many states have adopted model law enforcement policies. States have encouraged law enforcement agencies across the state to adopt these policies to gain consistency and compliance with state law.

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See also Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE/ FAMILY VIOLENCE COURTS

Family courts and domestic violence courts are nontraditional courts intended to handle cases that deal with social and legal issues. Both types of courts process domestic violence cases. If a jurisdiction does not have a specialized domestic violence court, these cases would most likely be processed in a family court. Due to weaknesses of family courts in handling domestic violence cases, advocates have encouraged the establishment of specialized domestic violence courts. This entry first discusses the legal history of domestic violence, and then covers the history, philosophy, and structural programming of family courts, in addition to their handling of domestic violence cases. Following the family courts section, the entry describes the history, philosophy, and structural programming of domestic violence courts, as well as a study evaluating the effectiveness of a domestic violence court in Lexington County, South Carolina. The entry concludes with a discussion of the two courts' management of domestic violence.

Domestic Violence Legal History

As a result of the civil rights and women's rights movements of the late 1960s, advocates within the battered women's movement and domestic violence movement organized a grassroots campaign to bring public attention to the issue of domestic violence. In 1966 the California Governor's Commission on

the Family recommended the implementation of no-fault divorce proceedings and family courts. Following California's example, family courts were implemented in jurisdictions all over the nation to handle legal proceedings regarding family matters, such as divorce, child custody and visitation, child support, and juvenile delinquency.

In the progressive culture of the 1970s, the domestic violence movement spread the message that domestic violence had damaging consequences for victims, families, and communities. Coinciding with this movement, Lawrence Sherman and Richard Berk published findings from a landmark study about the deterrent benefits of arresting domestic violence offenders. Their study suggested that arresting offenders for domestic violence served as a deterrent to future violence. As a result of the findings from this study, mandatory arrest laws for domestic violence offenders were implemented in jurisdictions throughout the United States. Regrettably, research attempting to replicate Sherman and Berk's study found inconsistent results for recidivism.

Advocates and other practitioners in the criminal justice system began to realize that mandatory arrest laws were not resulting in consistent legal outcomes due to the unique social and legal complexities associated with domestic violence cases. Despite prosecutors' offices being inundated with domestic violence indictments, only a small proportion of offenders were actually arraigned in court. Many prosecutors felt they were wasting time on domestic violence cases because they produced very low prosecution rates. Instead, they discouraged women from taking legal action and pushed them toward counseling as an intervention. In response to the hasty policy actions instituted in the 1980s, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was passed in 1994 to broaden assistance for victims of domestic violence and to increase accountability of offenders. Consequently, funding became available through federal grant programs for the implementation of specialized domestic violence courts. The development of these courts involved the acknowledgement that incidents of domestic violence encompassed distinct phenomena that made these cases inherently different from other legal matters. Because of these differences, many scholars and practitioners argued that these cases should be handled separately, similar to cases that are heard in specialized drug courts or mental

health courts. Overall, specialized domestic violence courts attempt to address the underlying source of conflict between the concerned parties, and make victim safety, offender accountability, and offender treatment priorities.

Family Courts

Family courts were established in the United States to deal with legal issues surrounding families in order to protect victims of abuse and neglect, and optimally, rebuild healthy family relations. The focus of family courts includes issues such as divorce, juvenile delinquency, paternity, child custody, and adoption.

During the 1990s, the family court system underwent a series of reforms. Although the family court was originally based on a medical model, with the judge acting as a doctor prescribing a remedy, reforms were made paralleling theoretical advances in the social sciences. The court came to view the family as a system of interactions among family members, and a family's problems as requiring to be assessed and treated through the examination of these interactions, as opposed to by focusing on one family member's behavior. These court reforms were based on the notion that state intervention could prevent social problems by addressing the root of the problem—abusive and negligent families, rather than the punishment of individual behavior.

Family court reforms during the 1990s were also motivated by multiple-case families. A multiple-case family is one that has legal issues that are being dealt with at the same time by more than one court. Family courts were frequently not equipped to handle multiple-case families, and these families would face time-consuming barriers by having to familiarize multiple judges with their specific family issues.

A group of advocates and the American Bar Association proposed a Unified Family Court (UFC) system, under the assumption that for multiple-case families, compartmentalized hearings further damaged their already fractured families. The UFC enables families to have one court that handles all of their family legal problems.

Philosophy

Unified Family Courts (UFCs) are based on a model of therapeutic jurisprudence. This model is

rooted in the premise that the law can be a therapeutic agent, one that results in therapeutic or nontherapeutic outcomes for those who come in contact with the legal system. This philosophy encourages the monitoring of the judicial system, so that it is always beneficial to those it serves and reformed when it is not. Because of the private nature of the family and the interventionist quality of the courts, advocates of UFCs demand that when intervention becomes necessary, it must be done well so that harm is minimized. The underlying goal of UFCs is to preserve the family while addressing the legal and psychological issues.

Structural Programming

Under the UFC model, one judge is responsible for case management, and he or she directs a team that includes a case manager, court clerks, advocates, and representatives from social service agencies. If possible, this judge handles a family's case from intake to postdisposition review. Having one judge allows the family to have consistency throughout their legal process, and permits the judge to become familiar with each family and their individual dynamics. It also prevents multiple judges from making conflicting orders due to a lack of shared information, and prevents families from having to make recurring trips to the court. In addition, UFC judges partner with child welfare services and other social service agencies in order to achieve the best therapeutic outcome for the family.

There are, however, some weaknesses to the procedural model utilized by UFCs. Often times the courts' therapeutic approach can interfere with the interests and rights of individuals in the family. Another complication occurs when familiarity with each family leads to judges being lax about procedural details and punitive measures. Family courts can also push cases to be handled through dispute resolution rather than judicial means in order to clear their dockets, which are usually overloaded with cases. Dispute resolution is an especially controversial intervention for child protection and domestic violence cases, both of which involve power dynamics. All of these weaknesses of the family court model can particularly impact domestic violence cases.

Family Courts and Domestic Violence Cases

Domestic violence cases that are heard in family courts provide an example of concurrent legal problems that interfere with proper legal case processing. Critics of the family court system's handling of domestic violence cases purport that custody of children is too frequently given to the offender, or abusive parent. The legal system may be ill equipped to recognize the power dynamics of abuse, and often judges view domestic violence as entirely separate from the ability to parent. Those who support the use of the family court system for domestic violence claim that the parents' relationships with one another should not be a factor when evaluating parental relationships with children. However it is important to note that abuse between parents negatively impacts children, and that partner abusers frequently offend against children as well.

Another criticism of using the family court system for domestic violence is that mediation, a tool employed to reduce conflict between parents, is frequently ineffective in domestic violence cases. The goal of mediation is to reach a resolution more quickly and inexpensively than would be possible in court. Mediation employs a neutral third party to reach a peaceful settlement among parties. Abusers often have the ability and power to manipulate mediation, which leaves victims' feeling powerless, intimidated, and unable to speak openly. Victims of abuse often report dissatisfaction with mediation and feel that participation in the process leads to feelings of disempowerment. If power dynamics prevent victims from speaking openly during mediation, the mediator may inaccurately perceive that their relationship is peaceful and grant joint custody. In addition, mediation, which requires a base level of cooperation between parties, is likely most effective in cases with low levels of conflict.

Despite these problems, mediation is frequently used in child custody cases. A majority of states require mandatory mediation for cases involving custody and visitation. This requirement plays into the power dynamics in cases that involve violence, as abusers may seek custody of children as an additional source of control over their victims. Research has shown that abusers seek sole custody of their children at higher rates than do nonabusers. Battered women frequently report less personal

decision-making power in custody agreements than do nonabused women. Victims of domestic violence often describe low satisfaction with family courts, and often feel revictimized by those managing the system.

One final issue is that in many cases family court judges are appointed for life without participating in a meaningful and continuous review processes. In jurisdictions with these appointing procedures, there may be few effective and accessible complaint procedures, which discourage abuse victims from having to face unsympathetic judges or undergo costly and time-consuming complaint procedures.

Family Court Conclusions

UFCs have been established throughout the nation, in a progressive attempt to improve problems facing multicase families in the family court system. Unfortunately, domestic violence advocates feel these courts are not sufficient to handle the unique power dynamics facing families with violence. Many legal professionals acknowledge this problem, and as a result, discourage the use of mediation and acknowledge the problem of judges persistently preferring joint custody despite the presence of violence. The domestic violence community proposes domestic violence courts as another resolution to problems experienced by UFCs.

Domestic Violence Courts

Philosophy

Although domestic violence is categorized as a crime, it comprises unique elements that necessitate these cases being handled outside the traditional court system. Domestic violence cases routinely involve extenuating concerns relating to children, property, finance, and victim safety. As advocates and legal insiders recognize these unique needs, specialized courts have emerged so that these cases are processed differently than other types of crime. Like UFCs, the theoretical basis of domestic violence courts is therapeutic jurisprudence. These courts favor a problem-solving approach over a punitive one, in order to achieve the best outcome for the offender, the victim, and the community.

According to the philosophy of therapeutic jurisprudence, the law is a powerful tool that can have mental health consequences for individuals involved in the case. Domestic violence courts can apply therapeutic jurisprudence in the courtroom by emphasizing the goals of victim safety, offender accountability, and offender treatment. To most effectively achieve these goals, domestic violence courts operate in collaboration with other agencies. Focusing on the need for treatment in legal matters is another important component of therapeutic jurisprudence.

Structural Programming

There are enough differences in specialized domestic violence courts so as to exclude one model that represents every court. Jurisdiction size dictates the number of cases that are processed in courts, and therefore larger jurisdictions require more resources to operate the courts. Similarly, components of specialized processing vary according to the availability of resources. Several common procedural features in domestic violence courts include specialized judges, case screening and subsequent monitoring, intake units, and the provision of treatment services. Case assignment involves selecting judges who have specific knowledge or specialize in domestic violence issues. After becoming more familiar with the dynamics of domestic violence and developing relationships with the domestic violence advocacy community, specialized judges may be at risk of becoming biased over time. However, this risk of bias exists among all judges who work with specialized courts and dockets. Cases are screened to determine if families are involved in other open cases and whether they have a history with the domestic violence court. Due to inadequate technology and/or insufficient information exchange, it is especially important for current court models to have open information channels for the transfer of documents relevant to specific victims and families. With domestic violence cases, effective service referral and provision requires collaborative relationships between the court and other state, county, and community organizations in order to provide all the needed services to victims and offenders. Case monitoring requires coordination of the criminal justice system, service providers, and victim advocates,

involving frequent meetings to discuss case specific information and progress. Other important features of domestic violence courts that enhance their effectiveness are judicial monitoring and victim involvement. In fact, continual judicial monitoring is often reported to be the most effective method for reducing recidivism. Liberty Aldrich and Robyn Mazur outline six key components of judicial monitoring, including domestic violence training for judges, offender supervision, specialized dockets, the creative use of resources, strong relationships with programs and agencies that provide direct services, and the continual exploration of effective methods for judicial monitoring. Offender monitoring is a key component of domestic violence courts. In many courts staff meetings are held on a regular basis to discuss case files and monitoring strategies. Despite various differences in the structure of domestic violence courts, the overall common goals of these courts include keeping victims safe and holding offenders accountable.

Domestic Violence Court Evaluation

One study evaluating a domestic violence court was conducted on the Lexington County Criminal Domestic Violence Court (CDVC) by Angela Gover, John MacDonald, and Geoffrey Alpert. Compared to traditional courts, there were several unique aspects of this court. For example, all domestic violence cases were assigned a dedicated domestic violence investigator who would collect evidence, testify as witnesses, offer "expert" testimony, and serve warrants for arrest. The CDVC also emphasized offender treatment by providing first-time offenders the option to bypass jail time by successfully participating in and completing a 26-week group-based cognitive therapy program. Deputies had digital cameras for evidence collection and were trained on the importance of obtaining thorough reports from victims when responding to emergency calls. The CDVC also used no-contact orders (NCO) for domestic violence offenders as a condition of bond, which prohibits offenders from having any contact with the victims between bond hearings and case dispositions. In theory, NCOs are similar to other civil orders of protection, but they do not require the victim to request that they be in place. In addition, the CDVC had a

dedicated victim's advocate who provided general information about courtroom procedures and their specific legal rights, attended court with the victim, provided emergency crisis counseling, and prepared victims to testify.

The results of the Lexington County Court evaluation were positive. Court staff and law enforcement both reported that they perceived domestic violence cases differently after being involved with the court. Case processing was viewed as fair and just by nearly 70% of victims and defendants interviewed. In terms of criminal justice impact, the odds of being re-arrested for a domestic violence offense decreased by 40% for offenders processed in the domestic violence court compared with offenders who had been processed in traditional magistrate courts.

No-Drop Policies

One controversial issue in the domestic violence community is prosecution no-drop policies. These prosecution policies are commonly found in domestic violence courts. No-drop policies are intended to decrease the number of domestic violence re-offenses by prosecuting offenders regardless of whether victims participate in the process or supports the prosecution. These policies provide stronger incentives for police to take accurate statements and to carefully collect evidence. Further, these policies are designed to protect the victim from being held accountable by the offender for his or her prosecution. A criticism of these policies, however, is that they disempower the victims by ignoring their opinion as to whether or not the prosecution should move forward. This may create a lack of trust between victims and the criminal justice system, which could decrease the likelihood that they will utilize the system in the future.

Domestic Violence Court Conclusions

The implementation of domestic violence courts is a progressive movement focused on keeping victims safe, holding offenders accountable, and providing treatment for offenders. These specialized courts are equipped to handle many of the unique social aspects of domestic violence cases more proficiently than traditional courts. In addition, many are

based on the unique therapeutic jurisprudence model, which emphasizes the psychological outcomes of the victim and offender rather than merely resorting to punitive measures.

Domestic Violence Legal Conclusions

Using unified family courts to handle domestic violence cases was a progressive response to the overlooked legal issue of domestic violence. However, many aspects of UFC procedures are considered limited in handling all the distinct challenges facing domestic violence cases. Thanks to the response of domestic violence advocates and experienced legal personnel, domestic violence courts have been implemented to address the limitations of family courts. While components of these specialized courts tend to differ, some common procedural aspects are case assignment, specialized judges, screening for related cases, intake units and case processing, service provision, and case monitoring. Regardless of programming differences, domestic violence courts prioritize the safety of the victim, offender treatment, and offender accountability. With the capability of these applied, specialized courts, research has demonstrated their effectiveness in victims' feelings of empowerment and reducing offender recidivism.

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See also Abuse, Spouse; Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of; Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE FATALITY REVIEW TEAM

A domestic violence fatality is a fatality where a relative or a current or former intimate partner is believed to have played a role in the death. The majority of these deaths are of women who are killed by their intimate partners. Intimate partner abuse and homicide is a leading cause of injury and death to young women in the United States. A *domestic violence fatality review team* (also called *intimate partner violence fatality review* and *female fatality review board*) is a multidisciplinary team of medical examiners, law enforcement, social service providers, and others. Domestic violence fatality review teams review the events leading up to and including the deaths to identify “red flags” of escalating lethality preceding the deaths and points where prevention and intervention might have been possible. Some teams study a subset of these deaths, such as deaths of women, or deaths by intimate partners, and others include homicide by all intimate partners and other family members. As of 2008, review boards operated in 35 U.S. states with several states having multiple review boards; in Ontario, Canada; and in all four branches of the U.S. military.

The boards work to strengthen communication and develop partnership between agencies providing services to victims of domestic violence. Typically review teams release reports with aggregate data and specific recommendations to prevent future domestic violence and improve the community response to victims.

Specifics of Fatality Review

The frameworks used to establish review boards vary. All are confidential and most have each

member sign a confidentiality agreement. Some are established at the state level by legislation (20 states) or executive order (2 states), and some have provisions so that members cannot be subpoenaed and proceedings cannot be used in court or for disciplinary actions. Other review boards are inter-agency and are at the county or city level. Many boards only review closed cases (the perpetrator was found guilty, and appeals have been exhausted) or homicide–suicides. Other boards with protection from subpoena and civil lawsuit might review closed and open cases. Some boards run by domestic violence coalitions or nongovernmental groups might rely on public records.

Fatality review boards determine the scope of fatalities they will review. Some review all female fatalities of all causes in a geographic area, some review all intimate partner homicides (male and female), some include all family homicides and all intimate partner homicides, some include homicides by “sexual competitors,” and some are considering including female suicides where abuse was decided to be a contributing factor to the death, or some deaths due to HIV, deaths of sex workers, or deaths during sexual assaults or kidnappings. Some teams review a small number of cases and delve into sociological, cultural, economic, and psychological detail, while others may review many cases and review less data per case. A new trend is to review “near misses” where a victim survived a nearly lethal assault. Deaths are identified from many sources, including police and prosecutor databases, newspapers, and the medical examiners’ files.

Review boards typically have members from the medical examiner’s office or coroners, a district attorney or prosecutor, a legal aid lawyer, a law enforcement officer, a court administrator, a private business member, emergency room representative, victim advocate, public defender, public health agency person, a child protective services officer, animal control officer, mental health/social worker, school representative, media person or expert, public or other housing specialist, researcher or statistician and a batterer intervention worker. Other members can include clerical support staff, a civil and criminal judge, a domestic violence service provider, clergy, probation/parole officer, someone from the office of the court administration, citizens at large, or state-level representatives.

Often review board members donate their time and are granted time off from regular duties. Some boards have funding at the state level or from a domestic violence initiative, or grants to pay for costs relating to preparation of reports.

The type of data that are reviewed varies depending on whether the review board uses only public records, has access to some private records, or has the ability to subpoena. Some boards interview witnesses and some boards have the authority to subpoena agencies and records. Records that might be reviewed include court transcripts; police homicide files and investigator reports; police call transcripts and prior calls to 911; medical examiner files, including autopsies; crime scene data and investigations; newspaper reports; details of prior protection orders and related court hearings; civil and family court records regarding divorce, custody, and parental rights; criminal, parole, and probation histories of victims and perpetrators; child and family services records; psychological evaluations from police, court, or other public providers; records from workplace such security logs; domestic violence shelters or agencies the victim was in contact with prior to death; information on weapons used, purchased, or confiscated; school records; and substance abuse and treatment records.

Fatality review boards generally release a report with aggregate data and/or recommendations. Typical data collected includes age, sex, race, and ethnicity of victim and perpetrator and location of the assault and death (urban or rural, home or work). Also reported are risk factors for homicide such as prior abuse, recent divorce/separation, possessiveness/jealousy by abuser, suicidality of abuser, threat to kill victim, substance or alcohol abuse, criminal history of the perpetrator, perpetrator history of violence and firearms, weapon used, presence of gun in home, presence of children during assault. Also, information is collected about services used by the victim prior to the fatality, such as police calls, hospital visits, restraining orders, or court visits. Some boards interview friends and family members of victims to learn about events preceding the death. The aggregate data are used to refine risk factors for homicide in relationships with domestic violence. Several risk assessment and lethality assessment tools are in use in medical, social service, and other settings for women to use to evaluate their relationships.

Recommendations by review teams have already been implemented in several jurisdictions. The multidisciplinary nature of teams brings together psychologists, police officers, physicians, pathologists, and sociologists. This helps each agency improve its delivery of services. For example, in Washington State the review process illustrated the dangers of family killings by suicidal abusers. Now a state-level police chief recommendation has been made that has law enforcement responders ask about homicidal and suicidal threats or tendencies. If such dangers exist, there are procedures in place to deal with the now recognized risk. The sociological and cultural viewpoint used by many teams has unveiled some challenges specific to groups such as immigrants, gay men and lesbians, and urban African Americans. Multiple teams found that often one family member, at times even a young child, is used to interpret for police officers. As a result, many review boards have recommended and set up local networks for law enforcement to obtain trained interpreters with domestic violence experience.

Also, greater use of electronic and other methods of communication between agencies have closed some gaps so that police, courts, and social service agencies have access to all the available information when working with victims and families facing abuse and violence.

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See also Domestic Violence; Homicide, Victim Advocacy Groups

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DOUBLE VICTIMIZATION

There is a growing recognition that crime victims are twice victimized or suffer double victimization. Double victimization implies that victims incur costs during two distinct periods. First, they sustain a variety of losses directly from the criminal incident. Afterwards, when victims turn to the criminal justice system seeking redress, they encounter even more obstacles and must absorb additional costs. In other words, cooperating with the authorities and venturing into the halls of justice exacerbates, rather than ameliorates, the situation. Thus, double victimization refers to the immediate suffering from the criminal episode and the later negative experiences stemming from exposure to an errant criminal justice system.

These experiences carry serious ramifications. Citizens may feel alienated, instead of protected, by the criminal justice system. Results from the annual National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) have uncovered the persistent existence of a substantial “dark figure of crime” (i.e., number of unreported crimes). More than half the violent victimization incidents and 4 out of every 10 property crimes in the United States go unreported to the police. In addition, public opinion surveys reveal that a considerable portion of the citizenry worries about becoming victimized. It appears that the court and the correctional systems do not cultivate confidence. Convicted offenders seldom serve their entire sentences, and high recidivism rates, especially among early releases, remain the norm. Essentially, the system is failing to safeguard its constituency and public confidence is eroding.

This essay inventories crime-related losses and elaborates on system-related costs. These expenditures culminate in a very significant impact. In general, victims recognize that one way to reduce

or minimize these intrusions is to avoid any future involvement with the criminal justice system. Seen in this light, disenchantment, as opposed to apathy, compels people not to get involved with the police, the prosecution, and the courts.

Meanwhile, officials have come to the realization that they need to address victim concerns to keep the system functioning. Prosecutors have established victim-witness programs in an effort to encourage victims to participate. These initiatives aim to make the criminal justice system appear more “friendly” and to lower the perceived costs of participation. While the program personnel may have good intentions, critics remain wary. They label these court-supported programs “prosecutory assembly lines.” Dissenters note that prosecutors marginally invest no more than what is necessary to induce witnesses to cooperate and aid in convictions.

Double victimization has a dire impact. The ongoing study of victims and the costs of crimes needs to focus on creating the appropriate incentives to encourage victim participation in the justice system. To appreciate the plight of victim-witnesses, the remainder of this entry explores the different stages of victimization, the incurrent costs, and the established social service programs available throughout the process.

The First Insult

The criminal incident marks the first time that the victim suffers losses. Direct costs can include physical injury, medical expenses, property loss or damage, time missed from work, loss of income, and decreased productivity from sustained injuries. Being a crime victim also affects the victim’s surrounding network of family members and friends (*derivative victims*) as the victim continues to suffer from pain and emotional damages.

When a person is victimized, there is immediate harm to the professional and personal aspects of his or her life. Costs are not simply pecuniary; they can also involve a victim’s future interactions with other people and society. There are two types of costs: explicit and implicit. *Explicit costs* are sufferings that one can quantify easily. Property losses, medical or mental health care, victim services, and death expenses would be some examples of explicit costs. *Implicit costs* involve what a victim would have done or

would have been able to do had the crime not taken place. While these items are more difficult to estimate, implicit costs may include lost wages due to missed work hours and decreased productivity, absences from school, permanent pain and suffering, diminished levels of affection, worsened quality of life, fear of future crimes, and generation effects that carry over to children, family, or co-workers. The combination of explicit and implicit costs makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint correctly a victim's appropriate compensation.

The 2005 NCVS documented losses exceeding \$17 billion for selected personal and property crimes. Earlier NCVS estimates for 10 common crimes pegged crime-related damage at \$1,800 per capita. This figure ignores monetary losses due to such things as statutory violations, tax evasion, white-collar crime, corporate malfeasance, and other criminal matters. Placed in a different context, violent crime is responsible for 3% of all health care spending, 14% of injury-related medical expenditures, and a loss equal to 1% of domestic wage earnings.

While implicit costs are harder to assess, fear of crime affects many citizens. Ongoing Gallup polls and other surveys show that a substantial portion of the public is fearful of crime. Many Americans avoid going out alone or being in certain places, have altered their routines in response to crime, and have adopted precautionary measures such as installing home security devices or purchasing weapons for self-protection. Such ripple effects further detract from people's quality of life.

The Second Insult

The impact of a crime does not cease once the physical wounds heal or when missing property is recovered. People turn to the legal system for justice. As victims fight for their rights, they encounter additional costs that may be beyond their control. Rarely are victims reimbursed. Even when they do receive reparation, the amounts are often nominal in comparison to the actual suffering. Navigating the halls of justice can turn into an obstacle course that quickly deteriorates into an ordeal.

Most victims and witnesses will be served with a subpoena once the criminal trial is scheduled or placed on the docket. A *subpoena* is a legal document commanding the recipient to appear at the courthouse or other location at a specified time for the

purpose of giving testimony. Failure to comply with a subpoena can result in a contempt of court citation and other penalties. The usual practice is to require all the witnesses to appear at the start of the proceeding, even though it is impossible for each of them to testify at the same time. In some instances, the lawyers may have prepared motions to file or wish to bring other matters to the court's attention before any witness testimony can begin. If the judge grants a request for a continuance, then the witnesses will be instructed that their service is not needed at this moment. Instead, they will have to return at a later date.

The legal procedures, case delays, long times waiting to testify, and impersonal interactions with justice system representatives can be frustrating and bewildering. Witnesses may lose time from work, which may translate into lost wages and lower productivity. Waiting conditions might be uncomfortable. In addition, witnesses have to provide their own transportation to the courthouse and also pay for parking after they arrive. Persons with infants or young children must make arrangements for child care and after-school activities. At the same time, trials are seldom swift; punishments never occur as quickly as a victim experienced the original crime. As a result, discontent is common when victims and witnesses experience this second stage of incurred costs.

Implications

Victims and witnesses may believe that the system does not have their best interests at heart. Cooperating with the authorities and getting involved in the prosecution may further increase their losses. While a victim may not be able to avoid the first insult, the choice to call the police and get involved with the rest of the criminal justice system is completely voluntary and controllable. If these secondary costs become excessive, victims may elect to treat the crime as a *sunk cost*. In other words, although the crime-related losses have already occurred and are not recoverable, there is no need to run up additional costs. Victims and witnesses can minimize the remaining secondary losses by refusing to participate further.

There are some indications that such a wave is taking place already. The NCVS reveals that half the violent crimes and 40% of property victimizations

are not reported to the police. Data from the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics* indicate there is no “truth in sentencing.” Convicted felons are typically released after serving approximately half their prison sentences. Annual Gallop polls show that public confidence in the criminal justice system continues to ebb. Slowly, but surely, Americans are losing their enthusiasm for this institution.

While some system representatives denounce victims as being apathetic and uncaring, it can be argued that such a portrayal is self-serving. If a case progresses too slowly, emotional and personal costs continue to grow. If the justice system appears unfriendly, it runs the risk that victims will feel disregarded. As the costs multiply and the benefits to participation remain fixed, the victim confronts a complex decision. Hence, there is an intense need for an efficient, visible, and trustworthy mechanism that can address victim needs.

Victim-Witness Management Projects

System personnel are generally aware of this eroding base of support. Prosecutors realize they need to take corrective action to address the problems that compromise victim and witness participation in the system. One avenue is to deal with issues surrounding the second insult. If the goal is to preserve the testimonial value of victims and witnesses, then officials need to make the courthouse experience more user-friendly.

Early studies found that many people were unaware of what went on inside the halls of justice. The federal government began promoting victim-witness management programs by providing seed money to local prosecutors during the 1970s. The original thrust concentrated mainly on court-related services. Informative brochures designed to demystify the system accompanied subpoena deliveries. Instead of merely receiving a subpoena that commanded their appearance, witnesses were handed additional materials that contained directions to the courthouse, parking information, contact telephone numbers, an explanation of what transpires in court cases, tips on how to dress and behave on the stand, reminders about securing their witness fees, and the like. Structural improvements were also made at the courthouse. Information booths were placed in the vestibules where victims and witnesses could check-in upon arrival and be

directed to waiting areas. Making televisions, newspapers, and other reading materials available in waiting rooms made the passage of time more tolerable. Escorting witnesses through the maze of hallways to their destinations when it came time to testify made the courthouse seem less formidable.

As time went by and experience mounted, many victim-witness projects expanded into allied areas. Notification services informed witnesses of cancellations or continuances so they would not make an unnecessary trip to the courthouse. Personnel helped victims get their property returned after a case was disposed. In short, an effort was made to provide more comprehensive services to victims and witnesses as their cases threaded their way through the system. More than 250 witness management programs were in place by 1980.

The federal government did not intend to underwrite these ventures permanently. Gradually, financial responsibility shifted to state and local governments. Because of strained budgets, funding for these peripheral programs was often cut back. As quickly as they had begun, it looked as if victim-witness programs would disappear from the legal landscape.

Around the same time that victim-witness programs saw their monies dwindling, President Ronald Reagan formed the Task Force on Victims of Crime. Its mandate was to analyze the criminal justice system. The task force held public hearings at various locations throughout the United States. Citizens provided disturbing accounts of how the system mistreated victims and witnesses in their quest for justice. In the end, the task force crafted a series of recommendations urging prosecutors to take remedial steps to alleviate the plight of victims and witnesses once they entered the local courthouse.

The Department of Justice issued a follow-up report in 1986, titled *Four Years Later*, which monitored compliance with the 1982 task force's recommendations. It seemed as if the system was improving tremendously. In 1998, another report (*New Directions From the Field*) took stock of the field. While progress was evident, there was still room for improvement.

Dissenting Voices

As mentioned above, critics have labeled court-based programs as nothing more than “prosecutory

assembly lines.” They also accuse bureaucrats of placing the needs of their organizations before the best interests of the clients. In other words, opponents claim that victim-witness programs are not sufficiently sensitive to what it is that ails victims. Little is done to address injuries that stem from the “first insult,” and the costs of the “second insult” are handled in a very superficial manner. The solution, according to some observers, is to either craft a more genuine approach to victim-witness programs or eliminate these services entirely.

As victims look to minimize their costs, dissenters note that prosecutors marginally invest no more than what is necessary to gain witness cooperation and acquire convictions. Sensitive cases should require more slowly developed rapport, children necessitate specialized treatment and methods, and advocates should include opportunities for postadjudication meetings with victims. If service delivery were improved, victims would emerge more satisfied. In turn, the likelihood of their participating again in the justice system, should it be necessary, would increase.

Moreover, current victim-witness services employ a fix-it-up, rather than a preemptive, strategy. Victim programs need to treat all victims. Instead, suitable clients are culled from a preselected group of criminal victims. Only those persons who report the episode to the authorities and subsequently cooperate with the investigation are accepted. The attrition at this point may be large if victims perceive the justice system as a dysfunctional institution. Of those cases that do continue, participation is limited to incidents where the police have identified and captured a suspect. In the end, services are rendered to a small subset of the victims who enter the halls of justice, which itself is a mere sliver of all afflicted people. Few give a second thought to the citizens who rationally choose to avoid the system.

Final Thoughts

Initially, victims are not in a strategic position where they can anticipate the full array of costs that will be foisted upon them. At best, they may anticipate the costs from the first insult. But few people are able to fathom, let alone predict, the second battery of expenses that awaits them. As victims are funneled through the system, there are numerous

opportunities for them to revolt and withdraw. Given the myriad costs and the escalating price that continued participation extracts, a person may choose not to testify or pursue the accused. In these situations, the victim is not apathetic—he or she is an active protestor. In a sense, the system’s inadequacies have bred its own opposition.

Those parties who persist through adjudication may be too exhausted and dismayed to ever get involved again with the criminal justice system. There are programs designed to help ease some of those incurred costs, but the data are sparse as to whether these initiatives achieve the desired goals. Victims and witnesses are crucial to our justice system. Those designing policies need to avoid creating economic and other hardships that discourage them from participating in the criminal justice process.

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See also Critical Victimology; Economic Costs of Victimization; Fear of Crime; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; President’s Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim-Witness Projects; Witness Assistance Programs

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Web Sites

- City of Jacksonville Victim Services: <http://www.coj.net>
- Clark County Victim/Witness Services: <http://www.clarkprosecutor.org/html/victim/victim.htm>
- National District Attorneys Association: <http://www.ndaa.org>
- U.S. Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc>

DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION (D.A.R.E.)

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) is a set of school-based programs designed to prevent drug use among students of different age groups. Substance abuse, including excessive alcohol use, drug abuse, and smoking, accounts for approximately one quarter of all deaths in the United States every year. Thus, society has a vested interest in developing programs that are effective in preventing substance abuse. A focus on school-age children is a reasonable strategy for preventing drug abuse, and schools, with their captive audience of students, would seem to be an ideal environment in which to introduce new programs.

The D.A.R.E. Program

The D.A.R.E. program was introduced in Los Angeles, California, in 1983 as a partnership between the Los Angeles Police Department and the local school district. The program has expanded

dramatically over the years to become the largest school-based drug prevention in the nation and is now used in more than 50 countries.

In practice, D.A.R.E. is administered by sworn law enforcement officers from state, county, and local agencies who typically receive 80 hours of formal training prior to entering the classroom. Uniformed officers deliver a standardized curriculum in diverse urban, suburban, and rural school districts. Typically, students receive D.A.R.E. instruction once a week for 45 minutes.

There are several distinct curricula across 13 grade levels that comprise the D.A.R.E. package. Schools can elect to participate in one or more program focusing on the following target audiences: early elementary school (grades K–4), elementary school (grades 5–6), middle school (grades 7–8), and high school (grades 9–12). The number of lessons or classroom visits by a D.A.R.E. officer varies by type of program: K–4 program (1–5 lessons), grades 5–6 (17 lessons), middle school, and high school (10 lessons). D.A.R.E. began as the core curriculum for grades 5 and 6 and it has expanded over the years. Because the core elementary school curriculum is the only program to be widely implemented and widely evaluated by researchers, the public's knowledge of D.A.R.E. is largely limited to this component.

The Theory Behind D.A.R.E.

The core D.A.R.E. curriculum was based on several theoretical approaches to the prevention of adolescent health problems, and it emerged from successful smoking program programs in the 1970s and 1980s. Three social psychological approaches to prevention served as the foundation for D.A.R.E.: psychological inoculation, resistance skills training, and personal/social skills training. *Psychological inoculation*, which uses the analogy of medical vaccines and antibodies, is a strategy of exposing students to small amounts of the “disease” (in this case, temptations or pressures to use drugs) in the hope that they will learn to resist or reject them. The *resistance skills* approach directly teaches students the skills needed to resist negative peer pressure and media influences to use drugs. The *personal/social skills* approach does not focus on resisting drugs per se, but instead, gives attention to strengthening the basic interpersonal skills needed for healthy social

development. Finally, D.A.R.E. utilizes two additional prevention strategies—*increased knowledge* and *affective education*. By increasing students' knowledge about drugs and the negative consequences of drug use, the hope is that students will be "scared straight" and avoid harmful substances. Also, by providing affective education (e.g., techniques to build self-esteem and manage stress), the assumption is that students will have less interest in using drugs and alcohol to cope with the difficulties and stresses that emerge in their lives.

The Effectiveness of D.A.R.E.

Does the D.A.R.E. program prevent drug use or have other beneficial outcomes? For many prevention programs, there is insufficient evidence to draw solid conclusions, but D.A.R.E. is an exception. It has been studied extensively by researchers, many using the most rigorous scientific methods, including longitudinal randomized experiments. Although the D.A.R.E. program is viewed as effective by most teachers, school administrators, police officers, and parents associated with the program, the research on its actual effectiveness is much less encouraging. Reviews of the best evaluations lead to some consistent conclusions. First, the core D.A.R.E. curriculum has short-term beneficial effects on student's knowledge of drugs and attitudes about drugs, but these effects disappear within a year or two. Second, and most importantly, D.A.R.E. usually has no impact on drug use behavior, and when it does show positive results, the effects are small and short lived. Finally, the potential for adverse effects is noteworthy. One longitudinal study by the University of Illinois at Chicago found that suburban students exposed to D.A.R.E. reported significantly more drug use than students in the control group. Overall, the most sensible conclusion is that the D.A.R.E. core curriculum for fifth and sixth graders does not prevent drug use, either immediately or over time. The drug use of students exposed to D.A.R.E. is virtually identical to that of students who do not participate in the program.

When Science and Advocacy Collide

What happens when scientific evidence runs counter to popular opinion? Beginning in the mid-1990s,

the research evidence of D.A.R.E.'s ineffectiveness collided with the views of parents, school officials, D.A.R.E. officers, and others who felt that the program was beneficial to their communities. A heated debate erupted between researchers and program advocates that lasted for many years and played out in the media. As a consequence of this widely publicized debate, communities across the United States were under pressure to choose sides—to either reject their local D.A.R.E. program or reject the scientific evidence.

In the heat of this crisis, meetings were called by the federal government in 1998 to mediate the conflict between researchers and D.A.R.E. One of the consequences of this debate is that academic attention shifted away from the (ineffective) core curriculum toward the development of a new middle school D.A.R.E. curriculum in 2001. A 5-year longitudinal experiment was conducted by the University of Akron in Ohio, involving more than 15,000 students in six cities, but it has produced mixed results at best. Students' decision-making skills and normative beliefs (about the prevalence of drug use by peers) were improved in the short run, but drug use was not affected by the program (reports on this study have yet to be published, so it is not possible to see the total picture).

Policy Implications

There are several lessons from the D.A.R.E. experience. First, when a program's popularity is in conflict with knowledge of its effectiveness, decisions to modify or discontinue a program can be slow and painful.

Second, while change can be slow, knowledge can make a difference in policy and practice. Since learning of these D.A.R.E. studies, several federal agencies and many local communities have sought the truth about drug education for the benefit of all school-age children.

Clearly, more research and development is needed to construct school-based programs that work in tandem to prevent drug use for an extended period. Research can tell us whether there are cumulative effects of multiple prevention programs over several years and whether some program components are more effective than others.

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See also Drug Use Forecasting/Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring; Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; Substance Abuse, Prevention of; Substance Use and Victimization

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DRUG USE FORECASTING/ ARRESTEE DRUG ABUSE MONITORING

In 1987 the National Institute of Justice initiated the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program to complement other drug use monitoring systems in the United States, studies such as the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH, formerly called the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse), Monitoring the Future (MTF), and the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN). NSDUH, MTF, and DAWN each examine drug

use trends among different populations: NHSDU targets the civilian, noninstitutionalized population age 12 or older; MTF collects data from nationally representative samples of 8th graders, 10th graders, and 12th graders enrolled in public and private schools each year; and DAWN collects data on drug-related visits to hospital emergency departments and drug-related deaths investigated by medical examiners and coroners. None of them collect data from members of the military, transient, or institutionalized populations—those in jails, prisons, and mental hospitals. As a result, these studies underestimate the level of drug use in the United States.

The intent of the DUF program was to gather drug use information from those booked into local jails. By focusing on arrestees, a group known to be at particularly high risk for illicit drug use, DUF provided a more comprehensive picture of local drug use patterns and trends than was previously possible by establishing local prevalence estimates of illicit drug use by arrestees and identifying changes in these rates over time. A secondary goal of DUF was to contribute to the growing literature on the nexus between illicit drugs and crime. Because the population sampled was comprised of people suspected of committing at least one criminal offense, DUF was well positioned to collect data helpful for advancing scientific knowledge and understanding on this topic. Finally, as implied by its name, the program was also intended to serve as an early warning system for community drug epidemics. Because of their high rate of drug use, arrestees could serve to warn the community of impending danger.

To measure the prevalence of illicit drug use among arrestees, DUF differed markedly from the other major drug use monitoring systems, which relied solely on respondent self-reports. DUF included a truly objective measure of drug use—urinalysis—in addition to extensive self-report data. There were two reasons the National Institute of Justice included urinalysis in the DUF data collection protocol. First, urinalysis results would provide a measure of illicit drug use not subject to intentional deception on the part of arrestees. Urinalysis was seen as a way to avoid the problem of arrestee underreporting by obtaining a “true” estimate of arrestee drug use.

In addition to the benefit of having an objective measure with which to calculate drug use rates, the

inclusion of urinalysis results in the DUF protocol was an important methodological innovation because it provided a means to cross-validate arrestees' self-reports of drug use. Prior research had established that although people were generally truthful when asked questions about drug use when their confidentiality was assured and they were interviewed in a nonthreatening environment, their willingness to disclose illegal drug use was diminished when interviews occurred in criminal justice settings. If DUF was going to have an impact, scientists and policy makers had to have confidence in the accuracy of the self-report data collected. Including urinalysis in the study protocol permitted researchers to directly assess the validity of self-reported measures of drug use, and from there make inferences about the accuracy of other self-report information.

From Drug Use Forecasting to Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring

Was DUF successful in accomplishing its stated goals? The results are somewhat mixed. Incorporation of urinalysis into the DUF data collection protocol undoubtedly was a success. For the first time ever, researchers and policy makers had ready access to drug use data from tens of thousands of respondents that was free from the validity and reliability problems that had plagued previous studies relying on respondent self-reports.

Researchers have made extensive use of DUF urinalysis results to develop empirical measures of the veracity of arrestees' self-reports of recent drug use. This research has consistently documented that most arrestees (though certainly not all) accurately reported their recent use of illicit drugs, with reported disclosure rates as high as 92% for marijuana users, 80% for heroin users, and 62% for cocaine users. It remains an open question as to whether these findings provided researchers and policy makers with confidence in the other self-report data collected by DUF.

In addition, comparisons of drug use in the general population and arrestees confirmed what many had expected: Arrestees were much heavier users of illicit drugs than members of the general population, and were thus influential participants in local drug markets. This reinforced the belief that monitoring drug use among arrestees is critical

for understanding local drug markets more generally. Due to a dearth of research comparing DUF results with measures of drug use among the general population (e.g., substance abuse treatment enrollments and drug-related emergency room admissions), it is less clear whether or not DUF was successful in detecting new drug use trends.

Despite these successes, the DUF program suffered from some serious methodological problems. The most significant issue was the DUF sampling procedure. Instead of using a probability-based sampling methodology, each DUF site employed a convenience sampling procedure. As a result, the data collected had poor external validity—that is, they were not generalizable. A second set of difficulties facing DUF was a lack of standardized data collection procedures, which negatively impacted the reliability of the data collected across sites. There was significant variation across sites with respect to defining the geographic unit (“catchment area”) for booking facilities, inclusion/exclusion criteria for respondent participation, and privacy of interview areas. Ultimately, the inability of the program to provide scientifically *valid* and *reliable* drug use data to local policy makers and treatment providers led to its redesign in 1998, when DUF was transformed into ADAM (Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring).

On the surface ADAM closely resembled DUF. Just as in DUF, ADAM data collection took place in jails, and the information collected still originated in face-to-face interviews and voluntary urine specimens. But there were dramatic differences, particularly with respect to the procedures for selecting arrestees and collecting the data. The most significant changes were the development of data collection procedures that would be common to all sites, and the adoption of probability-based sampling plans for each research site designed to account for variations in the size and structure of local criminal justice systems, the flow of arrestees through booking facilities, and the types of offenses for which people were arrested. In addition to these methodological changes, ADAM included considerable substantive changes as well. Most notably, the questionnaire was expanded to cover not only arrestees' recent drug use behaviors but also their prior criminal justice experiences, their exposure to various forms of substance abuse and mental health treatment, an assessment of substance abuse and

dependence risk, and the dynamics of local drug markets. Finally, although the program was not designed to provide nationally representative estimates of arrestee drug use, the number of ADAM sites was increased to 35 from 24 under DUF to provide a more comprehensive assessment for the United States. As initially proposed, the ADAM program was to include a total of 75 research sites across the United States. In 2003 when the ADAM program was suspended, there were 39 sites participating.

ADAM was fully implemented in 38 sites across the United States in 2000. The National Institute of Justice published data for the first two quarters of the 2000 ADAM data collection from 27 sites in December 2001. These results confirmed findings previously reported for DUF: Arrestees demonstrated high rates of problem drinking and illicit drug use, with marijuana being the most common drug of use in all but four jurisdictions. Cocaine was the second most common drug used by arrestees in every jurisdiction but one. In general, methamphetamine was the drug least likely to be used by arrestees. ADAM results also showed that the extent of drug use varied widely across jurisdictions, lending support to the conclusion that attempting to calculate “national” estimates of arrestee drug use would be not only misleading but also counterproductive. Rather than a “national” drug use picture, ADAM showed that drug use in the United States is a mosaic of local and regional drug use patterns. Finally, ADAM confirmed that self-reports provide conservative estimates of drug use due to arrestee underreporting.

But, ADAM did much more than simply recapitulate the findings of DUF. Because of the extensive instrumentation redesign, ADAM was able to provide much more information about arrestees, their drug use behaviors, and local drug markets. One of the more unique features of the ADAM redesign was the adoption of a “calendar” methodology. Calendar is a technique used to aid with the accurate recall of events of an extended period of time. It accomplishes this by dividing a recall period (for ADAM the recall period was 1 year) into “conceptually manageable units” (1-month segments), and then “anchoring” memory around interconnected real-life events occurring within each of these units. Examples of the sort of significant life events used as memory anchors are birthdays, deaths, marriages, separations/divorces,

secular and religious holidays, and other miscellaneous events such as the purchase of a new car or starting a new job. Using this methodology, ADAM collected month-by-month data on housing, inpatient and outpatient substance abuse treatment, mental health hospitalization, arrests, incarceration, and the level of alcohol and drug use of arrestees in the 12-month period preceding their arrest.

ADAM also collected extensive information on the characteristics and dynamics of illicit drug markets. Arrestees who had obtained illicit drugs within 30 days of their arrest were asked a series of questions about whether or not drugs were obtained via a cash transaction, some form of noncash transaction, or both; the goods and services exchanged in noncash drug transactions; the manufacture of illicit drugs; drug prices; the quantities of drugs obtained for purchase; the location of drug transactions; the frequency of drug purchases; and unsuccessful purchase attempts and the reasons for them.

The Future of ADAM

The National Institute of Justice terminated ADAM at the end of 2003, citing budget cuts by Congress. In the final year of the program, the ADAM budget was approximately \$8 million, but NIJ’s discretionary research budget, which was the source of ADAM funding, had been reduced to only \$6 million. NIJ’s discretionary research budget had been \$20 million the preceding year.

In 2006 the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy commissioned Abt Associates, a for-profit policy research institute headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to lead the development of ADAM II, which continues to utilize urinalysis results to monitor drug use among arrestees in 10 former ADAM sites. Unlike the DUF and ADAM programs that preceded it, each of which adopted a broad view of illicit drug use, ADAM II focuses particular attention on a single drug—methamphetamine—rather than many. Data collection efforts for ADAM II delve deeply into patterns of methamphetamine use and the dynamics of methamphetamine markets.

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See also Gangs and Victimization; Guns and Victimization; Substance Use and Victimization

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E

EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAMMING

High-profile shooting incidents in schools over the past decade, and public concern about juvenile gangs and drug offenses in schools, have contributed to the general perception that schools are unsafe environments and delinquency is rising. There is also concern about the number of offenders younger than age 13, as these younger children have a much greater risk than older children of becoming serious, violent, and chronic offenders.

Recognition of risk in early childhood has prompted a number of studies and initiatives aimed at contributing to the prevention of very young offending in the early grade levels. This has led to the development and implementation of numerous programs within educational institutions to address a variety of deviant behaviors, such as substance abuse, antisocial behavior, theft, violent crime, and gang membership. Early education programming can target different categories, such as the individual, the family, the school, the peer group, and the community, and some programs specifically target children in low socioeconomic families.

Many early education programs attempt to change the school environment by creating guidelines, norms, and expectations for student behavior. This is known as *normative education*. Other programs focus on instructional strategies that target students, known as *educational interventions*. This entry explores some of the early education programs implemented in elementary and middle schools that address the various behavior

problems in the educational environment by using normative education and educational interventions. While it is nearly impossible to provide an exhaustive overview of early education programs, this entry describes the different types of strategies they employ and provides relevant examples of programs. It is important for those considering implementation of any early education program to examine evaluation studies of the program's effectiveness.

Normative Programming in Early Education

Normative education programming focuses on many behavioral problems, such as bullying, substance abuse, and violence. These programs set behavioral guidelines for children by providing them with fact-based information and attempt to teach them about law-abiding behavior.

Normative Program Examples

Start Taking Alcohol Seriously Program

One example of a normative educational program is the Start Taking Alcohol Seriously (STARS) program. This program has been implemented in school and after-school settings, and aims to prevent or reduce alcohol use among middle school children between the ages of 11 and 14. Youth participating in the program receive brief individual consultations in school or in after-school programs about why and how to avoid using alcohol, and they are provided with a follow-up consultation.

The sessions are standardized and provided by trained adults. A series of eight postcards are mailed to the children's parents or guardians, which provide facts about how to talk to their children about avoiding alcohol. The family program includes take-home lessons designed to enhance communication between the parent and child about prevention.

Too Good for Violence Program

Too Good for Violence (TGFV) is a school-based violence prevention and character education program that includes developmentally appropriate curriculum for each grade level from kindergarten through eighth grade. It is designed to enhance prosocial behaviors and skills and address factors related to conflict and violence. Trained teachers, counselors, and prevention specialists deliver the program, which utilizes between seven and nine weekly 30- to 60-minute lessons. The program also has a similar program that addresses drug use (Too Good for Drugs), which provides information about the negative consequences of drug use and the benefits of a nonviolent, drug-free lifestyle.

Incredible Years

The Incredible Years program targets children between the ages of 2 and 8 who exhibit or are at risk for conduct problems. Aggressive behavior in young children is increasing and occurring at earlier ages, and it may become fixed in a child at an early age and continue into middle school. This program consists of three components that include the child, the parent, and the teacher. The focus is on strengthening children's social and emotional abilities by teaching them how to communicate feelings, solve problems, manage anger, develop friendship skills, and behave appropriately in the classroom. Trained facilitators use videos, interactive presentations, and role-playing techniques to solve problems and share ideas.

School Transitional Environmental Program

The School Transitional Environmental Program (STEP) aims to ease the transition of high-risk youth from elementary school to middle school. This program acknowledges that stressful life events, such as making transitions between schools, can place children at risk for behavioral disorders.

Changing schools can lead to increased anxiety, truancy, poor academic performance, and classroom behavioral problems. The STEP program provides students with guidance, counseling, and specialized instruction to address violence-related behaviors, social competency, and life skills.

Educational Interventions in Early Childhood

Gilbert Botvin has identified five common types of educational approaches, and he relates them specifically to drug use/abuse. The first is *informational dissemination*, which Botvin identifies as the most widely used approach to substance-abuse prevention. Information dissemination views students as passive recipients of fact-based information. Within the schools, factual information often includes school assembly programs with guest speakers, films, antidrug plays, skits, and/or poster projects. Other programs include using older student leaders to address younger pupils about the dangers of substance use.

The second method, *fear-arousal*, emphasizes the risks associated with substance use. This approach assumes that fear is a more effective deterrent than fact-based information. One recent example that uses a fear-arousal approach is a display of a mangled automobile with a sign informing passersby that the vehicle was involved in a drunk-driving accident. Perhaps the most famous fear-arousal approach was the Partnership for a Drug Free America's commercial depicting a frying egg with the narrator warning that "this is your brain on drugs."

Moral appeal is the third instructional method, and it is frequently combined with information dissemination by "preaching" to students about the evils of substance use. This strategy often relies on religious values and appealing to the students' belief in right and wrong.

Affective education is the fourth method, and it focuses on self-esteem building and the development of interpersonal skills. Several programs were developed that are based upon this method and target children in primary grades. One example is the Here's Looking at You 2000 program. This program attempts to prevent substance abuse by focusing on skill development, the forming of healthy relationships with peers and adults, and

bonding with family, peers, and the community as an effective mechanism for coping with stress.

Finally, *alternative* approaches provide older children with positive experiences. Botvin acknowledges that while some of these approaches may be effective at decreasing substance abuse, some may, in fact, encourage it. Original programs based upon alternative approaches include youth centers, tutoring, or community service activities. The assumption underlying this strategy is that older children's involvement in constructive activities will take the place of substance use. One example of this method is the Outward Bound program. Outward Bound is a wilderness-based program that emphasizes challenging mental tasks through outdoor adventures and nature trips.

Traditional Instructional Methods in Early Education Programming

Some instructional methods are less interactional and rely upon a more traditional teaching and lecturing approach. Two of the most popular and well-known examples of classic, broad-based prevention strategies are the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program and the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) program.

Drug Abuse Resistance Education

Early education programming that addresses drug use prevention has been part of a broad range of antidrug strategies adopted by American public school administrators. Perhaps the most well-known initiative is Project D.A.R.E., which was created in 1983 by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Unified School District, and currently operates in all 50 U.S. states. The program is taught to pupils in fifth or sixth grade, and variations of the program now are being offered in kindergarten and other grades. The core curriculum consists of 17 lessons, usually offered once a week for 45 to 60 minutes, and focuses on increasing students' skills in recognizing and avoiding peer pressure to use drugs. In addition, the program teaches information about drugs, decision-making skills, self-esteem building, and healthy alternatives to drug use. Teaching techniques include question-and-answer sessions, group discussions, role-playing, and workbook

exercises. The kindergarten through fourth-grade curriculum introduces pupils to some of the traditional D.A.R.E. concepts, along with topics that include obeying laws, personal safety, and the legal and illegal uses of medicines and drugs.

Police officers who teach the D.A.R.E. program must first undergo extensive training, which involves 80 training hours in classroom management, teaching strategies, communication skills, adolescent development, drug information, and curriculum instruction. Experienced D.A.R.E. officers who want to qualify as instructors must undergo additional training.

Despite the program's popularity, endurance, and widespread use, almost all evaluations of the D.A.R.E. program show that it has little to no effect on reducing or preventing drug use. Even the program's short-term effectiveness for reducing or preventing drug use is small and shown to not be as effective as programs with more interactive methods.

Gang Resistance Education and Training

In 1991, police officers from the Phoenix, Mesa, Glendale, and Tempe, Arizona, Police Departments, along with special agents from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, developed the G.R.E.A.T. program with the purpose of reducing adolescent involvement in gang activity. Similar to the development of D.A.R.E., the G.R.E.A.T. program evolved into a nationwide, school-based program that uses uniformed police officers who teach a 13-week curriculum to pupils at the middle school level, primarily seventh grade. In addition, there are shorter programs available for fifth and sixth graders, as well as for pupils in the third and fourth grades, which can be used in conjunction with and as reinforcement of other prevention programs, and as a precursor to the G.R.E.A.T. middle school program.

The objectives of the G.R.E.A.T. program are to reduce gang activity and to teach students about the negative consequences of gang involvement. Officers who teach the program undergo specialized training similar to that of D.A.R.E. officers. The G.R.E.A.T. instructors use detailed lesson plans that contain clearly stated purposes and objectives with the purpose of reducing gang activity and teaching students about the consequences of belonging to a gang. The program is intended to

provide life skills that give youth the ability to resist peer pressure to join gangs. The program attempts to produce positive attitudinal and behavioral change through instruction, discussion, and role playing.

Evaluations of the G.R.E.A.T. program have suggested that it is slightly more promising than D.A.R.E. The few studies that have been conducted of G.R.E.A.T. reported more positive prosocial changes in the attitudes of G.R.E.A.T. participants than nonparticipants as a result of exposure to the program.

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See also Bullying; Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Gangs and Victimization; Perry Preschool Project; School-Based Bullying Prevention; School-Based Theories of Delinquency; School-Based Violence Programs, International; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; School Shootings; School Violence

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EARLY VICTIMIZATION THEORIES

Most work in criminology focuses on developing and testing theoretical models of crime that are centered on explicating offender behavior. In developing these perspectives, criminologists often disregard or underestimate the role of crime victims in understanding crime. This is despite long-standing recognition that a comprehensive approach to explaining crime requires an emphasis on offenders, victims, and situations/context. The theories that come closest to recognizing all of these elements are those that focus on victimization, particularly lifestyle-exposure and routine activities theories. This entry reviews these early victimization theories with an emphasis on their origins, key concepts, and ability to organize the facts of victimization. It discusses work on victim precipitation and the advent of national crime victimization surveys, which provided the bases for the development of lifestyle-exposure and routine activities theories, and articulates the main arguments of the theories, providing a discussion of their key concepts.

Victim Precipitation

The idea that attention should be focused on the contribution of victims to crime is one with a long tradition, originating in the field of victimology. Hans von Hentig was among the first to articulate this stance, positing in the 1940s that victims often contribute to their own victimization. While recognizing that the

provocative behaviors of individuals can contribute to their victimization, his classification of victims also emphasizes that the contribution of victims can result from characteristics or social positions beyond their control. Some of the victim types in his classification scheme include the female, the old, the mentally defective, the immigrant, and the acquisitive. Many of these categories represent the inability of potential victims to resist perpetrators due to social, physical, or psychological disadvantages. The importance of von Hentig's classification scheme is in suggesting that victim characteristics or social positions can contribute passively to victimization.

Benjamin Mendelsohn expanded on the concept of victim precipitation by emphasizing degrees of victim precipitation. His classification scheme focused principally on active precipitation, or the behaviors and actions of victims that contribute to their victimization. Based on his observations as a practicing attorney, he delineated a classification scheme of victims based on legal considerations of the degree of victim culpability. The scheme ranges from completely innocent victims to victims who are completely responsible. In an additional effort, Stephen Schafer provided a typology that combined von Hentig's discussion of social characteristics or social positions of individuals—passive precipitation—with Mendelsohn's discussion of victim behaviors and the degree of victim culpability—active precipitation. This typology includes victims with no responsibility (biologically weak, socially weak, political, and unrelated victims), victims with some responsibility (provocative and precipitative victims), and victims with total responsibility (self-victimizing).

The commonality in these classification schemes is that they emphasize victim precipitation, or the possibility that victims either passively or actively contribute to their victimization. In other words, victim contribution is implicated as a causal factor in crime. Marvin Wolfgang's analysis of U.S. police homicide records marked the first attempt to systematically explore victim precipitation. Defining victim-precipitated homicides as instances in which the ultimate victim was the first in the homicide event to use physical force against the subsequent offender, this study reported that 26% of homicides that occurred from 1948 to 1952 in Philadelphia resulted from active victim precipitation. After

Wolfgang's pioneering study, others assessed the role of victim precipitation in aggravated assault, armed robbery, homicide, and forcible rape. These studies indicated that victim precipitation contributes to a variety of crimes, although estimates of its contribution vary across crime type. Specifically, studies suggest that 22% to 26% of homicides, 14% to 21% of aggravated assaults, 4% to 19% of forcible rapes, and 11% of armed robberies involve victim precipitation.

The primary contribution of these studies to criminology, and particularly to victimization theories, is in suggesting that a comprehensive analysis of crime should incorporate a discussion of the role victims may play in the evolution of crime. However, these studies also served a secondary function in paving the way for victimization theories through the controversy and debate surrounding them. The controversy was sparked in the 1970s, largely by Menachem Amir's study of forcible rape in which the operationalization of victim precipitation included using indecent language or gestures, possessing a "bad" reputation, and consuming alcohol. After this study, the concept of victim precipitation came under attack for blaming the victims of crime for their victimization.

Although the controversy over victim blaming marked a blow for victimization studies and for the appreciation that victims are an important element in many crime scenarios, it also marked an important turning point for victimization research. Specifically, the debate made it clear that victimization research would have to be broadened considerably before it would be able to attain prominence in criminology. The victim precipitation studies focused almost exclusively on the actions of victims, affording little attention to offenders and/or contexts. As such, critics noted that the studies failed to realize that many factors identified as precipitous—for example, drinking alcohol—are present in situations where individuals are not victimized. A clear implication here is that precipitative acts are not sufficient causes of criminal events. Rather, a compelling explanation of victimization must focus on additional factors, including offenders and contexts. In a related vein, some critics suggested that the singular focus on victim behaviors as contributors to victimization diverted necessary attention from the social institutions and

cultural values that shape the lives and behaviors of both offenders and victims.

The development of victimization theories in criminology benefited from the lessons learned through the debates over victim precipitation and victim blaming. However, victimization theories were not developed in the immediate aftermath of these debates. Instead, they emerged in the late 1970s, nearly half a decade after some of the controversial precipitation studies. It is at this time that data from the newly developed National Victimization Survey revealed demographic and temporal patterns in victimization in the United States that required explanation.

National Crime Victimization Surveys

Prior to the development of national victimization surveys, criminologists seeking to understand patterns in victimization and crime had to rely on official reports of offending (e.g., arrest statistics). The first national surveys of victimization began in the late 1960s, following the recommendations of a presidential commission on urban crime and unrest. The early victimization surveys provided both national and supplemental city-level estimates of victimization. Due to budget restrictions, only the national estimates of victimization portion of the surveys remained by 1973. The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics sponsors these surveys, which are carried out by the U.S. Census Bureau.

The National Victimization Survey (NVS), later called the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), obtains data twice yearly on personal and household victimizations using a nationally representative sample of approximately 80,000 persons in 43,000 households (reduced from 72,000 households in the original NVS). The survey collects incident-based data on victimization episodes (e.g., time, location, use of weapons, offender use of drugs and alcohol, number of offenders, and actions of the victim), victim-offender relationships, consequences of victimization (e.g., extent of injury and property loss), and victims' demographic information. These data are particularly vital for revealing temporal and social distributions of property and violent victimizations.

The demographic patterns in personal victimization revealed in early victimization surveys included the finding that people under the age of

24 are more likely to be victimized than those over this age. Other groups that were shown to have relatively high victimization rates included males, the unmarried, low-income persons, and racial minorities. These demographic patterns have remained constant over time, with the same groups consistently reporting relatively high levels of victimization. However, the time trend data indicated significant variations over time in violent and property victimizations that required explanation. For instance, both property and violent victimization rates increased from the 1960s to the 1970s. Whereas violent victimizations remained relatively stable between 1973 and 1977 and then began fluctuating until the beginning of the crime drop in 1994, property victimizations started a trend of steady decline in 1974 that continued during the crime drop of the past decade.

Explaining these patterns was among the core impetuses for the development of Michael Hindelang and his colleagues' lifestyle-exposure theory and Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson's routine activities theory of victimization. The lifestyle-exposure perspective was developed to explain the demographic patterns of victimization revealed in the NCVS, and the routine activities perspective intended to explicate the temporal changes in victimization rates revealed in these data.

Lifestyle-Exposure and Routine Activities Theories of Victimization

Although aimed originally at addressing different questions, the lifestyle-exposure and routine activities perspectives are nearly indistinguishable. Indeed, each theory has been used over the past few decades to answer the questions initially addressed by the other. In addition, both theories focus on explicating victimizations from direct-contact predatory crimes, including robbery, forcible rape, homicide, aggravated assault, larceny, and theft. As such, most scholars discuss the fundamental difference between the perspectives as one of terminology rather than substance.

The lifestyle-exposure and routine activities explanations for victimization reflect the theme that individuals contribute to their own victimization. Rather than emphasizing the active provocation in early studies of victim precipitation, however, these theories link the lifestyles or routine

activities of individuals/groups to their rates of predatory victimization. The routine activities of individuals/groups are posited to be shaped, in turn, by structural opportunities/constraints and cultural expectations. Although the lifestyle-exposure and routine activities perspectives are often used and discussed interchangeably, this entry discusses each in turn.

The lifestyle-exposure perspective posits that status characteristics—including age, race, marital status, gender, and income—shape rates of victimization through their effects on lifestyles. Hindelang and his colleagues define lifestyles as the patterns of daily activities individuals engage in during the course of work and leisure. The lifestyles of individuals are deemed important for understanding victimization risk because they influence the amount of exposure individuals and/or their property have to crime-prone areas or persons. That is, individuals who spend their leisure time in bars or other public spaces are more likely to come into contact with offenders than are individuals who spend their leisure time watching television at home. Similarly, individuals whose employment requires work with the public (e.g., sales) are more likely to come into contact with criminals than are individuals who work alone in their offices.

The lifestyle-exposure perspective rightfully notes that where and how individuals spend their leisure and work time is influenced by the very status characteristics—age, race, income, gender, and so on—that pattern criminal victimization. This is because these status characteristics are associated with varying cultural expectations and opportunity structures that shape behaviors and lifestyles. According to this perspective, then, understanding why males are more likely than females to be victims of crime simply requires the recognition that cultural expectations and social-structural arrangements encourage males more than females to spend their work and leisure time outside the home, where they may come into contact with offenders.

Routine activities theory is similar to lifestyle-exposure theory in focusing on daily activities and the social institutions and cultural expectations that shape them. The initial focus of this perspective, however, was on elucidating trends in victimization. The theory posits that changes in victimization trends can be accounted for largely by shifts in social institutions and cultural expectations that

shape daily activities. Cohen and Felson note that changes in the culture and social structure that improve the quality of life for groups of individuals ironically may also increase victimization rates. For instance, the women's movement produced changes in cultural expectations and social opportunities for females that altered their daily activities in fundamental ways. That is, more women were working outside the home, attending college, remaining single, and engaging in leisure activities away from the home and family members. These changes in activities increased the chances that women and/or their property, in the absence capable guardians, would come into direct contact with motivated offenders.

This discussion highlights the components identified as necessary for victimization in routine activities theory. These components include the following: (a) a motivated offender, (b) a suitable target/victim, and (c) the absence of capable guardians that may prevent the crime. When these three components converge in space and time, criminal events are likely to ensue. Therefore, the risk of victimization is greatest for persons or groups, in the absence of guardians, whose daily activities bring them and/or their property into contact with motivated offenders.

Motivated offenders are defined by the routine activities perspective as any persons who might commit illegal offenses for any reason. This definition is rather ambiguous because the routine activities approach deals with motivated offenders as given and makes no explicit statement about their motivations for crime. However, the approach implicitly offers that offenders are rational actors who try to maximize profit and minimize pain. The assumption is that the victim-selection process involves a rational decision to prey upon suitable targets who lack guardianship. In holding motivation constant, the perspective focuses primary attention on suitable targets and guardianship.

Target suitability consists of the proximity of potential targets to motivated offenders and the material or symbolic attractiveness of a person or property target. Proximity of potential targets to offenders refers to the physical proximity of potential victims to populations of motivated offenders. Thus, where individuals reside and where they spend their work and leisure time affects their victimization risk. Those who reside in socially disorganized

neighborhoods and spend their time in risky environments—for example, nightclubs or bars—are at increased risk of victimization because they often are in close proximity to motivated offenders.

Attractiveness of objects is also a component of target suitability. For instrumental crimes, it is relatively simple to define the attractiveness of objects—small, expensive objects that are not properly secured are most attractive. However, for crimes that are more expressive in nature, including most violent crimes, the precise definition of an attractive target is likely to vary depending on the motivations of the offender. This suggests that a target that is defined as suitable or attractive for theft may not be suitable for a crime such as aggravated assault, vandalism, or homicide. As such, many theorists advocate crime-specific tests of routine activities theory.

The final element identified in routine activities theory is a lack of guardianship, which takes into consideration situation/context. Guardianship refers to the ability of persons or objects to prevent crime, suggesting that the concept has both social and physical dimensions. Social guardianship refers to the availability of people—friends, neighbors, family members, police—who may prevent crime simply through their presence in the situation or through offering assistance to defend against victimization. Physical guardianship includes such things as burglar alarms, guard dogs, firearms, and streetlights that help prevent crime.

Overall, routine activities and lifestyle-exposure theories propose that static and changing social structures and cultural expectations influence the daily activities of individuals/groups in ways that influence victimization risks. These theories take into consideration the fact that motivated offenders must come into contact with suitable targets/victims under situations that are conducive to crime, thereby addressing all of the core elements of criminal events. These perspectives admittedly pay less attention to offenders than they do to victims and situations, which has led some theorists to call for integrations of offender theories and these early victimization theories.

Although the lifestyle-exposure and routine activities perspectives focus on the contribution of victims to their victimization, they effectively eschew the victim-blaming characteristic of early victim precipitation studies. This is because the

theories are sensitive to the ways in which the everyday behaviors of individuals are constrained or facilitated by social institutions and cultural expectations. Furthermore, the theories posit a symbiotic relationship between conventional activities and crime, positing that criminal victimization arises from the regular activities of ordinary citizens. Felson notes that by failing to adopt the “pestilence fallacy”—that bad things, such as crime, arise from other bad things—the theories attend to victim contribution without suggesting the victim did something “bad.”

Stacy De Coster and Rena Cornell

See also Crime Triangles; Lifestyle Theory; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory

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ECONOMIC COSTS OF VICTIMIZATION

The costs of victimization are substantial. Victims, third-party individuals, relatives, witnesses, employers, the criminal justice system, and society in general are affected by victimization. There are economic and noneconomic costs of victimization. Noneconomic costs of victimization often include “intangible” losses such as physical and mental trauma, pain, suffering, fear, and the loss of quality of life that victims often endure. Economic costs of victimization focus on the “tangible” losses incurred as a result of victimization, such as property damage or loss, medical care, police and victim services, and loss or reduction of workers’ productivity. This entry describes how estimates of victimization and the economic costs of victimization are derived. It then discusses what constitutes these economic, or tangible, costs of victimization, and provides estimates for the costs of murder, assault, rape and sexual assault, robbery, drunk driving, larceny/theft, and property damage.

Estimates of Victimization: Police Reports and Victim Surveys

Generally, police reports and victimization surveys are used to calculate estimates of the prevalence of crime and victimization throughout the United States. It is important to note that although these reports are informative, they likely undercount the number of crimes, especially crimes relating to domestic violence, rape, and assaults with a gun or knife. Nonetheless, police reports and victimization surveys are vital to understanding the breadth of victimization, as well as the nature of victimization, across the United States.

The largest and most widely used measure of crime comes from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The UCR Program collects annual data regarding the index crimes of personal offenses (e.g., murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault) and property offenses (e.g., burglary, larceny/theft,

motor vehicle theft, arson) from police departments throughout the United States. While the UCR Program collects a large amount of data regarding these crimes within multiple jurisdictions across the country, it does not include much information regarding characteristics of the victims or account for the “dark figure of crime.” That is, the UCR Program data only reflect the crimes that are known to the police, and therefore the program has been criticized for underreporting much of the crime that occurs in the United States.

Because of these concerns, the reports of the UCR Program have been changed over the years to include the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The SHRs center on homicides and provide additional data on victim and offender characteristics, such as the relationship between the victim and offender as well as the circumstances surrounding the homicide. The NIBRS also supplements information provided by the UCR Program. This system provides information on more types of crimes than does the UCR Program and collects information regarding the injuries and losses incurred by victimization events. Although designed to provide more data on victims than the UCR Program, the police reports detailed here continue to undercount the total amount of victimization throughout the United States and provide limited information regarding victims’ characteristics.

Victimization surveys were derived to address some of these concerns. Victimization surveys more accurately uncover the details of circumstances surrounding crime events, as well as the nature of victimization and the characteristics of victims. These types of surveys are useful for estimates of crime and victimization because they measure the crimes that are both known and unknown to the police. The most often cited victimization survey is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Although it is a very important measurement of crime and victimization because it provides valuable information on victims of rape, robbery, assault, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft, the NCVS also excludes many types of crimes, such as murder, arson, drunk driving, and child abuse. Supplementing data acquired by the UCR Program with data

acquired by the NCVS provides a more complete picture of the “total” crimes and subsequent victimizations committed each year in the United States.

Tangible Costs of Victimization

Victimization is a serious health problem resulting in billions of dollars in costs as well as intangible consequences for both victims of crime and society at large. Research on victimization has attempted to place an accurate monetary value on the physical, sexual, and psychological consequences of these offenses. Victims typically suffer three types of losses: (1) out-of-pocket expenses resulting from medical costs or property damage, (2) reduced productivity in various settings such as work or school, and (3) nonmonetary losses such as those associated with pain or suffering and loss of quality of life. The economic costs of out-of-pocket expenses and reduced productivity are known as “tangible” costs of victimization because they are more easily quantified and estimated than are the “intangible” or nonmonetary losses associated with pain and suffering or reduced quality of life.

It is estimated that victimization costs approximately \$450 billion per year in the United States. Of that, about \$105 billion is considered to be tangible costs of crime, while \$345 billion is due to the intangible losses due to crime. This estimate does not include the costs involved in operating the criminal justice system, such as lawyers’ fees and court costs. Only the quantified costs of crime incurred directly by or on behalf of the victim are detailed.

Costs related to medical care, mental health care, police and fire services, victim services, property loss or damage, and reductions in work productivity combine to produce the \$105 billion per year estimate of the tangible costs of victimization. The expenses of medical care and mental health care provided to victims of crime comprise a large portion of yearly economic costs of crime. Economic costs of medical care include payments for hospital and physician care, emergency medical transportation, rehabilitation efforts, and medication. Insurance administrative expenditures, such as claim processing and reimbursement payments, as well as funeral and coroner expenses, are considered to be medical costs of victimization. These medical costs of victimization are more easily estimated than

the tangible losses associated with mental health care; in fact, the economic costs related to mental health care following victimization is one of the least researched, documented, and understood consequences of crime and victimization. However, it is estimated that between 10% and 20% of all United States mental health care spending is provided to victims of crimes for services from psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers. This translates to between \$6 million and \$7 million per year spent on mental health care services for victims of recent crimes or for victims of crimes inflicted during childhood. Together, medical and mental health care costs due to crime and victimization are estimated to total approximately \$18 billion per year. This estimate includes medical and mental health care expenses incurred from fatal crimes, child abuse, rape and sexual assault, robbery, arson, drunk driving, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. The expenditures that are not reimbursed by insurance companies are felt directly by the victim and family, while costs that are covered by insurance are borne by society in general.

Aside from the medical and mental health care costs of victimization, approximately \$87 billion per year is spent on or lost to property damage, loss of productivity, police and fire services, and victim services. The largest tangible expense of victimization each year is due to property damage or loss and costs related to insurance claim processing and resulting high insurance rates. Crimes most typically resulting in property loss or damage are burglary, larceny, arson, and motor vehicle theft; victims pay the direct costs of these crimes, while society shoulders the reimbursement costs dispensed by insurance companies.

The second most costly tangible consequence of victimization each year is due to the loss of or reduction in productivity at work, at school, or within the household. These expenses include lost wages and fringe benefits, missed school, and reduced housework suffered by victims and their families. Further, loss of or reduced productivity includes expenditures associated with worker’s compensation or worker’s disability, processing insurance claims, and the legal expenses involved in securing reimbursement from offenders. Lost wages for missed work are clearly felt by the victim, while decreased job productivity is a concern for the employer and for society.

Police and fire services needed in response to victimization cost approximately \$4 billion per year, most of which is shouldered directly by society and may be most detrimental to county or municipal budgets. Police and fire services provide the initial response to victimization and also provide the time, money, and effort involved in follow-up investigations. Importantly, police and fire services are needed in almost all arson and murder cases as well as in many drunk driving crashes. Finally, victim service agencies such as a Child Protective Services and foster care agencies also provide costly but necessary services to victims each year. These agencies provide care for maltreated children as well as programs and services for reintegrating families of maltreated children. Much of the expenses for such services are charged to and assumed by the victim, while any expenses paid by the agency are endured by society.

Pain and suffering and loss of quality of life are clearly consequences of victimization. It is important to note that pain and suffering and loss of quality of life are felt as costs of crime by victims. Estimates of reduced quality of life, pain, and suffering are difficult to derive, but often include the experience of physical and psychological pain, emotional suffering, reduced feelings of safety, security, privacy, and increased fear. An estimated \$345 billion is spent on or lost each year to these intangible costs of victimization.

Economic Costs of Specific Crimes

The economic costs of victimization are difficult to estimate. This is due to many factors. First, it is difficult to estimate the value of the “intangible” costs of crime, such as the trauma, pain, suffering, fear, and loss of quality of life that often result from victimization. Further, the shortcomings of police reports and victimization surveys discussed above suggest that the true level of crime in the United States is often undercounted, resulting in underestimates of the annual costs of crime. The occurrence of and subsequent costs of repeat victimizations are also difficult to measure. Finally, the pain and suffering that is inflicted upon victims often translates into economic costs in the form of hospital visits, mental health care, and other services provided to victims. The figures presented below attempt to take such factors into account;

still, these estimates may continue to undercount the economic costs of victimization.

It is estimated that each year, victims lose approximately \$450 billion due to the crimes committed against them; this includes both tangible and intangible losses. To derive more precise estimates of the costs of crime to victims as well as the aggregated costs of crime to society, research has been conducted on the costs of certain crimes, such as fatal crimes, assault, rape and sexual assault, robbery, drunk driving, and property crimes related to arson, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Tangible losses, such as medical costs, mental health care costs, police, fire, and victims services, and property loss or damage have been estimated, both with and without estimates of intangible losses such as reduced quality of life for the victim.

While victims of fatal crimes pay the ultimate price of the crime (i.e., death), society also suffers losses. Rape, robbery, abuse, assault, arson, and drunk driving crimes causing victims’ deaths costs families and society more than \$33 billion per year. Of the tangible expenses, fatal rape, robbery, abuse, and assault account for more than \$24 billion, while fatal arson crimes comprise more than \$600 million. Drunken driving deaths result in more than \$7 billion lost each year. Intangible costs associated with pain, suffering, and reduced quality of life total approximately \$60 billion per year for all fatal crimes. Fatal rape, robbery, abuse, and assault account for \$46 billion of the total \$60 billion in intangible costs. Arson deaths comprise \$1.7 billion annually, while drunk driving deaths constitute more than \$12 billion. When combined, economic and noneconomic costs associated with fatal victimizations in the United States each year total about \$93 billion.

Generally, victimization surveys disaggregate assaults into three categories—child abuse and assault, rape and sexual assault, and other types of assaults. Child abuse may take the forms of rape, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and emotional abuse. Tangible losses for these crimes cost more than \$7 billion per year, with medical and mental health care costs comprising more than \$3.6 billion of that. The costs associated with child abuse victims’ reduced quality of life approach a staggering \$48 billion per year. In all, it is estimated that child abuse accounts for \$56 billion in tangible and intangible costs each year.

Rape and sexual assault are said to be the most costly types of crime in terms of monetary and non-monetary expenditures of victimization each year. Accounting for tangible and intangible losses, rape and sexual assault is estimated to cost \$127 billion per year; more than \$7 billion is accounted for by tangible losses associated with medical expenses, mental health care, and police services, while \$119 billion is due to costs associated with victims' reduced quality of life.

Other types of assault or attempted assault, including stranger and domestic assaults, are also very costly. Approximately \$15 billion per year is lost or spent on these crimes due to medical expenses, police services, and loss of productivity at work or at home. An additional \$77 billion dollars is accounted for by pain, suffering, and reduced quality of life. Taken together, it is estimated that approximately \$93 billion each year is lost to victimization from these types of assaults. Domestic abuse against adults is estimated at \$67 billion per year, which accounts for nearly 15% of the total crime costs. Of that total, \$8.8 billion is associated with tangible costs such as medical expenses, while \$58 billion is accounted for by costs associated with reductions in quality of life.

Robbery and attempted robbery may result in injury inflicted on the victim or no injury to the victim. Regardless of whether the victim was wounded, tangible costs associated with robbery exceed \$3 billion each year. The majority (\$2.5 billion) of that is attributable to lost or damaged property, police and fire services, and victim services. It is estimated that an additional \$8 billion is due to intangible losses, resulting in \$11 billion in total costs of robbery or attempted robbery victimization.

Drunk driving, like robbery, can result in injury to the victim. Drunk driving victimization resulting in death is accounted for under the costs associated with fatal crimes; however, it is noteworthy that drunk driving deaths result in an estimated \$7 billion in tangible costs, \$12.3 billion in intangible costs, and \$20 billion in total costs each year. Nonfatal drunken driving crimes result in more than \$13 billion in tangible losses and \$27 billion in intangible losses each year. In all, drunk driving accidents that are not fatal cost about \$41 billion in the United States each year.

Property crimes include nonfatal arson and successful or attempted larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Taken together, the annual tangible costs of these crimes exceed \$25 billion per year. The bulk of this is due to the expenses associated with lost or damaged property. The intangible losses associated with arson, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft approximates \$4.7 billion per year. In all, the tangible and intangible costs of these crimes are estimated to be \$30 billion each year. Nonfatal arson accounts for \$5 billion of the estimated \$30 billion, costing about \$2.6 billion and \$2.4 billion in tangible and intangible losses, respectively. Larceny accounts for \$9 billion each year, with all \$9 billion attributed to monetary losses; in other words, it is believed that larceny does not result in reduced quality of life or pain and suffering on the part of the victim. Of the \$30 billion attributed to property victimization each year, burglary also accounts for about \$9 billion. More than \$7 billion and about \$1.8 billion are due to tangible and intangible losses, respectively, each year. Finally, motor vehicle theft costs about \$7 billion each year. The majority of this cost is due to tangible losses associated with the loss of or damage to vehicles, expenditures of police services, and related insurance costs. Approximately \$500 million is attributed to intangible losses resulting from motor vehicle theft.

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See also National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Victim Compensation; Victimization, Theories of; Victimization Surveys; Victimology

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ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT

Ideally, families provide all members with mutual love, respect, and support. An alternate disturbing reality is that the majority of elder abuse takes place within the context of family. This entry examines elder abuse that occurs within the context of a family, including intimate partner violence (IPV) and abuse perpetrated by adult children and grandchildren against parents and older relatives.

Definitions

According to the National Center on Elder Abuse, elder abuse is any knowing, intended, or careless act that causes harm or serious risk of harm to an individual age 60 or above. This broad term encompasses many types of mistreatment:

Physical abuse is the use of force to threaten or physically injure a vulnerable elder.

Emotional abuse encompasses verbal attacks, harassment, threats to evict or institutionalize, rejection, isolation from friends or family, destroying possessions, or belittling that could cause mental anguish, pain, or distress to an elder.

Sexual abuse occurs when sexual contact is forced, tricked, threatened, or otherwise coerced upon another person, including anyone who is unable to grant consent. This is one type of intimate partner violence.

Exploitation consists of theft, fraud, misuse or neglect of authority, and use of "undue influence" to gain control over an older person's money or property.

Abandonment is desertion of a frail or vulnerable elder for extended periods of time by anyone with a duty of care.

Neglect is a caregiver's failure or refusal to provide for a vulnerable elder's safety, physical, or emotional needs.

Self-neglect is the inability to understand the consequences of one's own actions or inaction, which leads to, or may lead to, harm or endangerment.

Prevalence

Few estimates of elder mistreatment in the United States exist. State- and community-specific studies offer varying estimates. A wide range of prevalence rates in itself indicates how much we have yet to learn about elder abuse. The most widely cited elder abuse study is a 1986 survey of Boston residents by Karl Pillemer and David Finkelhor. Their findings indicated that the most common perpetrators of elder abuse were spouses (59%), followed by children (24%).

Ten years later, the National Elder Abuse Incidence Study used data reported to and substantiated by Adult Protective Service agencies. They found that 25.6% of people age 60 and older experienced physical abuse. Of those, 71.4% were women.

Another 10 years later, in 2006, Therese Zink and Bonnie Sue Fisher estimated that elder mistreatment affects at least 3% to 5% of the population. Conservative estimates by the National Center on Elder Abuse put the number of elders who have been injured, exploited, or otherwise mistreated at 1 million to 2 million, and the number of elder abuse cases is expected to rise along with the aging population.

However, most studies of intrafamilial abuse focus on child abuse or domestic violence rather than elder abuse. These types of abuse also have been studied longer than elder abuse. Clearly, additional current and broad-based studies are needed to determine reliable elder abuse prevalence figures.

Underreported Abuse

Underreporting adds to the already difficult task of tabulating prevalence. Only one out of fourteen domestic elder abuse incidents, excluding self-neglect, come to the attention of authorities, according to Pillemer and Finkelhor.

Victims may be too intimidated, afraid, or ashamed to implicate family members. Denial, shame, and feelings of inadequacy about raising children or grandchildren who would abuse their elders may silence parents or grandparents experiencing abuse. The elders' physical or mental state may render them unable to tell, and they may be

dependent on the offending family members. Elders may be overwhelmed by the betrayal at the hands of “their own.” It may be psychologically easier to report abuse by an unrelated scam artist than family. Their belief system may dictate that families should handle problems privately.

Underreporting is also complicated by unclear definitions of what constitutes abuse. Many women in a 2006 study by Zink and Fisher reported that family members were “too busy” to take them to the doctor or assist in other ways. It is difficult to discern when family members reasonably need to attend to their own priorities, and when their actions constitute caregiver neglect. Similarly, when adult children or neighbors accompany older adults into the doctor’s exam room against the wishes of the elder, is it classified as concern, ageism, or abuse?

Risk Factors

While there is no acceptable rationalization for intrafamilial elder abuse, the following risk factors might contribute to this form of abuse.

Issues Within the Abuser

The perpetrator may be mentally unstable or alcohol or drug dependent, or may have anger management issues or previous criminal history. Long-standing personality traits like having a bad temper, being hypercritical, and having a tendency to blame others are also risk factors. Severe personal stress and personal and financial crises can contribute. Some individuals see violence as an acceptable way to solve problems, or they have limited nonviolent techniques to solve problems.

Abuse can be understood as a quest for power and control, as explored in 2006 by Lisa Manuel and by others. The abusive person exerts controls by creating barriers to the outside world through social isolation. Cutting off access to the telephone and assistive technology like hearing aids, walkers, and so on is a common tactic in this scenario. In 2006, Zink and her colleagues noted cases of older women involved with homosexual or bisexual partners they labeled “women haters.” Perpetrators of elder abuse may project their frustration and anger over their own problems onto their intimate partners or family members.

Retaliation and Cycle of Violence

Elder abuse can be the continuation of long-standing domestic violence or abusive family dynamics. When family members have always related to each other in abusive ways and older adults can no longer hold their own, the playing field becomes uneven. Other family members continue to play their dysfunctional parts, and elder abuse results. A cycle of violence can be perpetuated by abusers trying to get back at their elders for actual or imagined past mistreatment.

Caregiving Resentment

Abuse can begin in later years. Most people receive the majority of their long-term care from informal, unpaid family caregivers. The Family Caregiver Alliance estimates 34 million adults (16% of the population) provide care to adults aged 50 and older. Declines in mental and physical status of the elder create overwhelming caregiving stresses that, especially when combined with other risk factors, can lead to abuse.

Lack of Services

Without needed health and social services in the community, caregivers may be unable to handle the stress and responsibility of caring for a parent.

Isolation

Isolation can lead families to become very confused about acceptable treatment. Small changes over time can slowly escalate into abuse without family members noticing the evolution and the new abusive “normal.”

Longer Life Spans

According to the Administration on Aging, individuals 85 and over are the fastest growing segment of the population. This group of the oldest old is expected to rise from 5.3 million in 2006 to 8.9 million in 2030. Higher prevalence of elder abuse may correspond to expanded longevity, as increased stresses and pressures within families can lead to abuse.

Ageism

Financial exploitation may stem from an extreme sense of entitlement by adult children. They may consider their parents' resources already theirs or under their jurisdiction. Financial abuse can be an expression of ageism, based on the idea that needs of older people are less important than needs of younger people.

Financial Dependence

Financial dependence is common in the current generation of older women who were generally discouraged from earning significant incomes. Elders may rely on family members for financial support. Or relative caregivers may depend on the older adult for money. Both situations may lead to abuse.

Emotional or Physical Dependence

Many elders depend on spouses or other family members for help with driving; with activities of daily living like getting dressed, eating, and personal care; and with instrumental activities of daily living like cleaning, laundry, grocery shopping, and managing medications. Older adults in declining health can become more vulnerable to abuse because of increasing dependence.

Social Problems

Unemployment, poor or crowded housing, and other poor living conditions can put elders at high risk of abuse.

What Keeps Elders From Escaping Intrafamilial Abuse?

Studies by Zink and her colleagues in 2003 and 2004 found that the majority of older women are likely to remain in their abusive relationship. In 2006, these researchers found that over time women developed a philosophy of life to make sense of the demeaning treatment in their intimate partnerships. They used a variety of internal and external coping strategies. First, they reappraised their abusers, themselves, and their situations. For instance, they labeled their spouse a "hotheaded Italian" or a "hardheaded German" or a "Jekyll &

Hyde" in order to make sense of the mistreatment and maintain self-respect. Second, women focused on their culturally prescribed roles of wife, mother, and homemaker to find meaning beyond the abuse and despite the abuse. Third, they looked outside of the relationship to their friends, extended family, job, and volunteer work for emotional support. Nearly half of the women noted escalations in abuse when the perpetrator was under the influence of alcohol or drugs. All of the women who remained in their abusive relationships made efforts to maintain the appearance of a conjugal connection or unity to the outside world.

Older women with physical or mental illness must overcome significant obstacles to stop abuse. They may not have the requisite knowledge regarding health care providers. In addition, community services, such as temporary shelters, respite care facilities, and other protective services for older people, may be lacking. Finally, abusers may not be aware of the services and professional agencies available to help them learn to express their feelings in proper ways, and victims may not be aware of those who could help them to set boundaries and keep themselves safe.

Legal Protection

No federal law currently protects older adults from elder abuse. However, state laws offer some protection. Mandated reporters vary widely by states. Toll-free hotline numbers exist in most states, and the Web site of the National Center on Elder Abuse has a page called "Where to Report Abuse." Most states accept anonymous reports; however, it is preferable if the caller provides contact information in case the investigator has follow-up questions.

Safety Planning

According to Zink and her colleagues in 2006, intimate partner violence of both a physical and sexual nature decreases as perpetrators age. Over time, women develop coping strategies that enable them to live with the abuser. Since older women are likely to remain in an abusive relationship, the main task of service providers becomes safety planning, or helping older women to be as safe as possible within their abusive relationship.

Health care professionals are often the ones with the most opportunities to see elders alone and ask specific questions about abuse. Lack of awareness of the potential for abuse by health care professionals, including medical providers, dentists, older adult services workers, police, postal workers, and bank employees make it easy for abuse to go undetected.

In 2006, Zink and her colleagues recommended that providers identify treatable mental health problems that may be undiagnosed in the abuser and victim in intimate partnerships. When leaving appears not to be an option, appropriate management of diagnoses such as depression, anxiety, or oppositional behaviors may improve the safety and quality of life for the couple.

Protective Factors

Encouraging older adults to remain busy and engaged in life protects these adults against elder abuse. Also protective is helping to older adults to cultivate multiple sources of positive social support and linking them with spiritual resources, social services, and aging network community-based services. This normalizes their day-to-day functioning and protects them against isolation.

The older person can be advised to protect himself or herself against financial exploitation by keeping family members from adding their names to his or her bank accounts unless they have clear consent; never making financial decisions under pressure; and not signing over money or property to anyone, even family, without getting independent legal advice.

Providing community education about all forms of elder abuse will help people understand that they do not have to live with abuse and it is not their fault. Offering phone numbers and hotlines for social service agencies like elderly protective services, public health agencies, and the police can help raise older people's awareness of community resources available to help them and encourage them to ask for help when they need it.

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See also Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment:

Institutions; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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Web Sites

National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.elderabusecenter.org>

ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: INSTITUTIONAL

The maltreatment of people over the age of 60 is commonly referred to as elder abuse. The National Association of Adult Protective Services delineates three basic categories of elder abuse: (1) domestic elder abuse, (2) institutional elder abuse, and (3) self-neglect or self-abuse. State statutes addressing

elder abuse provide their own specific definitions of these three categories and generally exclude self-neglect or self-abuse, instead focusing on “types” of domestic and institutional elder abuse. These types include physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional or psychological abuse, neglect, and exploitation.

This entry focuses on institutional abuse whereby individuals within institutions are victims of maltreatment and neglect. This is distinguished from institutionalized abuse, whereby the administration or milieu of the institution is determined to be abusive or negligent (i.e., use of physical/chemical restraints, lack of attention to bedsores, inadequate nutrition). However, in most situations of maltreatment in institutions, it is difficult to verify whether the abuse or neglect was caused by an individual act or through some failing on the part of the institution. Most experts believe that institutional abuse is an invisible problem because residents within long-term care facilities represent the most isolated, dependent, and voiceless population within society. Elder abuse is a public health and criminal justice concern that requires worldwide attention. This entry discusses the different types of institutions that provide long-term care for older adults, provides information on the prevalence of elder abuse within these institutions, explores the theories of such abuse within institutions, and ends with a brief discussion on responding and preventing elder abuse within institutions.

Long-Term Care Institutions

Generally, an institution is a facility that provides long-term care (i.e., nursing care and related medical or psychosocial services) for individuals who cannot obtain this care within their own homes. The most common type of long-term care institution is the nursing home, but assisted living is now the fastest growing segment of long-term care within the United States. Nursing homes can be for-profit, nonprofit, or government facilities. All three ownership groups provide skilled and basic nursing care and assistance with activities of daily living (ADLs) for individuals who are having difficulty performing tasks such as bathing, toileting, transferring from bed to chair, and eating. Currently, slightly more than 5% of the U.S. population aged 65 and older resides in nursing homes and assisted living facilities. However, the percentage of institutionalized

elders increases to 24.5% for those over the age of 85 and approximately 50% of those 95 and older. Because residents within nursing homes are considered to be the most physically and emotionally vulnerable group of elders, they are especially in jeopardy of being victimized.

Prevalence of Elder Abuse Within Institutions

Because elder abuse in general has gone unrecognized, the rates of elder abuse within institutions have not been adequately documented, and there is little empirical data on the actual prevalence of abuse, neglect, and exploitation of nursing home residents. The accurate identification of elder abuse within nursing homes is especially problematic because often the deaths of residents within institutions have been attributed to natural, accidental, or undetermined causes when in fact they may have been due to abuse and/or neglect. In addition, because mistreatment within institutions occurs outside the view of family and friends, the likelihood of abuse being reported is low. Although the exact magnitude of maltreatment against residents within institutions is not known, according to information gathered by the National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA), the mistreatment of residents in nursing homes is not uncommon. In 2005, the Long-Term Care Ombudsman Program (LTCOP) received more than 20,000 complaints of abuse, neglect, and exploitation, and another 92,000 complaints related to resident care. Among the different types of abuse categories, physical abuse was the most common type reported. Although the incidence of sexual abuse within institutions is estimated to be low (with less than 1% of Adult Protective Services' investigations), this is also considered to be the most hidden and unreported forms of abuse.

Theories of Elder Abuse Within Institutions

There are a variety of theories that have been proposed to explain elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment among community-dwelling older adults. This section describes the unique dynamics of elder abuse within institutions. The maltreatment of elders within institutional settings occurs in both covert and overt forms. Three covert forms

of elder abuse within nursing homes were first identified by Dorothy Meddaugh in the early 1990s. The first form is the resident's loss of personal choice concerning basic daily activities. Residents are forced to bathe, eat, and sleep on the institution's schedule rather than their own schedule. The second form is isolation. Residents who are considered to be aggressive, combative, or disruptive are often banished from group activities and social functions, and they are often forced to stay in their beds and/or rooms for extended periods of time. The third covert form of elder abuse is labeling. Residents are labeled by staff as "the good resident," "the bad resident," "the mean resident," and so on. These labels usually result in differential treatment by the staff. Although it can be argued that these situations do not meet the generally accepted criteria for abuse and/or mistreatment, from the residents' and/or their family's perspective, this may be considered abusive.

Overt forms of elder abuse include physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological/emotional abuse, and neglect. Within institutions, the risk of these cases of elder maltreatment occurring can be categorized into three areas: facility staff risk factors, resident risk factors, and relationship risk factors.

Facility Staff Risk Factors

Abuse by staff within institutions can occur due to the stressful working conditions. These stressful working conditions include long shift hours, low staff-to-patient ratios, a heavy workload, being underpaid, and receiving minimal or no benefits. Providing hands-on care for older adults who are physically and/or cognitively impaired is highly demanding and requires sufficient training and supervision. Nurses aids (who provide the majority of hands-on care) often receive minimal training and/or supervision, which frequently results in nurses aids not having the necessary skills, information, resources, and/or disposition to handle potentially aggressive and/or rebellious behaviors of residents. In addition to the demands of the institution, nurses aids are often attempting to deal with external stressors such as juggling home responsibilities (e.g., raising children), personal financial concerns, and/or relational problems. Nursing home staff may become abusive with residents in retaliation for being underpaid and overworked, or

staff with their own history of abuse may bring this learned aggressiveness with them to the workplace. Facility staff risk factors can also include the lack of adequate training initiatives and policies to prevent elder abuse and neglect.

Resident Risk Factors

Institutionalization itself is viewed as a risk factor for elder abuse and neglect. Nursing home residents are the most vulnerable of populations, and subsequently are at greatest risk for abuse and neglect. Nearly half of all nursing home residents are experiencing severe cognitive deficits, and 50% are confined to a bed or wheelchair. These cognitive and ambulatory limitations increase the vulnerability of nursing home residents. The likelihood of being victimized is especially evident when one considers that the "typical" nursing home resident is female, Caucasian, over the age of 79, and widowed. Because the majority of nursing home residents are widows, they do not have the support or guardianship of a spouse or partner.

Relationship Risk Factors

Although nursing home residents who do not have frequent visitors or familial support are at a particular risk for abuse and/or neglect due to social isolation, perpetrators of institutional abuse can also be family members. Abuse by family members is often a continuation of maltreatment that occurred prior to the placement within the institution. For example, a son may continue to be verbally abusive to his mother at the nursing home whenever he calls and/or visits. However, the most frequent cases involve residents striking out at other residents because of a lack of impulse control due to mental health problems (i.e., psychosis, dementia, delirium) or lack of adequate supervision. In addition, convicted felons who are transferred to nursing homes from correctional facilities can pose safety risks for both residents and staff. Finally, visitors to nursing homes can also inflict abuse upon unsuspecting residents.

The National Association of State Units on Aging (NASUA) for the National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) developed the Nursing Home Abuse Risk Prevention Profile and Checklist in 2005. This resource was specifically designed to

assist nursing home administrators in assessing the facility, resident, and relationship risk factors of abuse and neglect within their particular facility.

Reporting Elder Abuse in Institutions

Since the enactment of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, there have been federal regulations established to protect the well-being of older adults residing in institutions in the United States. The enforcement of these regulations has been the responsibility of the Health Care Finance Administration through the Department of Health and Human Services. Congress authorized the most ambitious nursing home regulations under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (OBRA '87). OBRA '87 mandated that each nursing home must provide individualized resident care that ensures physical, mental, and psychosocial well-being. OBRA '87 also gave states the authority to establish and maintain investigatory units and Long Term Care Ombudsman Programs (LTCOP). As a condition of receiving federal funds under the Older Americans Act, each state is mandated to have a LTCOP, which advocates on behalf of residents within long-term care facilities who have experienced maltreatment, violations of their rights, and/or any other problems. If the LTCOP discovers an abusive situation when responding to complaints within a facility, a referral is made to an appropriate agency (i.e., APS program, law enforcement agency, or agency responsible for licensing/certifying such facility).

Prevention of Elder Abuse Within Institutions

Although there are numerous strategies that institutions can use to reduce the vulnerability of residents and prevent institutional abuse (i.e., facility-based prevention measures, education, community outreach, and building security), the most promising ways are reflected in current and proposed federal policies. Recent amendments to Title II and Title VII of the Older Americans Act mandate the development of multidisciplinary and collaborative programs to address the incidence of elder maltreatment within institutions. The Elder Justice Act, which was reintroduced in both the U.S. Senate and House in 2009 is intended to

(1) elevate elder justice issues to national attention, (2) promote accountability through a new federal law to prosecute abuse and neglect within nursing homes, (3) improve ombudsman capacity, (4) provide incentives for the training and retention of nursing home staff, (5) provide and improve training of nursing home surveyors with respect to investigation of abuse, and (6) require criminal background checks for all employees within long-term care facilities. Addressing elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment within institutions requires collective action across governmental agencies and professional disciplines.

Nancy A. Orel

See also Adult Protective Services; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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http://www.ncea.aoa.gov/ncearoot/Main_Site/pdf/2-14-06%20FINAL%2060+REPORT.pdf

Web Sites

The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA): <http://www.elderabusecenter.org>

National Long Term Care Ombudsman Resource Center:
<http://www.ltcombudsman.org>

ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: INTERVENTIONS FOR

Elder abuse and *elder maltreatment* (also referred to as *mistreatment*) are broad terms referring to different forms of abusive actions taken against an older person. *Elder neglect* is typically categorized as one type of elder abuse and is the most common form of elder abuse reported to Adult Protective Services (APS), the state agency responsible for investigating elder abuse. This entry briefly describes elder abuse and its occurrence in the community, then discusses interventions that may prevent elders from becoming victims of abuse and neglect.

Types and Occurrence

Elder abuse, *maltreatment*, and *neglect* can be either intentional acts by a person trusted for the elder's care or unintentional acts by a caregiver who is improperly trained or overwhelmed with the stress of caring for an older person. This abuse includes physical, psychological, sexual, and financial abuse and neglect. The 1998 National Elder Abuse Incidence Study (NEAIS) estimated that approximately 450,000 elders age 60 and over experienced an incidence of abuse by another person and that for every case of abuse reported, five cases went unreported. The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) reports that between 1 million and 2 million elders age 65 and over experience an occurrence of abuse.

Several issues make determination of elder abuse, maltreatment, and neglect complex. One such issue is that there are federal laws against

domestic violence and child abuse, but not against elder abuse, maltreatment, and neglect. Therefore all 50 U.S. States, the District of Columbia, U.S. territories, and Native American tribal organizations have their own elder abuse statutes, which may differ in their definition of the age a person is considered an elder, what constitutes a vulnerable person, who is entitled to protection, what constitutes abuse, what has to be investigated, and who is mandated to report, as well as their guidelines for substantiating a report and criminal or civil penalties for conviction. The 1965 Older Americans Act (OAA) was amended in 1992 to include programs for prevention of elder abuse, neglect, and exploitation; in 2000 to encourage social service agencies to work with law enforcement and the justice system when dealing with elder abuse; and in 2006 to encourage multidisciplinary efforts and to allow states to use part of their OAA funding to pay for coordinating strategies and interventions for elder abuse.

Interventions

Interventions are developed and implemented for screening, identification, prevention, and treatment of elder abuse. As a result, interventions can be targeted to various groups and individuals, including the justice system, law enforcement, health care providers, social service personnel, financial providers, caregivers, and older people. There is no simple rule for developing an intervention. Every case is different, and every state defines and enforces elder abuse statutes differently. However, one similarity among statutes is the requirement that the older person be vulnerable, which usually means that he or she is unable to make decisions because of physical or mental impairment. APS investigates and substantiates elder abuse cases, but does not have the authority to remove a competent elderly person from his or her situation. Thus, if an older person refuses help or makes the decision to stay in an abusive or neglectful environment, the person has that right.

The criterion of vulnerability affects the type of intervention developed, as there are several types of interventions. The first type is educational interventions, which assist in defining elder abuse. Defining elder abuse is complicated, and so one

intervention is to train providers to use validated screening tools that help distinguish elder abuse from advancing age and chronic health conditions, and to inform those in the state obligated to investigate. Successful interventions create multidisciplinary teams of law enforcement, district attorneys, health care providers, social service providers, financial advisors, educators, researchers and elder abuse advocates to review cases to determine substantiated abuse of a vulnerable elder and a coordinated plan of action.

A second category is prevention. Prevention interventions have primarily raised awareness in communities about elder abuse. These interventions involve public service announcements for media and billboards describing abuse with a toll-free number to encourage reports. Also included is programming for civic and religious groups to raise awareness and foster a commitment to respect and care for elders in the community.

Other prevention interventions involve those implemented for caregivers of older people and for the older people themselves. Caregiving in a family can be a complex undertaking. There are many issues that can arise when a person must care for an ill, older spouse, parent, or relative. Prevention interventions try identifying and dealing with issues that increase the risk of abuse, such as a history of abuse, substance abuse, mental health issues, and financial dependency. Issues that have been suppressed can be exacerbated by the stress of caregiving or becoming dependent. Many interventions educate caregivers about self-care and providing elder care. This includes information about community resources such as respite care, adult day care, sharing care, and support groups. Other programs instruct caregivers to recognize that changes in cognitive, physical, or financial status can lead to abuse.

Finally, if there is abuse, treatment interventions target the abusive caregiver or elder. These programs intervene to attempt to change the abusive behavior through counseling, education, or treatment of mental health conditions. If these interventions fail, vulnerable elders may be removed from the home and placed in another facility or institution, the outcome that everyone involved was attempting to avoid.

The issues of elder abuse, maltreatment, and neglect are extremely complex. But gains have

been made to increase awareness of the problem and identify and implement solutions. Federal law and funding would support the creation of consistent and cohesive definitions of the elder and elder abuse, in addition to mandating reports and developing and evaluating interventions for this abuse.

Sandra Regan

See also Adult Protective Services; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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Web Sites

National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov>

ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: MEASUREMENT OF

The field of elder mistreatment has been plagued by problems with how to measure the extent of the phenomenon. Prevalence estimates range from 10 to 32 per 1,000 elders, with overall national estimates between 500,000 and 1 million elders existing at any point in time. The only two peer-reviewed prevalence estimates, published 20 years apart, do not estimate prevalence of mistreatment in facility settings.

Agreement on Definitions

The first of the measurement issues is agreement on definitions, which are typically driven by statutes and regulations and vary from state to state. Though various entities have tried to establish definitions, the most commonly held are those by Margaret Hudson, a researcher; the National Center on Elder Abuse; and the National Research Council (NRC) efforts, a text edited by Richard Bonnie and Robert Wallace.

The NRC panel defined elder mistreatment as being intentional and unintentional acts of harm committed by a trusted other. The NRC definition excludes self-neglect. Conundrums presented by the NRC definition are at what point a trust relationship is established and who constitutes a trusted other. Problems with establishing a commonly held definition are also frustrated by an inability to understand the scope of the problem. Before meaningful action can be taken, it is critical to know how much mistreatment actually exists.

Studies Counting the Problem of Elder Abuse

The second measurement issue concerns how best to count the problem to accurately represent it. At this time, incidence and prevalence of the problem in facility and community settings remain virtually unknown, although more researchers than ever are now addressing the problem, primarily due to increased funding by the National Institute of Justice and the National Institute on Aging. The most familiar and referent study of prevalence of elder abuse is that of Carl Pillemer and David Finkelhor. Theirs was a large-scale random sample survey in which interviews were conducted with 2,020 community-dwelling elders in the Boston, Massachusetts, metropolitan area regarding their experiences with physical violence, verbal aggression, and neglect. The prevalence rate was found to be 32 maltreated elders per 1,000. Physical violence was the predominant form of maltreatment, and living with another person heightened an elder's likelihood of experiencing abuse. Neither age nor economic circumstance was predictive of abuse. Study results indicated high rates of spouse abuse and of the abuse of men, findings that diverged from those of previous studies. Based on a calculation of an incidence rate (26 per 1,000), the authors

suggested that 1 in 14 cases were reported. The study did not include financial elder abuse.

A second and also widely used number is based on a national survey that gathered information on elder abuse based on report from Adult Protective Services (APS) in each state. In a year's time APS received a total of 253,426 reports on persons age 60 and over, according to Pamela Teaster and her colleagues. With a statistically inferred number used for nonresponding states, the reports of elder abuse in one year totaled 381,430. Toshio Tatara reported that 10 years earlier, and also in one year's time, APS received 293,000 domestic reports of elder abuse. Comparing the numbers of reports from these two studies and spanning a 10-year period, reports of elder abuse and neglect have risen by 30%.

In the APS study by Pamela Teaster and her colleagues, physical abuse constituted 10.7% of all substantiated abuse, sexual abuse constituted 1.0%, emotional/psychological abuse constituted 14.8%, 20.4% concerned caregiver neglect/abandonment, exploitation constituted 14.7%, and self-neglect was involved in 37.2% of substantiated reports. Findings with 15 states reporting revealed that 65.7% of victims were female and that 52.7% of alleged perpetrators were female. The major limitations of this study are that it is based only on reports of abuse to one agency and that it encompasses definitions of the problem that vary by state.

In 2008, Edwin Laumann, Sara Leitsch, and Linda Waite attempted to calculate elder mistreatment using the already established National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project, a nationally representative sample of community-dwelling elders ages 57 to 85. The study drew heavily upon recommendations from the NRC panel and included 3,005 participants who were asked if, in the past year, they had experienced verbal, financial, or physical mistreatment. For those who reported mistreatment, additional questions were asked about their relationship with the perpetrator.

Findings revealed a prevalence rate of 10 per 1,000 elders. Specifically, 9% of elders reported experiencing verbal mistreatment, 3.5% experienced financial mistreatment, and .02% reported experiencing physical mistreatment by a family member. Verbal mistreatment was more often reported by women and by those with physical vulnerabilities. The odds of experiencing financial mistreatment were higher for African Americans

and lower for Latinos/as than for Whites. Most mistreatment was perpetrated by someone outside the respondent's immediate family. Information collected for this estimate may have been affected by an attempt by the researchers to focus contextually on negative, non-life-threatening social behaviors rather than those more typically associated with legalistic definitions of elder abuse.

The Common Goal

These three studies represent the most comprehensive information currently available. Clearly, it is critical that researchers and practitioners alike understand the scope of the problem so that they can help effect change to prevent and address the problem of elder mistreatment. Only then can what is learned be realistically and systematically applied to the mistreatment of older adults.

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See also Adult Protective Services; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Institutional; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Statutory Responses; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Theories of

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ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: STATUTORY RESPONSES

Although *abuse*, *neglect*, and *maltreatment* of individuals over the age of 60 (i.e., elders) have taken place throughout history, the precise definitions of these terms continue to evolve. The National Association of Adult Protective Services delineates three basic categories of elder abuse/elder maltreatment: (1) domestic, (2) institutional, and (3) self-neglect. State statutes regarding elder abuse provide their own definitions of these three categories. Generally, state statutes exclude self-neglect and focus on "types" of domestic and institutional elder abuse. These types include physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, neglect, and exploitation. This entry provides information about state criminal statutes, federal statutes, and adult protective laws as they apply to elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment. The majority of elder abuse cases require a response from the criminal justice system. Statistics show that of all age groups, older adults (i.e., those over the age of 65) have the highest reporting rate of personal crimes to the police. In order to adequately address the increasing rates of elder maltreatment, the criminal justice system and society as a whole must view elder abuse as not just a social problem but also a legal problem.

State Law on Elder Maltreatment

The laws and definitions of terms related to elder maltreatment vary tremendously from state to state. These variations are evident in the definition

of abuse; types of abuse, neglect, and exploitation that are covered; classification of the abuse as criminal or civil; reporting (mandatory or voluntary); investigation responsibility and procedures; and remedies for abuse. Generally, most physical, sexual, and financial/material abuse are considered crimes in all U.S. states as long as these acts violate statutes prohibiting crimes such as assault, battery, rape, theft, and so on. In addition, certain emotional abuse and neglect cases are subject to criminal prosecution, depending on the conduct and intent of the perpetrator and the consequences for the victim. There are some states that have enacted special elder abuse statutes (i.e., Arizona, California, Illinois, and Washington), and many states have established laws pertaining to guardianship, conservatorship, general or durable powers of attorney, and family violence prevention that may be applicable in cases involving elder abuse.

All 50 states, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands have systems in place for reporting and investigating allegations of abuse, neglect, and exploitation of the elderly as well as some form of elder abuse prevention laws. The investigation and substantiation of elder abuse and neglect is the primary focus of Adult Protective Services (APS) agencies. All states have designated either an APS agency or a subunit of the state aging unit to receive and investigate reports of suspected elder maltreatment and for the provision of victim services. However, these procedures vary from state to state. Further, some state APS laws are applicable only to individuals who reside in the community (domestic abuse cases) and exclude individuals who reside in long-term care facilities (institutional abuse cases).

Federal Law on Elder Maltreatment

Although there are federal laws on child abuse and neglect that provide minimum definitions that states must incorporate in their statutory definitions to receive federal funds, there is no comparable federal law on elder abuse. However, the federal Older Americans Act (OAA) authorizes the use of federal funds for the National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) and provides grants to promote comprehensive state elder justice systems. New language in Title II and Title VII of the Older

Americans Act (42 U.S.C. § 3001 et seq., as amended in 2007) emphasizes multidisciplinary and collaborative approaches to addressing elder maltreatment and the establishment of elder abuse shelters and safe havens.

In addition to the OAA, other federal statutes that relate to elder maltreatment are the Social Security Act, the Violence Against Women Act, the Victims of Crime Act, and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act. The Nursing Home Quality Protection Act and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act both provide guidelines on the quality of care for nursing home residents and the enforcement of state licensing and federal standards for care.

Current Developments

In the past 5 years significant state legislation has expanded mandatory reporting statutes, enactment of civil remedies, and the creation of new criminal statutes and penalties. Currently, there is pending legislation that, if passed, could raise attention to the issues of elder abuse in the same way as federal action raised attention to the issues of domestic violence and child abuse. The Elder Justice Act (S. 795/H.R. 2006), which was reintroduced in April 2009 in both the Senate and House, is intended to provide federal resources to support state and community efforts in the prevention of elder abuse as well as provide assistance to victims.

Although there has been some increase in the number of elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment cases being prosecuted, efforts are still needed to improve the criminal justice system's response to elder abuse. This system has embarked upon a variety of state and local initiatives to better respond to suspected cases of elder abuse. These include fatality (forensic) review teams, multidisciplinary teams (MDTs), fiduciary abuse specialist teams (FASTs), and specialized elder abuse investigation and prosecution units. Each of these initiatives reflects the collaborative efforts of professionals from law enforcement, Adult Protective Services, aging service providers, and the state attorney general offices.

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See also Adult Protective Services; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Mandatory Reporting Statutes

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Web Sites

- National Adult Protective Services Association: <http://www.apsnetwork.org>
- National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov/>

ELDER ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND MALTREATMENT: THEORIES OF

Theories, or explanations, for the causes of elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment can be found in literature from the fields of criminal justice, gerontology, psychology, sociology, medicine, and social work. This entry discusses the most prevalent of these theories, as well as factors that increase the probability of elders being victimized. An understanding of these theories and contributory factors is necessary in order to provide direction to the development of prevention and intervention strategies. For the purposes of this entry, elder abuse/maltreatment includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, neglect, abandonment, and financial or material exploitation. Self-neglect by elders is not discussed.

The theoretical perspectives most frequently cited in the literature suggest that the incidence of elder maltreatment can be attributed to societal/cultural factors and/or individual characteristics of the abuser and victim. The most commonly proposed theories are social learning theory, social

exchange theory, psychopathology of the perpetrator/abuser, overwhelmed and stressed caregiver, and impairment/dependency of the elder.

Social learning theory suggests that elder maltreatment is a learned problem-solving behavior that is transmitted from one generation to another. Adults exposed to violence and/or abuse as children are less likely to develop norms that prohibit physical aggression. As adults, they may retaliate against their aging parents (or grandparents) and, out of revenge, become abusive. Therefore, intergenerational transmission of violence is seen as a learned behavior that reflects the impact of cultural values and norms on family members' likelihood of mistreating their elders.

According to social exchange theory, individuals are prone to maximize their rewards and minimize punishments. Applying this theory to elder maltreatment, the perpetrator who is providing care to a nonreciprocating elder believes he or she is entitled to use control and violence to impose punishment on the victim. A variation of social exchange theory is dependency theory, which suggests that impaired elders' constant need for assistance and care causes severe stress for caregivers, who may then react to the stress through aggressive and/or neglectful behavior. The dependency hypothesis also suggests that as the dependency of the elder increases, the likelihood for abuse escalates because the perpetrator can take advantage of the vulnerability and dependency of the victim.

Research has determined that focusing on the psychopathology of the perpetrator/abuser can provide greater clarity regarding the dynamics of elder maltreatment. Common traits among perpetrators of elder abuse include financial or emotional dependence on their victims, lack of social supports, personal/economic problems, and alcoholism, substance abuse, mental illness, and/or cognitive deficits.

Providing care for an older adult can be stressful, overwhelming, and burdensome. According to the overwhelmed and stressed caregiver theory, if the caregiver is ill equipped and ill prepared to perform the caregiving tasks, this can create a significant risk factor for elder maltreatment. Additional risk factors for elder abuse among caregivers are inability to cope with stress, depression, lack of support from other potential caregivers, and social isolation. Further, caregivers who perceive the

caregiving role as burdensome and without psychological reward are at significant risk of resorting to maltreatment of the elder needing care.

Researchers have found specific characteristics or behaviors of elders that may increase elders' risk of being victimized. The impairment/dependency of the elder theory proposes that maltreatment occurs in caregiving situations where the stress/burden is intensified as a result of the elder's increased impairment and/or dependency on the caregiver. Elders are at greater risk of abuse if they have poor health, poor social skills, display disruptive behaviors, and suffer from personality disorders, depression, or dementia. Additional risk factors include impairments in activities of daily living (e.g., eating, bathing, toileting) and instrumental activities of daily living (i.e., light housework, taking medication, managing finances). It is important to note that some research has concluded that abuser characteristics are better predictors of elder abuse than victim characteristics.

In addition to the aforementioned theories, researchers have also attributed elder maltreatment to structural inequalities within society that create an imbalance of power within relationships (feminist theory) and the marginalization of elders (political economy theory). Brian Payne suggests that elder abuse be explained from an integrated perspective, whereby existing theories on elder abuse are combined with current explanations of crime. One crime theory, called routine activities theory, proposes that elder abuse occurs when there is a suitable target, the absence of a capable guardian, and a motivated offender. According to the routine activities theory, older adults are often viewed as being frail, powerless, incompetent, and "easy targets" for victimization, especially if they are socially isolated (without a capable guardian). In addition, the characteristics of the motivated offender help account for elder abuse (e.g., stress, dependency on the elder, substance abuse problems, a history of violence, irrational belief system, and psychopathology).

No one theory can explain the etiology of elder abuse, neglect, and maltreatment, and there is currently insufficient empirical evidence supporting the theories described above. To understand and prevent elder abuse, one must take into consideration the myriad interactions between multiple systems (e.g., individual, relationship, community, and society). It

is also important to note that contributory factors rarely operate in isolation; rather, they interact in unique ways depending on the victim, the perpetrator, the environment, and the situation.

Nancy A. Orel

See also Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment: Interventions for; Family Violence; Psychological/Emotional Abuse; Violence, Theories of

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Web Sites

National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov>

ELECTRONIC MONITORING

The term *electronic monitoring* (EM) mainly refers to a range of technologies that can be used to achieve remote oversight of the locations and schedules of offenders *under supervision in the community*. The concept, and basic patents for the technology, were developed by behavioral psychologists Ralph and Robert Schwitzgebel at Harvard University in the 1960s, and entailed the monitoring of movement rather than of specific locations, although this was also possible. Convinced Skinnerians, the Schwitzgebels (who subsequently changed their surname to Gable, and remain engaged with debates on EM) envisaged it as an adjunct to rehabilitation, not as the punitive

and controlling measure it subsequently became, but at the time neither correctional applications nor commercial sponsorship could be found for it. Practical applications were not triggered until the early 1980s, after Judge Jack Love of Albuquerque, New Mexico, persuaded an electronics engineer, Michael Goss, to develop the available technology as a means of enforcing house arrest (rather than tracking movement). By this time, the components for making portable signaling devices (ankle bracelets) were smaller, lighter, and cheaper, and the *controlling* potential of EM becoming more readily appreciated by commercial and correctional interests alike. Love's original intention had been to find ways of supervising prisoners' on home leave from the local penitentiary, but EM initially gained ground in the United States as a mainstay of the "intermediate sanctions" movement.

For local political reasons, EM was not sustained in Love's jurisdiction, but experimental schemes were established elsewhere, notably Kenton County, Kentucky, and Palm Beach, Florida. Florida rapidly became the main site of innovation in EM and remains so to this day. EM spread patchily but rapidly across the United States in the 1990s and also began to spread abroad—initially to Canada, Australia, and Singapore. The first European jurisdiction to experiment with EM was England and Wales (which referred to it as "tagging"), while Sweden was the first to develop a fully national scheme. At the present time, approximately 30 countries make use of EM, at least experimentally—South Africa and Norway are among the latest adopters. Supervisory schemes involving EM have developed at the pretrial, community sentence, and release from prison stages of the criminal justice process—some countries utilize all three, some focus more on one than the others.

Forms of Electronic Monitoring

The manufacture of EM technology, and quite often the delivery of monitoring services themselves, resides with commercial organizations contracted to state agencies rather than with state agencies themselves. These organizations are part of an international "commercial corrections complex" and, alongside governments seeking both to increase the onerousness of community supervision and to reduce the high costs of imprisonment,

they have played a significant part in the global expansion of EM by creating innovative products for the emerging "crime control" market. EM now encompasses voice verification (confirming presence at a particular location using telephony and a person's unique biometric voice print) and remote alcohol monitoring (checking alcohol intake at home via a digitized breathalyzer linked to the phone), as well as the original radio frequency (rf) technology that had turned house arrest into a viable intermediate sanction. Worldwide, however, in comparison to solely rf-based systems, these are used relatively little. The advent of satellite tracking using the global positioning system (GPS) in the late 1990s vastly increased the potential of EM, enabling the monitoring of movement, either in real time or through retrospective route tracing, as well as the creation of exclusion zones from which offenders could be prohibited. Satellite tracking has expanded significantly as a postrelease program in the United States, sometimes displacing rf-based systems, and has been piloted in England and Wales, France, and the Netherlands.

Electronic Monitoring and Crime Reduction

While the merely ideological and commercial drivers of EM's global expansion cannot be underestimated, criminal justice practitioners and policy makers have to a greater or lesser degree always justified its use to the public in terms of crime reduction and public protection. It has been persistently claimed by EM's champions that offenders' wearing an electronic anklet while confined for a set period in their own homes, or having their movements monitored in real time by satellites, will reduce the propensity of offenders to reoffend, at least for the duration of the court order. It is true that remote electronic monitoring exerts more moment-by-moment control over an offender than does periodic personal contact with a probation officer or social worker, and most research indicates that rates of compliance are high while the anklet is being worn. Compliance is largely a product of the inherently surveillant aspects of EM—compared to monitoring by people, it significantly increases the likelihood of violations being detected—and the fear of more punitive consequences (usually prison sentences) if the initial order or sentence is breached. One

major advantage of EM is that it enables offenders to remain in daytime employment while undergoing nighttime curfews (or vice versa). Some jurisdictions, however, permit 23- or 24-hour periods of home confinement for some offenders and demand relatively rapid follow-up action if a violation is recorded in the monitoring center, and while this is arguably tantamount to turning the home into a “virtual prison,” it is still misleading to consider EM an incapacitative measure. Tagged offenders can always remove or disregard the bracelet and choose to reoffend in the community (or the home), something that the locks, bolts, and bars of a real prison preclude.

The capacity of EM to reduce criminal behavior is limited, however, because EM contains no inherent mechanism for changing offenders’ attitudes or giving them positive incentives to be law abiding. Some—mostly anecdotal—evidence exists that periods of home confinement can in themselves create windows of opportunity for offenders, prompting them to review the direction in which their lives are going and perhaps exposing them to beneficial influences from the family members into whose proximity such confinement draws them. This is a slender basis on which to claim a significant crime reductive role for EM, and no evidence exists to show that EM reduces reconvictions *after* the duration of an order or sentence. However, some evidence from Canadian research shows that EM house arrest combined with participation in rehabilitative programs increases the likelihood of offenders with unstable lifestyles completing those programs and thereby benefiting from them, although in respect to juvenile offenders, evidence from research conducted in Scotland implies the opposite—tagged youngsters on an intensive supervision program fared less well than those on the program who were not tagged. A large-scale survey of EM use in Florida purports to show that there is a significant crime-suppression effect among offenders while they are subject to EM. This may be true, but the study fails to distinguish between EM home confinement and GPS tracking (which are distinctly different forms of surveillance), and also fails to indicate which offenders also had probation support and which did not, implying, implausibly, that this was irrelevant to the outcome. The study also extrapolates from the seemingly high rates of compliance with EM over

relatively short periods of time the idea that compliance and crime suppression will be sustained over much longer periods, perhaps even over the remaining life span of released sex offenders (and this surveillance program is one to which a number of American states are now committed).

Electronic Monitoring and Victim Protection

While the public protection aim of tagging offenders implicitly encompasses the general prevention of victimization, the use of EM technology to protect specific victims from specific offenders is a much smaller-scale development in use in the United States, Scotland, and Spain. Protecting children from sexual predators has been a potent feature of debate in the United States about satellite tracking of released sex offenders, and some offenders, depending on where they resettle, have been given exclusion zones around the homes of former victims. Exclusion zones around particular neighborhoods can also be imposed on drug-using burglars who have habitually targeted these neighborhoods—this was a significant rationale of satellite tracking in the England and Wales pilots. The use of “bilateral electronic monitoring” in a domestic violence context can use either rf or GPS technology to protect specific victims. The victim’s home is equipped with a receiver sensitive to the signal from an offender’s ankle bracelet; if the offender goes near the home, both the victim and the police are alerted. Small-scale research in the United States suggests that such interventions have value for victims, while recognizing that they are a short-term solution to a long-term problem, and may create false expectations of security. Swedish research into crime victims’ attitudes regarding the desirability and legitimacy of EM as a penalty for offenders found victims to be moderately supportive of EM, skeptical of EM being used too much as a substitute for custody, and insistent that particular victims should be informed if “their” offender was given EM. In general, far too little is known about the attitudes of crime victims toward EM. These attitudes probably vary on a country-by-country basis, but victim advocacy groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving have been known to campaign against EM when it is used as an alternative to custody of DUI offenders.

In recent years, the term *electronic monitoring* has ceased to be associated solely with supervising offenders in the community and providing alternatives to prison; it is now possible to create *electronically monitored prisons* by tagging inmates (and possibly staff and visitors too) and placing a network of sensors high on the building walls and (in the case of open prisons) around the perimeter. All can be monitored on a single screen in a small room, making individual prisoner locations and “online headcounts” of the entire institutional population available whenever needed, instantaneously if required. The technology was pioneered in the United States, but has not yet become widespread, possibly because it has implications for custodial staffing levels. In Europe it was pioneered in the Netherlands, followed by Sweden, both of which use it in several prisons. As with all forms of prison security, the rationale behind the introduction of this technology is a mix of institutional efficiency and public protection, but insofar as the systems can be programmed to alert staff when inmates who might harm each other (e.g., rival gang members) are coming into close proximity, it can also be used to reduce victimizations in prisons.

The Future of Electronic Monitoring

The ethical questions at the heart of all debates about EM technologies relate to the extent to which they could or should displace or augment more humanistic practices in the management of offenders, which respect their personhood and mobilize community resources to encourage positive changes in their behavior. “Technical fixes” alone usually have their limits, but even where they are effective they may be unethical, something easily overlooked when dealing with publicly despised malefactors. The prospect of purely automated systems of surveillance and management of offenders, in prison or out, devoid of social approaches to effecting behavioral change, is surely unappealing to many. EM sometimes does play a part in crime reduction during the periods offenders are subject to it, but only a small one, and it can easily be oversold. Former crime victims might well opt for electronic early warning systems in order to protect themselves, and it may well be preferable for female victims of domestic abuse and their children to remain in their own homes rather than

going into shelters, but the creation of safe and just communities requires far more than merely technical interventions.

Insofar as the availability of a global information and communication technology infrastructure nowadays now makes possible unprecedented means of pinpointing an offender’s location in social space, modern government agencies will always be pressed to consider how customizing such technology might advance their crime control agendas, particularly if cost and efficiency savings in offender management might accrue. The precise forms of EM technology will change, and its application will be shaped by the perceived penal needs and traditions of different countries, but the concern with monitoring offenders’ schedules and locations will henceforth remain an integral part of what it means to supervise offenders and to protect society.

Mike Nellis and J Robert Lilly

See also Closed-Circuit Television; Drug Use Forecasting/Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring

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EXPERT TESTIMONY AND FORENSIC EVIDENCE

The success of any court case rests on the quality of the evidence presented. That quality can be greatly affected by the use of expert witnesses and forensic evidence. Each of these is addressed in this entry.

Expert Testimony

An expert witness is an advocate for the truth who works for neither the prosecution nor the defense. Expert testimony is used in criminal and civil cases, where an expert in a particular field assists the trier of facts in comprehending evidence that the trier otherwise would not understand. For example, an expert witness may testify to appropriate standards of care and explains various medical terms and/or procedures. This person has specialized education, experience, and/or training and thus possesses knowledge about a subject that exceeds that of the layperson. The job of an expert witness includes educating the trier. It is necessary for the expert to be objective and willing to limit his or her discourse to the relevant facts. Expert witnesses are called upon to provide two types of evidence—information on the facts in issue and inferences drawn about facts—by testifying as to their professional opinion. Such witnesses play a vital role in cases requiring scientific evaluation and interpretation of facts beyond the capabilities of the layperson.

Expert testimony in the consideration of a forensic exam usually describes the narrative history, which is the verbal history of the crime, and a physical examination of the victim. This includes the evidence collected (such as photos and swabs) and documentation of the evidence. Other documentation includes findings consistent with the victim's history, findings consistent with the ingestion of various types of medications and alcohol, and any reactions the victims demonstrate. Medical expert witnesses can appropriately conclude whether there is evidence of sexual contact and/or recent trauma. They can testify to the consistency between the physical findings and the narrative history. The medical expert must have specialized education and experience, including extensive experience with normal exams. The expert's understanding of the research literature and its limitations can support impartial statements about evidence observed or collected. In addition, an expert witness is able to describe standards or review work done by professionals from the same discipline.

An expert witness is a justice advocate looking and working for justice for both the victim and the defendant. The witness is familiar with courtroom

procedures and conduct. Expert witnesses come from many disciplines, such as law enforcement, the medical profession (including nursing), advocacy, toxicology, and forensic science. The expert witness needs to maintain a current curriculum vitae (CV) and a log for each case that contains dates of deposition or testimony as well as the names of the court, judge, and defendant. It is extremely important for the expert witness to stay current in his or her area of expertise.

Experts are qualified by court based on extensive experience and training. They explain the process of collecting and analyzing evidence. Most states have adopted the federal rules of evidence that give a definition of how a person is qualified. A witness qualified by knowledge, skill, experience, training, and/or education may testify thereto in the form of an opinion. In regards to the federal rules of evidence, hearsay exceptions include statements for the purposes of medical diagnosis and treatment. These can describe medical history or past and present symptoms, including pain.

For expert testimony to be admitted it must be consistent with the federal standards outlined in *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals* (1993), which clarified standards for admissibility and emphasizing reliable scientific evidence. Trial judges have discretion in deciding whether to admit expert testimony. Generally it will be allowed when it is scientifically valid, beyond the common understanding of jurors, and will clarify issues.

Forensic Evidence

Forensic evidence helps establish the truth that the witnesses can supply. There are many types of evidence admissible, including circumstantial evidence, documentary evidence, and real evidence. Circumstantial evidence is usually a collection of facts maintained by a considerable quantity of verifying evidence. It is circumstantial, however, because it was not directly witnessed. Documentary evidence is that which is recorded on evidentiary and chain-of-custody forms. Documentation of evidence is one of the first steps in correct evidence collection. Real or direct evidence is observed and/or witnessed evidence.

Physical evidence is any substance, solid, liquid, or gas, used to determine facts in a given situation

showing that a crime has occurred or establishing a link between the victim and perpetrator. This evidence can be tangible evidence, which means touchable; trace evidence, which is not always seen by the naked eye; or transient evidence, which can be washed away, destroyed, lost, or damaged.

It is critical in medicolegal cases that any and all evidence is handled, documented, and disposed of properly. Accurate and objective documentation of the location, size, type, number, and appearance/character of injuries/defects is critical. A photograph is needed with a scale or ruler to assist with size determination, while diagrams are helpful in documenting evidence. The terminology used to describe evidence needs to be specific and accurate.

Forensic packages are sealed and labeled with the date, time, patient's name, description and source of material, name of health care provider, and names and initials of all who handled or transferred the material. The documentation on evidence needs to be detailed to ensure the chain of custody. The labeling assists in the identification of the evidence and its hand-off to the appropriate authority. This follows state and federal requirements for the systematic process of forensic evidence.

The chain of custody is a legal process referring to the paper trail that ensures the integrity and security of the evidence. The chain of custody forms and labels document possession from the moment of collection until the evidence is introduced into court. This links each person who handles the evidence. It is important to have detailed protocols for the collection of forensic evidence in cases, including meticulous documentation guidelines. Evidence from the body of the victim represents a critical thread in the legal proceedings. Personnel are specifically trained in maintaining the proper chain of evidence. The injured party needs to be completely undressed and all body surfaces inspected for the best collection of evidence. For best evidence collection practice, the crime scene needs to be secured; thus, each piece of evidence is placed in separate paper bags to avoid cross-contamination, and then each bag is labeled.

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See also In-Camera Proceedings; Medical Examiner Response Team (MERT); Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE)

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Web Sites

Medscape: <http://www.medscape.com>

EXPLOITATION BY SCAMS

A scam is a fraud involving trickery to obtain a financial or other benefit. The term *scam* can be used broadly to refer to most types of fraud, but it usually implies a deliberate and planned hoax, often one that can be repeated on different victims and involves a false offer or “bait.” Scams appear to be at least as old as recorded history. For example, in *Swindled: The Dark History of Food Fraud, From Poisoned Candy to Counterfeit Coffee*, Bee Wilson chronicles the extraordinary range of ways in which imitation food products have been manufactured or additives used to enhance degraded foods, often resulting in illness and death from poisoning. Fake medicines have been a traditional favorite of fraudsters, including the infamous snake oil remedies sold at traveling fairs. Counterfeiting, including of artworks and antiquities, has been another favorite of scammers.

Numerous scams can be categorized as *consumer frauds*, but these are also highly diverse. Relatively simple consumer frauds involve selling faulty products with false specifications or worthless warranties.

More sophisticated consumer scams deploy tactics such as bait and switch, where customers are lured by discounts, told the discounted product is sold out, and redirected to a more expensive product. Scams can also occur within the workplace. An employee might embezzle funds from his or her employer through an elaborate scheme for siphoning company monies. Conversely, an employer might perpetrate a scam against employees, such as through a fraudulent pension plan. Scams can also be perpetrated in professional settings. Doctors have defrauded medical welfare services by techniques such as *upgrading* (charging for phantom services or exaggerated injuries) and *ping-ponging* (unnecessarily referring patients among their colleagues).

Offenders and Victims

Various terms have been coined to describe the perpetrators of scams, including *confidence trickster*, *conman*, *swindler*, *fraudster*, *shyster*, and *grifter*. Accomplices are sometimes called *shills*. Although it appears that people in all walks of life are capable of inventing and carrying out scams, studies have identified a fraudster-type personality—typically an older male with sociopathic tendencies who obtains gratification from tricking victims and serially offends despite repeat criminal convictions. Fraudsters of this type are often itinerant—targeting an area and then moving on before being exposed. Lone fraudsters also often specialize—in marriage scams, for example, or maintenance scams.

Victims of scams are sometimes referred to as marks or targets. Fraudsters often “prey on the weak,” such as the elderly, pensioners, sick and handicapped persons, or travelers. At the same time, the victims of many frauds include intelligent, well-educated, and wealthy persons. Greed, or simply a desire for a better lifestyle, blinds otherwise rational people to the improbabilities inherent in most scams.

Types of Scams

While trickery is at the heart of any scam, there is enormous variation in scams and constant innovation in the types of scams perpetrated. The following is a brief list of contemporary scams, many of which have been prominent in media reports and law enforcement crackdowns in recent years.

- Investment scams work by sales pitches promising high returns, often on glamour projects such as ostrich farms or diamond mines. Instead of properly developing the project, the investment manager siphons the monies into personal accounts (often in a financial safe haven).
- Ponzi-type investment scams use new borrowings to pay dividends on earlier borrowings and attract more investors until the fraudster shuts down the operation.
- In “pump and dump” schemes company directors artificially boost stock prices by false advertising and “leaks.” They sell their stocks when the price peaks.
- In a pyramid scheme money is shared up a pyramid of members, with fresh input from new members sustaining it until lack of recruits leads to its collapse.
- Invoice fraud involves billing businesses for services they have not requested.
- Lottery scams work by notifying people they have won a prize but need to send a small amount of money for administrative purposes.
- In maintenance scams offenders provide a quote for repair work. They then disappear with the deposit or their poor workmanship comes to light after they have moved on.
- In agency scams the victim pays for an agent to find him or her an acting role or a publisher for a manuscript, and no genuine efforts are made.
- Portfolio shoots involve charging the victim fees for photographic sessions linked to false promises of work as a model.
- Introduction agencies take fees while making few or no efforts to provide matches.
- “Passing off” refers to the false identity of someone posing as a door-to-door charity worker or government agent. The caller presents false identification, takes the donation or fee, and issues a false receipt.
- With phone fee scams, callers are kept on the line while being billed by the minute.

Current Trends

Many scams work by cold calling large numbers of persons in order to obtain a percentage payoff. The spread of the Internet has vastly enlarged the means by which offenders can access targets.

Direct mail and telemarketing have been overtaken by broadcast emails—a component of “spam.” Electronic funds transfer facilitates access to victims’ bank accounts from remote locations. The most notorious contemporary Internet scams are “Nigerian advance fee” schemes, which offer a share in a fortune if the target provides a transfer fee or their bank account as a repository. In the latter case the offenders are able to withdraw money from the victim’s account. (“The Spanish prisoner” is a generic term for an offer to share in a fortune as a reward for assisting a wealthy person who is in a difficult situation.) The Internet, electronic banking, and the spread of credit cards have been major facilitators of scams involving identity theft to obtain services or loans under another person’s name. The growth of the welfare state has also enlarged opportunities for fraudsters to claim welfare payments with multiple false identities or sham disabilities.

Tim Prenzler

See also Exploitation by Scams, Interventions for; White-Collar Crime

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Web Sites

SCAMwatch: <http://www.scamwatch.gov.au>

hand, are much more difficult to stop because they are easily disguised as legitimate business ventures and the law in many jurisdictions is designed to support free enterprise. Internet-based scams also appear to be flourishing, in part because of the versatility of the technology and in part because of the difficulties of policing crime across jurisdictions. Impoverished countries with weak or indifferent law enforcement provide safe havens for Internet scammers.

Historical Background

In the past, the prosecution of scams was highly selective. Extreme punishments could be applied to fraudsters who breached monopolies or royal prerogatives. At the same time, there was little or no protection from the State for ordinary victims. Those with means were obliged to pursue private investigations and prosecutions to attempt to recover losses. In many jurisdictions it was not until after World War II that adequate laws were introduced against medical quackery, the adulteration of foods, or consumer hoaxes. Even then, enforcement usually lagged well behind the scale of the problem. For much of the capitalist period the philosophy of caveat emptor—or buyer beware—governed State responses to scams. The laissez faire approach placed responsibility on the purchaser to judge the quality of a product and take action in the civil courts to obtain compensation for breach of contract. Critics of this approach, such as consumer watchdog groups, have argued that the technical complexity of products and the power of companies to deflect dissatisfied customers means that a large regulatory infrastructure is needed to protect consumers and investors, and that this is a fundamental function of government.

Smart Regulation

The success of consumer watchdog groups in exposing scams and embarrassing governments into action has led to the contemporary adoption, at least in theory, of “smart regulation” intended to prevent or preempt the development of scams. Smart regulation involves a mix of strategies designed to minimize crime as effectively and efficiently as possible. A feature of modern policing

EXPLOITATION BY SCAMS, INTERVENTIONS FOR

As part of a drive against white collar crime, governments in the last few decades have increasingly engaged in prohibition and enforcement of scams. The results have been mixed. Outlawing pyramid schemes can be fairly effective, as they normally involve personal contact and are easily reported and prosecuted. Investment scams, on the other

has been the proliferation of specialist law enforcement agencies, including those targeting fraud. Larger police departments now have specialist fraud units that include staff with qualifications in accounting and information technology. There are many other government agencies that have a significant role in combating fraud. In relation to scams, the two main types of agencies are consumer protection (or fair trading) agencies and financial regulatory agencies.

Prohibitions on false and misleading advertising have been a cornerstone of the criminalization of scams. Closely allied with this are regulatory requirements for product information disclosure statements, and the production of receipts and warranties with all purchases. Licensing of investment advisers and the application of enforceable codes of conduct have been important means by which governments underwrite the integrity of financial service providers. Identity theft has been countered in part by tighter cross-referencing procedures, with points systems for combinations of documents, and the introduction, in some countries, of national identity cards with high security features. Reforms in contract law have also supported consumers, with more information required on contracts (such as agents' fees and dispute resolution options) and cooling off periods that allow a purchaser to withdraw from a contract. The following additional strategies have been adopted in various locations as model "smart" strategies:

- Publicizing prosecutions to deter offending
- Issuing warning notices
- Banning convicted persons from owning or managing companies
- Providing legal and technical advice to companies to aid compliance
- Confiscating the proceeds of fraud and illegally obtained assets
- Using confiscated proceeds to compensate victims
- Proactively conducting sweeps of advertising outlets and Web sites to identify and investigate suspect advertisements
- Setting email traps to attract spam and assist in the targeting of investigations
- Making it easier for people to make complaints through free call services and email access

- Creating consumer education campaigns, especially to target groups such as the elderly and retirees
- Introducing scam alerts through the media and agency Web sites

Some regulatory agencies have tried novel ideas such as annual campaigns in which they advertise scams and then alert respondents to their gullibility. Independent consumer groups also play a key role in protection against scams by publicizing scientific evaluations of products, presenting sham awards to expose and shame offenders, and lobbying governments for reform. There have also been improvements in institutional in-house defenses for blocking spam, and in private-public partnership agencies that monitor the Internet for scams such as theft of intellectual property.

The Regulatory Gap

Despite enlarged efforts to get tough on fraudsters, a major feature of regulatory systems is the high "attrition of complaints." Most complaints are never investigated nor dealt with in any substantive fashion. Agencies will claim they do not have the resources, or there is insufficient preliminary evidence, to investigate most complaints. They argue they need to focus their efforts on major cases and exemplary prosecutions of serious and high-profile offenders. While their annual reports usually reveal significant activity, they are vulnerable to the accusation that they deflect complainants, lack investigative zeal, and are prosecution averse. Many victims remain obliged to resort to the uncertainties of civil action as a remedy. Regulatory agencies also tend to have underdeveloped capacity in primary prevention or early detection and intervention. Internationally, there is an urgent need for all countries to agree to protocols to halt the proliferation of Internet-based scams. Action in this area could in part be facilitated by wealthy countries—where the main targets reside—supporting law enforcement interventions in nations that host scammers.

Tim Prenzler

See also Crime Prevention; Exploitation by Scams

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Home Office, Internet Crime: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/internet-crime>

F

FAMILY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, THEORIES OF

Domestic violence is one of the most common forms of criminal victimization, particularly of women and children. Research on family and domestic violence is guided by theories from four disciplines: feminist/gender studies, sociology, psychology, and criminology. Within each of these disciplines there are multiple, often competing theoretical explanations for the causes of violence between intimate partners and family members. This entry describes the most prominent theories of domestic violence developed within each discipline.

Feminist/Gender Theories

Feminist theories of domestic violence contend that the most common form of adult domestic violence is men's violence against their heterosexual female partners. Although feminist theorists acknowledge that domestic violence is perpetrated by women against men and by partners in gay and lesbian relationships, feminist theories contend that the structure of gender inequality makes women in heterosexual relationships particularly vulnerable to control and coercion by their husbands or boyfriends. Moreover, feminist theories of domestic violence propose that the cultural connection between masculinity and violence facilitates men's violence against their wives or intimate partners and men's abuse of children. Feminist

theories of domestic violence differ in their explanations of the specific mechanisms that facilitate women's victimization and men's perpetration of domestic violence. Theorists in the radical feminist tradition propose that domestic violence is a tool used by men to maintain women's subordinate position within the family and within society. Radical feminist theorists argue that violence against women that is perpetrated by husbands or boyfriends is similar to the violence against women that is perpetrated outside of intimate relationships, such as sexual harassment and stranger-perpetrated sexual assault. Liberal feminist theorists emphasize that women are vulnerable to domestic violence because of their consignment to domesticity and economic dependency on men, which is due to occupational sex-segregation and wage discrimination by sex. In addition, liberal feminist theorists suggest that gender role ideologies encourage men's domestic violence against their wives and girlfriends. By defining masculinity using characteristics such as leadership, aggression, and independence and defining femininity using characteristics such as passivity and nurturance, these ideologies legitimize men's dominance over women and male authority within families.

Recent feminist scholarship on domestic violence emphasizes that gender is a multilevel construct that affects human behavior at the levels of identity, social interaction, and social structure. At the level of identity, gender refers to individuals' inner sense of themselves and others as masculine or feminine. Feminist scholars argue that gender socialization facilitates domestic violence by

encouraging women to believe that they can heal an abusive partner through feminine love and nurturance. At the level of interaction, gender is a performance enacted for the benefit of an observer. Drawing on sociologist Erving Goffman's theory of gender as ritualized performance, feminist theorists have argued that domestic violence is a way for men to perform or demonstrate their masculinity to others when they feel a threat or challenge to their masculine status. At the level of social structure, gender organizes the assignment of people into social roles and positions and distributes resources unequally to women and men. From the gender as structure theoretical perspective, men's violence against women is facilitated by the fact that men receive more training and instruction in violence within society than do women.

Sociological Theories

Sociologists study the structural forces that influence violence in families, including economic forces such as poverty and unemployment and social inequalities of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation. In addition, sociologists study cultural forces that influence domestic violence, including normative beliefs about the legitimacy of violence in families, gender stereotypes, and violence in the media. Sociologist Murray Straus has proposed a cultural spillover theory of domestic violence, suggesting that when society legitimizes violence in one sphere, such as corporal punishment, people are more likely to perpetrate illegitimate violence. Sociologists have also theorized that the structure of families and cultural norms of family privacy lead to high rates of violence between family members.

Sociological theories can be categorized according to the level of analysis. Macro-sociological theories focus on the ways in which the organization of society and distribution of resources influence domestic violence. For example, the resource theory of domestic violence postulates that domestic violence may be a response to the stress and frustration of poverty, unemployment, and/or an absence of educational and occupational prospects. Studies find higher rates of domestic violence, including domestic homicide, among people who are economically and educationally disadvantaged. Social disorganization theory proposes that

domestic violence is influenced by characteristics of the social environment such as the presence of community and neighborhood amenities, residential stability and overcrowding, and the level of neighborhood street violence. Economically unstable, crowded, and high-crime neighborhoods discourage residents from forming close social bonds with neighbors and discourage reporting or intervention in cases of domestic violence.

Micro-sociological theories of domestic violence examine the ways in which violence emerges from face-to-face encounters in which individual actors interpret the situation that confronts them. In his micro-sociological theory of violence, Randall Collins has proposed that violence is rare in human interaction. In order to perpetrate violence, people must be encouraged or trained to overcome their fear and hesitation. Collins has argued that one way for humans to overcome this "confrontational tension/fear" of violence is by finding a weak and defenseless victim. According to Collins, domestic violence occurs because men perceive that female partners are weak and unable to defend themselves against attack.

Psychological Theories

Psychologists propose that domestic violence results from specific characteristics of personality and interaction that lead some individuals to perpetrate violence in family relationships. One psychological theory, that of the intergenerational transmission of violence, presents the idea that those who experience domestic violence are more likely to become abusers themselves. One of the ways to explain this association is with social learning theory, which asserts that individuals learn behavior through observation and modeling. In this way, a victim of abuse may determine that violence provides the abuser with some positive outcome and is therefore an appropriate response to conflict or environmental pressures. The relationship between victimization and perpetration is not assumed to be direct or unavoidable, but is instead seen as a facet of a much more complex constellation of potentially causal factors. Another way in which social learning may lead to the intergenerational transmission of violence is by contributing to a learned helplessness reaction in the victim. This response is characterized by feeling a

lack of control over abusive situations, which results in feelings of helplessness that inhibit the victim's agency. Therefore, through social learning, children may sometimes adopt a learned helplessness response to violence that can carry over into adult relationships.

Attachment theorists propose that domestic violence in adult relationships stems from patterns of insecure attachment to others that are learned in childhood. Psychologist John Bowlby has theorized that people have an innate need for close relationships to others in order to survive. Thus, infants and children seek out secure attachments to caregivers to meet that need. If a child's need is not met, the child develops an insecure attachment to the caregiver. Insecure adult attachment styles are characterized by chronic anxiety about dependency on and fear of abandonment by intimate others. Theorists of adult attachment propose that the internal working models of attachment developed in childhood carry over into adult relationships. According to the adult attachment theory of domestic violence, individuals who developed insecure attachment styles during childhood are at higher risk for perpetrating domestic violence as adults.

Other psychological theories propose that domestic violence is linked to specific types of personality disorders such as borderline personality disorder or antisocial personality disorder. Psychologist Donald Dutton has suggested that there are two types of abusive personalities. The first type, the abuser with "borderline personality organization," experiences feelings of emptiness, fears of being alone, and insecure attachment to others. People who perpetrate domestic violence as a result of borderline personality disorder tend to use violence in an expressive and impulsive fashion. The second type of abusive personality is characterized by psychopathic traits such as shallow affect and frequent manipulation of others. People who possess psychopathic personality traits are more likely than others to engage in serious violence both within and outside of the family, and their violence is instrumental, designed to gain control over others.

Theories of Crime

Theories developed in criminology have been utilized less often in domestic violence research than

have theories developed in feminist/gender studies, psychology, and sociology. Prior to the 1970s, domestic violence was generally viewed as a private family matter rather than a crime against society. People who perpetrated domestic violence were rarely arrested and prosecuted. Legal reforms since the 1970s have increased rates of arrest and prosecution for domestic violence, and the culture has gradually accepted the notion that domestic violence is criminal behavior. Following this trend, researchers have applied general theories of crime and violence developed in criminology to the study of violence in family relationships. Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's general theory of crime proposes that violence and other crime are caused by ineffective parenting that inhibits children's development of self-control. This theory posits that individuals who lack self-control use violence when they are frustrated or desire to gain control over a situation.

Strain theory offers a structural account of crime, suggesting that structural forces such as inequality and poverty can create incentives for crime. Strain theory posits that individuals engage in crime and violence when they are frustrated or blocked in their attempts to achieve their goals using legitimate methods. Robert Agnew has proposed that certain types of strains are more likely to lead to violence than others. According to Agnew, strains that result in illegitimate coping responses such as violence are those that are perceived as unjust, occur frequently, and are linked to low self-control. These types of strains are particularly likely to result in crime and violence because they encourage negative feelings such as anger, fear, and jealousy.

Comparing Theories

The theories of domestic violence developed in feminist/gender studies, sociology, psychology, and criminology emerged from different methodological traditions. Feminist theories propose that, due to gender inequality, women's voices are silenced and domestic violence is hidden from public view. Thus, feminist theories of domestic violence are based on studies of female survivors' narrative accounts of violence they experienced at the hands of their husbands and male partners. Sociological theories of domestic violence come

primarily from large-scale survey studies that identify the individual and structural predictors of violent behavior. Micro-sociological studies, which focus on the interactive situations and contexts that encourage violence, are comparatively rare. Psychological theories of domestic violence are informed by clinical studies of people who are identified as having pathological or psychopathological characteristics. Research in criminology employs large-scale survey methods and pseudoexperimental research design.

Recent calls for integrating these theories propose that domestic violence is caused by a combination of psychological, cultural, and structural factors and is linked to systems of gender, racial/ethnic, and social class stratification. In addition, ecological theories of domestic violence posit that violence is rooted in a combination of individual, interactive, contextual, sociocultural, and social structural factors. However, efforts to develop and test integrated theories of domestic violence using multiple research methods are rare.

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See also Dating Violence; Domestic Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of

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FAMILY GROUP CONFERENCING

The *family group conference* (FGC) is a vehicle through which family members (and sometimes other involved parties) come together, in partnership with professionals, to resolve matters of child care and protection and youth offending. Although originally developed in Aotearoa, New Zealand, in 1989, the family group conference has since been adopted in a number of countries as a way of operationalizing notions of partnership and empowerment. In the area of child care and protection within the United States, family group conferencing has been incorporated into the process called *family group decision making*. In the United Kingdom, FGCs have been introduced in the context of partnership with families and the strengthening of voluntary and cooperative relationships between social service departments and the people they serve. In the context of youth justice, family group conferencing has also influenced service delivery as countries have explored ways of resolving youth offending issues through processes of restorative justice. Declan Roche has identified several dimensions of restorative justice, including bringing victims, offenders, and their families and friends together in an attempt to repair the harm done in the deviant act.

Restorative values have been influential in the development of youth justice practice internationally, and the conferencing process is now seen as both a progressive and socially acceptable means of responding to youth crime.

The Family Group Conference

In the context of the care and protection of children, an important aim of the FGC is to bring the family together to find safe solutions for children at risk. In the context of youth justice, the conference is a mechanism for holding young people accountable for their offending, making amends to victims, and providing support for both young people and their families. While the nature of the

issues involved in care and protection and youth justice may differ, the process of family group conferencing follows a reasonably straightforward formula across the two domains: people are brought together to talk through the issues, information is provided to participants, the family is given the opportunity to discuss the issues privately and to develop a plan about what should happen next, and agreement is then reached on the plan. It is, however, family group conferencing in the area of youth offending that is of particular relevance to this discussion. Youth justice FGCs represent one of the earliest legislated examples of involving victims in a restorative process.

Bringing People Together

Consultation begins the FGC process, with the coordinator contacting participants and preparing them for the meeting. Wide family participation in the FGC is encouraged, and it is the coordinator's role to create a welcoming environment for participants by being responsive to cultural practices and preferences with respect to when and where the meeting may be held. The coordinator also ensures that victims to the crime are consulted and invited to attend the FGC. The coordinator uses the consultation process to explain to participants the purpose and process of the FGC and to identify any additional information or resources that may be useful in supporting a successful outcome. This may include any assessments that need to be undertaken prior to the meeting.

Information Phase

The meeting typically begins with a welcome that is responsive to the cultural needs of participants. After confirming the purpose of the FGC, the meeting moves into the information-sharing phase. This begins with a review of the charge against the young person and the opportunity for the young person to admit guilt or deny the charge. In situations where the young person denies the charge, the matter is returned to the enforcement professionals and the FGC cannot continue. However, where the youth admits guilt, FGC facilitates a process in which those involved are provided with the opportunity to express their views in the conference. The victim's report can be

particularly powerful, as the youthful offender hears directly the impact the crime has had on those involved.

The information-sharing phase of the meeting provides the opportunity for participants to ask questions and to clarify any issues they may have, as well as to ensure that the FGC in general has all the relevant information and advice necessary to reach good decisions.

Private Family Deliberations

Once the information-sharing phase of the meeting is complete, the coordinator asks those who are not family members to withdraw from the meeting to allow the family to consider the issues in private and to develop a plan or reach an agreed outcome. While FGCs share many features with other restorative justice processes of mediation, it is this private family time that distinguishes the FGC as originally developed in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The principle of private family time is strongly reinforced in practice, as it provides a greater opportunity for honest exchange between family members, provides a greater sense of family ownership of the process, and, arguably, provides a greater family support for the plan and commitment to the outcome than does the more public conference.

Reaching Agreement on the Plan

After the family has completed their private deliberations, the coordinator brings all participants back together to consider proposed decisions and plans. The plan typically includes a number of elements: the young person's ideas about how he or she may make amends and address the needs of the victim; attention to the future well-being of the young person, in particular, his or her rehabilitative needs; building on the strengths of the young person and reducing the likelihood of his or her reoffending; harnessing the strengths of the family; and the support or resources that may be required to achieve good outcomes. It is expected that young people are held accountable for their offending, while at the same time they are provided opportunities to develop nonoffending paths. Outcomes do not necessarily need to be complicated. It is nevertheless important that they are appropriate and relevant to the offending. A simple

solution, such as a letter of apology, may be sufficient in some situations, while in other situations a more comprehensive plan will be required in which the young person may expect to perform services to the victim or to the wider community.

Strengths and Challenges

From a broader philosophical perspective, family group conferences and other such restorative conferencing models have the potential to support the democratization of state systems by increasing the participation of a broader group of citizens in matters of youth justice and the care and protection of children. Gale Burford and Sally Holland and their colleagues have argued that family group conferencing supports a more inclusive civil society by providing liberating processes for those exposed to state service intervention. Restorative justice conferencing has also featured in rights-based discourses with respect to both service-users right to involvement in matters that concern them and the accountability and agency rights of young people.

Resolving issues of youth offending through restorative means and keeping young people out of the court systems for as long as possible are aims that often have the potential to respond to the developmental needs of young people. From a developmental perspective, keeping young people out of the court system provides them with the time they need to move through transient phases of offending behavior. Jeffrey Butts, Susan Mayer, and Gretchen Ruth have argued that many young people move through difficult developmental transitions and over time acquire adult capacities for reasoning, taking responsibility and making enduring commitments. Restorative justice conferencing thus responds to the developmental needs of young people. In addition, in keeping young people out of the criminal justice legal system, it can have the additional benefit of disassociating them from criminal peer groups—an association that has the potential to worsen behavior rather than providing conditions for improvement.

Perhaps not surprisingly, restorative justice processes have been identified as responding well to the needs of victims. Heather Strang and her colleagues have noted that victims value the ability to participate in their cases, to confront

the offender, and to be kept informed of the process. Research also indicates that restorative justice processes can significantly reduce the victim's feelings of fear and anger toward the offender. This provides a degree of confidence that restorative justice processes offer safe interventions for victims.

While family group conferencing has grown in strength across a variety of practice domains, practice challenges inevitably occur as restorative processes attempt to respond to the needs and interests of both victims and offenders. Voluntary participation has been identified as an important component of restorative justice interventions; however, offenders who reject the restorative justice process may face severe penalties that inherently compromise the voluntary nature of their response. The emphasis on accountability and the need for the young person to make amends for the crime also have the potential for focusing conferences more strongly on the victim's rights than on the well-being of the offender. Young people who offend, by virtue of their relative immaturity, have special needs that must be considered. They are likely to have problems such as poor mental health, drug and alcohol misuse, underdeveloped interpersonal skills, and poor educational outcomes, all of which require that they receive rehabilitative services to support their future well-being.

While interventions inevitably present challenges in practice, it is nevertheless possible to ensure that both participatory rights and the reconciliation of welfare and justice concerns regarding youth offending are professionally managed and receive support. Maintaining a rights focus while also responding to the young offender's needs can help to protect the interests of everyone involved in the process.

Final Thoughts

In recent years, family group conferencing and other restorative justice processes have had an undeniable impact on the delivery of youth justice services across international jurisdictions. Yet while they clearly offer a promising way forward, they remain in the margins of practice. Importantly, however, they are representative of a wider social movement that acknowledges both the importance of human agency and self-determination in the context of

human service delivery and the need to explore less punitive alternatives to criminal justice.

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See also Peacemaking; Alternative Court Remedies; Restorative Justice; Victim–Offender Mediation

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FAMILY NURTURING PROGRAMS

Rates of family violence, conflict, and child maltreatment are high nationally and internationally, and the cost of such violence to society is very great. Family violence and child maltreatment are associated with multiple negative consequences for all family members and include physical injury, child neglect, separation and divorce, incarceration, psychological problems, child removal from the home, multigenerational substance, and youth

delinquency, perpetration of violence, and death. This entry discusses the incidence and prevalence of child maltreatment and the relationship between child maltreatment and parental substance abuse; the need for prevention services focusing on family interventions, which are called nurturing and family-strengthening interventions; the definition of different types of family preventive interventions; and the most effective family interventions. The entry ends with a call for research on the critical core components of child abuse prevention programs with a family focus, the theories behind the evidence-based programs (EBPs), and the need for the widespread dissemination of such programs.

According to the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA), nationally, substance abuse is a factor in about 40% to 80% of substantiated cases of child maltreatment. Over 80% of state child protection agencies report that parental alcohol and drug abuse and poverty are the two major factors associated with child maltreatment. Parental substance abuse increases child abuse by about 300% and child neglect by about 400%. In addition, research showed that youth who had ever been in foster care had higher rates of illicit drug use than youth who had never been in foster care (33.6% vs. 21.7%). A greater percentage of youth who had been in foster care also were in need of treatment for both alcohol and drug abuse (17%) than youth who had never been in foster care (9%).

Need for Prevention Services

Despite significant need, many families and children involved in child welfare are not getting the prevention and treatment services they need. In 1997, the CWLA estimated that 43% of children and adolescents in care needed substance abuse services, while agencies obtained treatment for only around a third of these youth. In addition, it was estimated that 67% of the parents whose children were involved in child welfare needed such services, while agencies had capacity to serve around 31%. Beyond basic substance abuse treatment, it is unknown how many families learn skills and receive support to raise healthy children. A study by Teresa Ostler and her colleagues of children involved with child protective services due to parental methamphetamine abuse found that the children had few social resources for coping with

emotions, problem solving, or talking about the experience.

Further, a multitude of developmental theories support the critical role of families in child raising. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (also known as the Add Health study), published by Michael Resnick and his colleagues in 1997, suggests that parents have a larger impact on their children's development and health than previously thought. Although peer influence is the major reason adolescents initiate negative behaviors, a positive family environment (i.e., one with family bonding, parental supervision, and communication of prosocial family values) is the major reason youth do not engage in unhealthy behaviors such as substance abuse, delinquency, and early or unprotected sex. These protective family factors have been found to exert an even stronger influence on girls than on boys.

These statistics support the need for development of and research on EBPs for child welfare and substance abuse, as well as their implementation in community settings. Unfortunately, research in this area is scarce due to a lack of funding for child abuse prevention research that tests evidence-based family nurturing programs. In addition, family intervention researchers lack access to the cross-systems service delivery databases that would clearly prove that their interventions work to reduce child abuse. New grants to states and tribes by the Administration for Children and Families should enable researchers to show that family-strengthening interventions that improve parenting skills, family communication, problem solving, and stress management will result in reductions in family violence and child abuse.

Family Nurturing Interventions: Definitions of Types

Through national expert reviews of research, a number of family interventions have been found to be effective in strengthening family systems and reducing family violence. As these are recent interventions, there is not yet agreement among researchers about definitions and components of the different types of family-focused approaches. The Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) reviewed family-strengthening approaches in 1997

and defined eight approaches; however, at that time only four approaches had sufficient research evidence to be considered evidence-based approaches to improving parenting skills and family relations: (1) *behavioral parent training* (primarily cognitive/behavioral parent training); (2) *family skills training* (parent training, children's skills training, and family practice); (3) *family therapy* (structural, functional, or behavioral), and (4) *in-home family support*. Since the CSAP review in 1998, two promising low-cost approaches have emerged: *mailed-out parenting homework assignments* like those used successfully by Karl Bauman and his colleagues in 2001 with parents of 12- to 14-year-old (Caucasian) children, and the *CD-ROM technology or learning videos* that several effective family interventions have utilized.

The last national review of family-strengthening approaches, conducted by Karol Kumpfer and Rose Alvarado in 2003, found 35 evidence-based practices. However, only 14 of these have been tested in randomized control trials and 7 independently replicated, thus meeting the criteria for programs with the highest level of evidence of effectiveness, or Exemplary I programs. The Exemplary I family programs for children from birth to age 5 include Helping the Noncompliant Child and The Incredible Years. The only Exemplary I rated program for families with 6- to 12-year-old children is the Strengthening Families Program. The preteen and adolescent programs are Functional Family Therapy, Multisystemic Family Therapy, Preparing for the Drug Free Years (now called Guiding Good Choices), and Treatment Foster Care. According to a meta-analysis of all school-based universal alcohol prevention programs, which was conducted by David Foxcroft and his colleagues in 2003 for the Cochrane Collaboration Reviews in Medicine and Public Health at Oxford University, the Strengthening Families Program for 10- to 14-year-olds is the most effective program and is twice as effective as the next best program, Preparing for the Drug Free Years. (For additional reviews of these effective family-strengthening approaches, see Kumpfer and Alvarado's 2003 *American Psychologist* article, "Family Strengthening Approaches for the Prevention of Youth Problem Behaviors," and the NIJ/OJJDP Strengthening America's Families Web site developed at the University of Utah, both of

which are listed in the Further Readings at the end of this entry.)

In 2008, a systematic review by Kumpfer for the United Nations of all the most effective parenting and family programs in the world identified several additional EBP parenting programs, including Triple-P from Australia, which has evidence of reduction in child maltreatment in families participating a CDC-funded randomized control trial in South Carolina. There are currently no research results on this program being tested with high-risk families; however, a study is now under way. Adapting EBPs to local families was found by Kumpfer in 2002 to improve family recruitment and retention by 40%. A useful compendium for the UN project is a manual on how to locally or culturally adapt EBP family interventions to maximize family recruitment, retention, and outcomes. A summary of these steps to cultural adaptation of family programs was published in 2008 by Kumpfer and her colleagues.

Core Components of Child Maltreatment Prevention Programs

Jennifer Kaminski and her colleagues in 2008 analyzed the critical core components of EBP family-strengthening interventions from 77 studies of programs for child maltreatment prevention in children from birth to age 7. These core components include the following:

1. The format should include practice time for parents (with both children and group leaders in the sessions).
2. During family session, parents should be taught to interact positively with children (e.g., showing enthusiasm and attention for good behavior, letting the child take the lead in play activities).
3. Content for parents should include increasing attention to and praise for positive children's behaviors, understanding normal development, and developing positive family communication skills and effective discipline.
4. Content for children should include teaching children social skills.
5. Generalization of new behaviors should be facilitated through assignments involving practice at home or in other social settings.

Intervention Theories

Attention to mechanisms of change has been identified as a crucial component for advancing theory in family-based treatment, and ultimately for developing more effective prevention programs. The psychological theories underlying most family EBPs come from cognitive-behavioral psychology, social learning theory, and/or family systems theory, according to Howard Liddle and his colleagues. A key concept incorporated into many of the EBPs is to reduce coercive parent-child interactions that give rise to child abuse and family violence—a process well documented by Gerald Patterson at the Oregon Social Learning Center. The family systems approach uses reframing and cognitive restructuring methods to foster behavior change. Evidence-based family prevention interventions involve the whole family (rather than just the parents or children) in interactive change processes, rather than in didactic educational lessons. These EBPs stress the importance of the engagement process and reducing barriers to attendance, often through relationship-building services, such as personal invitations, meals, child care, transportation, and other incentives. Most begin with sessions designed to improve positive feelings through positive reframing or skills exercises stressing family strengths.

Dissemination

Web site lists by state and national organizations as well as regional clearinghouses have helped local practitioners to locate EBPs in parenting and family interventions. However, learning how to effectively disseminate EBPs has only come with experience for the university researchers who were not adept at marketing and dissemination 20 years ago. Today, evidence-based family interventions are highly structured programs with rigorous training programs to assure adherence or fidelity to the model. Most EBP family interventions require initial training workshops with some type of ongoing quality assurance system via outcome evaluations that include standardized measures.

Final Thoughts

Increased research on, dissemination of, and training in effective parenting and family intervention approaches will be important tools in helping societies

address the problems associated with family violence and child maltreatment. Practitioners in the field should seek training in identifying effective parenting programs, as well as addressing how to adapt these models to create localized culture-, gender-, and situation-appropriate interventions.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Cycle of Violence, Theory of

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Web Sites

NIJ/OJJDP Strengthening America's Families: <http://www.strengtheningfamilies.org>

FAMILY THERAPY

Family therapy is a therapeutic approach in which a family is under treatment as a unit, usually with a licensed therapist. The therapist may be a licensed counselor, a family and marriage counselor, or a psychologist or psychiatrist, or for short-term therapy, a pediatrician or general practitioner. Often the choice of therapist depends on the nature of the family's problem.

Definition

Family therapy is a process used to address behavioral problems, school problems, chronic or acute illnesses, critical transitional periods, cultural adaptation, and/or communication difficulties. Social problems such as poverty, addiction or imprisonment, and/or separation and divorce that may be found within the family unit may benefit from family therapy. When physical or congenital conditions occur, family therapy may work to alleviate the placing of blame and instill positive alternatives of treatment. A counseling environment may include individual sessions followed by congregated family sessions in an effort to identify ineffective forms of communication and reactions

to problematic issues. This type of therapy addresses family problems within context. Unlike other forms of counseling, family therapy includes all members living in the home.

Multidimensional Challenges

In some cultures, parents, children, grandparents, cousins, aunts, and/or uncles may live in the same household. Family therapy requires cultural awareness, as a family's language, rituals, customs, and religious expectations may clash with those of the dominant culture. The environment that the children, in particular the females, find in the community may lead to significant problems within the home. Family therapists work to build on family members' inner resiliencies to help them develop positive forms of communication and behavioral changes within family relationships. This therapy may be short term (6 months) or long term, reflecting the presence of more complex issues that require sustained assistance.

Single parenting, poverty, and the financial stresses associated with being young parents often include referrals for welfare assistance, supportive mentoring, and periods of reflection on the significant changes associated with parenthood. Therapy may include development of coping techniques, healthy stress releases, and an awareness of when outside support may be wise. Some examples of stressful situations might include the colic of infants and sleeping problems of children, toilet training, separation anxiety, and illness.

Mental illness such as bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, and depression, or developmental disorders such as autism often causes numerous challenges to the family. In these cases there are often pharmacological interventions requiring consistent monitoring and evaluation. Family therapy includes numerous professionals working with the family to address ongoing physical challenges and behavioral changes. The family environment may require therapeutic specializations to address specific challenges.

Educational associated issues, including attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (AD/HD), oppositional defiant disorder (ODD), learning disabilities, bullying, or being victimized by bullies may be addressed using therapies combining educational psychology and relationship issues. Family therapy may initiate supportive techniques and alternative

manners of resolution to prevent the transfer of the negativity to the home environment.

The difficulties posed by juvenile behaviors, including delinquency, running away, substance abuse, and the onset of puberty, may be addressed through family therapy in collaboration with court or school-related professionals. Very often the multistressors of puberty and social issues find their way into the therapy milieu. The economy, unemployment, employment that required transfer, unpaid child support, and/or significant economic stresses related to illnesses may be mitigated by family therapy. In some instances, the family therapist will work closely with community resources to alleviate some of the problems.

Relevant Family Therapy

Particular traumas such as divorce, blending of families, natural disasters, catastrophic illnesses, victimization, death, and bereavement often respond to family therapy, as it helps define behavioral boundaries and initiate the healing process. Periods of war cause difficulty for families left to fend for themselves, with one or, in some cases, both parents deployed. Grandparents and other family members become guardians of children who live under stress and fear. The reunification of the family often poses difficulties that respond well to family therapy. Family therapy offers members of the family the opportunity to share their perspectives on the changes, express their anger in a constructive manner, and share their fears and concerns for the future.

Family therapy addresses situations in which chronic mental illness or special needs must be balanced with general family welfare. Given the current demographics, older family members may no longer live independently and may move in with their family. This may prove a challenge to everyone in the household as autonomy is redefined. The new family environment may call for working within the context of the family and addressing periods of crisis through long-term collaboration or support groups. Generally health insurance pays for limited visits per year, and ongoing therapy may pose an economic hardship. In this instance it is likely that the family will find a therapist associated with a larger clinic or a philanthropic association.

Family Therapies and Policy

There is mixed research on the effectiveness of family therapies for those in situations involving physical and sexual child abuse and domestic violence. The literature includes challenges to court-mandated family therapy, where the violence includes repetitive interactions with the criminal justice system. However, therapists recognize that they often have little control over the court's programming mandates for dysfunctional or violent families.

Public policy has used the status of the family for political gain, setting moral standards, and research. Social science research promotes a position that the United States is not as concerned about the welfare of families as the rhetoric might indicate. Indicators such as family leave, adequate health care and child care, family therapy, and quality education are routinely noted as lacking in the United States compared to countries such as Europe, Great Britain, Australia, and Japan.

Toni DuPont-Morales

See also Cognitive–Behavioral Therapy; Couples Therapy; Multisystemic Therapy; Parents Anonymous

Further Readings

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FAMILY VIOLENCE

Family violence is defined as the many types of violent behaviors committed by an offender who is related to the victim. Offenses such as domestic violence, intimate partner violence, elder abuse, and child abuse are all encompassed by the broad term *family violence*. It also includes verbal assaults, physical assaults, sexual assaults (including rape), intimate partner stalking, child abuse and/or neglect, emotional abuse and, at the extreme end, homicide. Family violence can happen to anyone and is not limited to those of any gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic background, or educational level.

Family violence is the most common violent crime in the United States today. Although as a proportion of the total number of violent victimizations, family violence has not really increased over the past 10 years, the rate of family violence (per 1,000 persons age 12 and older) has been decreasing over the last decade.

Prevalence and Frequency

It is important to note that any estimate of either the prevalence or frequency of family violence is probably incorrect. These statistics are notoriously hard to gather. Estimates are frequently gathered in one of two main ways. First, researchers will examine official statistics of those who came to the attention of the criminal justice system (through police, homicide, and court statistics), the public health system, or social service agencies. However, these statistics vastly underestimate the true nature of this offense, as it has been estimated that over half of these types of offenses do not come to the attention of public agencies. The second, more common, and more valid way to gather data is through the use of victimization surveys in which individuals are asked about their personal experiences with violence. These surveys also have problems with definitional issues since different surveys can define the problem differently due to the reluctance of some victims to admit their victimization.

In 2005, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, which collects family violence statistics, estimated that family violence accounted for 11% of all reported and unreported violence during the years 1998 to 2002.

Almost half were crimes against spouses, 11% were crimes against children, and 41% were against other family members. Only 60% of these offenses were actually reported to the police, and only 49% of those crimes resulted in an arrest. The average offender arrested for some type of family violence was a White male who was 30 years old or older. The average victim was reported to be a female, either White or Black, and was approximately 34 years old.

The National Violence Against Women Survey conducted in 1995 to 1996 found that almost 25% of the women and 8% of the men reported that they had been raped and/or physically assaulted during their lifetime. Extrapolating from these results, it was estimated that 1.5 million women and 834,732 men per year experience this type of family violence. The actual number of victimizations exceeds these estimates, as many individuals are victimized multiple times.

Recent statistics from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System indicate that approximately 905,000 children were found to be victims of child abuse or neglect in the year 2006. The statistics show that this is a widespread problem affecting millions of people each year and should be treated as a significant social problem. Moreover, it is important to remember that most of the statistics gathered to estimate the extent of these problems are thought to underestimate the problem.

Historical View

Evidence of family violence has been found as far back historically as we have records. It cuts across various cultures and civilization. Yet family violence encompasses a set of offenses that did not even exist as crimes historically. This is for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the most prominent reason is that both wives and children were considered property. As far back as ancient Roman law, men were granted the right to use violence to keep their wives in line. English common law provided that husbands were allowed to beat their wives as long as they used a stick no wider than their thumbs.

Historically children were not considered to have equal rights with adults and were believed to be the property of their parents. The societies were patriarchal; therefore, men were in charge and women and children were seen as essentially inferior.

Physical abuse was often used for discipline and punishment, and even the religious traditions of early America supported the notion of harsh discipline for children.

Thus family violence has a long historical tradition. In certain societies, such as that of ancient Rome, fathers were given the absolute right to sell their children, or mutilate or kill them; husbands were given similar rights with regards to their wives.

Many of these beliefs were brought over to America when the country was first formed. In addition, there was a long-standing tradition that family matters, including acts of violence, were private. As a result, in the early 1800s there were very few laws on the books dealing with this type of violence. In the late 1800s states had laws criminalizing wife beating, although these laws were rarely if ever enforced.

The modern child protective movement is thought to have started in 1874 with the case of Mary Ellen Wilson. Mary Ellen was an 8-year-old girl in New York City. Her mother, unable to care for her after her father's death, turned her over to the Department of Charities. This department placed her with a couple who beat her quite regularly and also neglected her. Her abuse was reported by a neighbor. However, since this was prior to the establishment of such things as the Department of Family Services or even juvenile courts, there was no clear way to deal with her case.

As a result of Mary Ellen's case, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1874. This was the first organization that focused on children's rights. The society helped to pass laws to prevent and punish wrongs that occurred to children in the home. In 1899 the first juvenile court was created in Illinois. The creation of a specialized court just for juveniles allowed for the handling of neglect and dependency cases as well as delinquency cases.

In 1962, C. Henry Kempe wrote an article that coined the term *battered-child syndrome* and was the first to draw public attention to this issue. In 1974 the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act was passed. This act provided federal financing to support state protection agencies.

Although states criminalized domestic violence in the late 1800s, these laws were rarely if ever enforced. It was not really until the 1970s in the United States that domestic violence began to get

any serious attention. In part because of the women's movement, issues of domestic violence were often brought into public view. In response to this grassroots movement, efforts were made to start addressing the issues. Researchers started collecting statistics to examine the extent of the problem, theories were developed to attempt to explain the problem, and interventions were created. For example, it was during this time period that battered woman shelters were created and developed. The medical profession also started to get involved in these issues. Legislation was passed to assist in the prosecution of such offenses. Although familial violence has existed throughout all of history, it has really been only in the last couple of decades that we as a society have really attempted to address the issue.

Theories of Family Violence

There have been several models and theories advanced to attempt to explain family violence. In general these theories fall into several broad categories. Below is a sample of some of the more prominent perspectives in the field that illustrates the various ways in which researchers have attempted to explain family violence.

The Medical Model

This model focuses on explaining family violence as a result of individual psychiatric or psychopathological problems. It assumes that the perpetrator is suffering from some type of mental illness or mental problem that caused him or her to be abusive. Theories based on this model have attempted to identify specific personality traits or characteristics associated with family violence. They hypothesize that persons with such problems as depression, substance abuse, anger issues, mental illness, and so on are at an increased risk of perpetrating family violence. In particular, they have identified a number of risk factors with men who use violence against women. In general batterers tend to objectify women, have low self-esteem and low social-economic status, and have often witnessed violence in their own lives. Theories based on the medical model have also focused on explaining the victim's behavior and attempted to identify personal characteristics (such as dependency) that are sometimes associated with being a victim of family violence.

Sociopsychological Models

Several proposed theories fall under the broad category of sociopsychological models. These theories attempt to explain family violence in terms of the interaction between the family members.

Resource Theory

This theory focuses on the amount of resources individuals within the family possess. These include a variety of different types of resources such as personal, social, economic, and other resources. Some theorists believe that the more resources a person has, the more power he or she has in the family, and that this therefore places the individual in a position to make and enforce decisions in the family context, and, in some situations, to use abuse in this enforcement. Conversely, other theorists see those who have limited resources as being the ones most likely to be abusive, as these individuals use violence to establish their dominance.

Power-Control Theory

This theory examines the disparities in power between various family members, which are in part due to gender and age differences. In traditional families the men typically have the most power. According to this theory, the purpose of violence is to control and maintain power over the victim. This theory is supported by evidence of patterns of abuse, which shows that it is typically the person with the most power who abuses the person or persons with the least power.

Exchange Theory

This theory looks at the family dynamics in terms of costs and benefits. If individuals invest their resources (costs) in the family, then they expect certain benefits from that situation. The idea is that family members use violence to obtain the desired benefits.

Social Learning Theory

This theory describes what researchers have definitely ascertained: Violence is learned. Children who are either abused or who witness abuse in the home are at a higher risk than others of becoming

abusive. The family is considered to be the primary socialization agent in which children learn their roles as future spouses and/or parents. In addition, they learn how to cope with stressful situations. Parents model violent coping strategies that are then modeled and reinforced.

Sociobiological Theory

This theory explains child abuse. Its main premise is that vulnerable children are abused because of natural selection and the family's desire to ensure that its genes survive for the next generation. Therefore, children who are physically or developmentally handicapped or chronically ill are the most likely to suffer abuse. It is also believed that parents who are more invested and/or attached to their children are less likely to abuse them.

Sociocultural Models

These models examine the structure of the culture in which the violence is occurring. They explore the influence of norms and values that contribute to the acceptance of violence in our society.

The Cultural Theory of Violence

This theory postulates that violence is generally accepted in society as a whole. Therefore, if violence is acknowledged as a legitimate means of conflict resolution or as a method of achieving goals in the society, then it is logical that this would also be the case within the familial context. Further, it is suggested that a subculture of violence exists within the greater society. In other words, there are certain cultures that value the use of violence as a tool, and therefore these groups will resort to violence to help them accomplish their desired goals.

Feminist Theories

In these theories, the social structure of our society is examined. Traditionally, men have played a dominant role in our society. They have been the ones with access to the resources—the employment, education, property, and so on. This patriarchal structure is changing, but men still play powerful roles in most of the major establishments

responsible for dealing with incidents of abuse, such as the criminal justice system. Therefore, they are the individuals with control over the situation—both in terms of being the abusers and in terms of controlling how society responds to the abuse.

The reality is that family violence is a very complex problem that is not well explained by any one theory. The current trend is to incorporate a multidisciplinary approach to explaining this type of violence.

Risk Factors

The typical domestic violence offender is male, and the typical victim is female. In terms of age, research on spouse abuse has found that the typical batterer is usually under the age of 40, while the majority of victims are between the ages of 20 and 29. However, the National Crime Victimization Survey found that when intimate partner violence (i.e., violence in nonmarital as well as marital relationships) is included in the survey, the rates of violence are highest for women ages 16 to 24. Data from the NCVS indicate that the race and ethnicity of both the offender and the victim do not appear to affect rates of domestic violence. In terms of socioeconomic status, there is some evidence that rates of domestic violence are inversely related to income level and that blue-collar workers are more likely to be involved in domestic violence than are white-collar workers. Similarly, unemployment has been found to be a significant predictor of domestic violence.

In terms of child abuse, research has found that mothers are more likely than fathers to abuse their children. The majority of persons who abuse children are between the ages of 20 and 40. Similar to the research into domestic violence, research consistently shows that race and ethnicity have little impact on an individual's likelihood to engage in child abuse. Like spouse abuse, there is evidence that child abuse is more prevalent in populations with lower socioeconomic statuses.

In addition to the influence of demographic characteristics, a number of other factors have been found to increase the risk of becoming either a perpetrator or a victim. For example, domestic violence itself puts children at significant risk for child abuse. Further, having witnessed such violence as a

child and/or experienced child abuse puts an individual at a higher risk of potentially becoming an abuser as an adult. In fact, this propensity has been referred to by researchers as the intergenerational theory of child abuse.

A relationship between alcohol and drugs and family violence has also been established. Substance use and abuse has been related to domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and child abuse. Social isolation is another factor that seems to be common among abusive families. Social isolation refers to situations where family members are cut off from extended family members, neighbors, and other sources of social support within their communities.

Consequences

In addition to the obvious physical damage sometimes inflicted by abuse, which can range from bruises to death, the psychological consequences are considerable. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that 9.2 million victims between 1998 and 2002 sustained injuries during an incident of family violence, although only 16.5% of these individuals received medical care for their injuries. Nevertheless, millions of medical personnel treat injuries from family violence annually. Victims of family violence are also at an increased risk for mental health problems, including such issues as depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, low self-esteem, and so on. Domestic violence can also interfere with a woman's economic potential.

Children who witness abuse in the family suffer from stress, depression, and low self-esteem as well as feelings of powerlessness. They also are at an increased risk for other problematic behaviors, such as substance abuse, running away, and sexual behaviors. As mentioned previously, they have an increased risk of becoming abusers themselves. In fact, research has found that boys who witnessed abuse in the home are seven times more likely to become abusers than those who did not witness domestic violence. Girls exposed to violence in the home are significantly more likely to become victims of dating and/or domestic violence.

Society also pays a high price for the cost of family violence. Aside from the obvious physical injuries that are suffered by women and children in abusive situations, the cost of family violence includes other less obvious repercussions. For

example, children who are exposed to family violence are also at risk for poor development—emotionally, physically, and mentally. This can lead to mental health and educational problems, and even future involvement with the criminal justice system.

Both the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the World Health Organization recognize family violence as a public health issue. The health-related costs of family violence in the United States are thought to exceed 5.8 billion each year.

Why People Stay in Abusive Relationships

A number of explanations have been put forth to explain why people stay in abusive relationships. Perhaps one of the best known explanations was developed by Lenore Walker, who coined the term *battered woman syndrome* in 1979. Walker also proposed the cycle of violence theory, which describes domestic violence as cyclical in nature and following a general pattern. She identified three distinct phases of the battering cycle. Although each of these cycles or phases can vary in length, the total cycle can occur many, many times in a particular relationship. The three phases she identified are (1) the tension-building phase, (2) the serious battering phase, and (3) the honeymoon phase. The tension-building phase involves a gradual escalation of stress and tension and is characterized by verbal abuse and often minor physical abuse. The next stage is the acute or serious battering phase. This is the phase where the woman is abused both verbally and physically. After the battering comes the third stage, which is characterized as loving contrition. The batterer apologizes, tries to assist the victim, and often displays remorse. This is the point at which the abuser often promises never to repeat his actions and is on his best behavior. These behaviors can provide the woman with positive reinforcements for remaining in the relationship. The victim must complete two cycles to be considered a battered woman. (This cycle may also be experienced by battered men.)

The cycle is important as it can both reinforce a woman's belief that things will get better and lead to a situation known as learned helplessness. *Learned helplessness* is the conditioned response of a woman whose ability to control her situation is weakened when she realizes that the abuse she receives is not contingent on her behaviors or

actions. Women and children in these situations will often try to minimize and control the abuse only to discover that the results of their efforts are not predictable. They begin to believe that they are essentially helpless over their situation. When this happens, victims will not utilize their abilities to escape the situation even when such escape is possible. When the abused woman develops the belief that she is totally helpless, this often results in depression, a sense of powerlessness, self-blame, and feelings of helplessness. This mind-set influences a woman's perceptions of her options in the situation, including her ability to leave.

In addition to these impediments, battered women often face difficulties such as economic dependency, the responsibility for children, and other such challenges when they contemplate leaving their abusers. Because of the isolation many of these women face, they have little access to outside resources that could help them.

Furthermore, it is important to remember that many of these victims grew up in homes where violence was normative. As a result, they do not necessarily view violence in the same way as individuals who have not had this exposure.

Finally, some of these women still love their abusers and are reluctant to give up on the relationship. Again, this affection can be fed by the cycle of violence when the partner enters the loving contrition phase.

Society's Responses

The criminalization of domestic violence did not really occur until the 1970s. Recall that traditionally family violence was viewed as a private family matter. From the 1970s to the present, a number of different approaches have been taken to combat the problem. In general, the problem of family violence has been addressed by the medical profession, the criminal justice system, social service agencies, and state legislatures, as well as by a variety of other public and private agencies.

Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system has addressed the issue of family violence in a variety of ways. Until 1984, the typical police responded to issues of domestic violence either by ignoring them entirely or

by viewing them as a private matter to be handled by calming the situation down and/or offering informal counseling to the couple. A major research study conducted by Lawrence Sherman and Richard Berk in 1984 examined the effectiveness of these strategies compared to arresting the suspects. They found the lowest recidivism rates among those who were arrested. As a result, police departments around the country started to adopt mandatory arrest policies to deal with domestic violence. However, further evaluation of these policies found that while they worked for some (married and employed spouses), they increased the risk of violence for others (unmarried and unemployed persons). Nevertheless, mandatory arrest policies have been found to help the police in situations where victims are reluctant to prosecute. Victim reluctance is much more common in situations of family violence than in other situations.

Police departments have been sued for failing to provide equal protection of the law to victims of domestic violence, and the claim has been made that the police would have handled the case differently if it had been nonfamilial violence. These cases have been won and have in some jurisdictions required officers to make an arrest when there is probable cause to believe familial violence is occurring. As a result of these cases, police departments are now taking these offenses seriously and addressing them similarly to violent offenses that occur outside of the home.

Police also are responsible for enforcing protective orders or restraining orders granted to victims by courts in some situations. These orders may, for example, prohibit the abuser from contacting the victim or specify that the abuser stay a specified distance away from the victim. An emergency protective order can be obtained at any time, but it is only good for a short period of time. A temporary restraining order can be requested by a victim without the offender present. The order is in effect when it is served on the offender, and a hearing is scheduled shortly thereafter. At that point, with both parties participating, a permanent protection order can be issued. These orders can also include further restrictions, such as ordering the abuser to leave the home, get counseling, or pay child support. The orders also make it easier for the police to arrest an offender; if the order is violated the offender can be arrested for either a misdemeanor or a felony, depending on the offender's original offense.

In child abuse cases, strides have been made to make it easier to prosecute offenders. Prosecuting such cases presents unique challenges to the courts. Children often have been retraumatized by testifying in court. This is particularly significant, as there are frequently no witnesses and little evidence in these cases. Courts have allowed technology such as closed-circuit televisions to be used to enable children to testify without having to confront the offender directly. The Supreme Court has held that as long as the defendant has the opportunity to cross-examine and observe the demeanor of the witness, these technologies do not violate the Sixth Amendment right to confrontation.

Since 1996, when the first domestic violence court was started in New York, the criminal justice system has seen the development of a variety of specialized courts. These specialized courts allow the handling of family violence in several ways. For example, the courts allow for better interaction between civil and criminal courts and for persons who have experience with these types of cases to be involved in each case. The courts also stress accountability by offenders and focus on victim advocacy. Cases are centralized and the same judge will preside over all aspects of the case, adding continuity to each case.

Social Services and Community Agencies

Community agencies have been involved in a variety of both preventive and intervention programs. Of course, prevention is the ultimate goal of any intervention designed to address society's problems. Prevention programs in this context include educating children about violence in the family and providing assistance such as counseling and interventions to children who have been exposed to such violence to prevent the transmission of violence to future generations. Richard Gelles, a leading researcher in the field, has suggested several policies that could help prevent family violence. These include doing away with the traditions that legitimize violence in our society, reducing violence-provoking stress, reducing social isolation, changing sexual inequality, and breaking the cycle of violence in families.

Safe havens for women and children have been created with the advent of battered women's shelters. They give persons who want to leave abusive

relationships or who are in immediate danger a place to go. These shelters were developed to help women and/or children in violent relationships and have become an important tool in combating the problem. Today there are a variety of different types of shelters. Some offer temporary safe houses for women to escape abusive relationships, while others are more long term and offer services such as counseling, job training services, and education.

In addition, we have in the last three decades seen the growth of a number of treatment programs aimed toward the batterers. Although these programs vary in nature, the vast majority of them are court mandated and involve group treatment plans. These programs work with the men on such issues as anger management and power and control issues. However, such programs have been criticized for such things as attrition (dropout rates). Studies examining the effectiveness of such programs are somewhat mixed, basically demonstrating a modest improvement in recidivism rates.

For children who are experiencing violence in the home, the primary responsibility for dealing with these cases lies in each jurisdiction's child protective services agency. The agency investigates and responds to allegations of child neglect and abuse. If the allegations are supported, the agency will decide whether the child needs to be removed from the family, whether the offender needs to be removed, and what other interventions are necessary. Children removed from their homes are placed in foster care.

Medical Profession

The medical community has become very involved in the diagnosis and reporting of family violence incidents. The medical community is in an excellent position to be able to recognize abuse in patients. Health care professionals are receiving additional training to help them recognize and respond more effectively to family violence. Physicians and medical personnel are now being trained to use their unique position to offer treatment, advice, information, and referrals to victims.

Legislative Initiatives

In the wake of the focus on family violence, many states began to pass a number of legislative

acts designed to help prosecute offenders and protect victims. One of the first types of laws to be passed was the mandatory reporting law. At this point, all 50 states have mandatory child-abuse reporting requirements. Legally, professionals who work with children are required to report any suspicions of abuse and/or neglect. In general, these statutes require that individuals who have frequent contact with children (professionals such as teachers, doctors, day care providers) report their suspicions to the appropriate law enforcement agency or child welfare agency (typically child protective services). Persons generally responsible for reporting include teachers, doctors, child care providers, and social workers. Those who fail to report suspected abuse can be held civilly liable.

In response to family violence, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and reauthorized it in 2000 and 2005. This is a comprehensive act designed to end violence against women by offering both technical and financial assistance to communities to help create programs and policies designed to end domestic violence, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking. It helps improve the services offered to victims of these crimes and subsidizes grant programs to investigate causes of and ways to deal with violence against women. The act funds violence prevention programs, trains physicians and other medical personnel, and helps to fund transitional housing for women and children.

Some jurisdictions, such as South Carolina, recently began to prosecute women who abuse drugs during their pregnancy. These women had been tested under a policy at the Medical University of South Carolina. A woman sued claiming that this violated her right to privacy and her right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures, and the Supreme Court eventually agreed, stating that such drug tests (searches) were unlawful without a warrant or the patient's consent. However, some jurisdictions have successfully prosecuted such cases by charging these women under other statutes, such as child abuse or child endangerment statutes. Some states have also defined exposing a child to domestic violence as child abuse. In addition, there have been laws passed to restrict access to weapons by convicted offenders and to mandate that courts consider histories of family violence in custody decisions.

Hidden Victims

Teen Dating Violence

Recently, there has been a focus on the topic of dating violence among teens and young adults. Although in the strict sense of the definition, dating violence does not fall under the umbrella of family violence, it is considered an aspect of intimate partner violence. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reports that 1 out of 11 American adolescents has been a victim of physical dating violence. The Bureau of Justice Statistics states that females between the ages of 16 and 24 are the most frequent victims of intimate partner violence. In fact, their rate of violence is triple that of the national average.

Elder Abuse

Elder abuse includes such things as physical abuse, psychological abuse, neglect, and exploitation (illegally or improperly using a person and/or his or her resources for one's own or another's advantage). Although there are few estimates of the extent of this offense in the United States, the National Center on Elder Abuse estimates that thousands of older persons each year are victimized. National estimates also reveal that between 1 million and 2 million persons have been victims of elder abuse, and that adult children are the most frequent perpetrators and neglect the most common form of abuse.

Sibling Violence

This type of intimate violence is one of the most frequent and the most overlooked. It is assumed that siblings will hit each other. Sibling rivalry is considered normal. Parents, in part, will often contribute to the situation by allowing their children to work it out among themselves and to learn to handle these situations on their own. Research has found that boys and younger children tend to be more violent toward siblings than are girls and older children.

Gay and Lesbian Couples

While the term *family violence* is often used to refer to violence that takes place in traditional heterosexual

families, the term *intimate partner violence* also encompasses violence in the context of dating and nontraditional relationships. Although research in the area of violence in homosexual relationships has been quite limited, the findings from the existing studies suggest that overall violence in these relationships is similar to violence in heterosexual relationships. However, studies have found that lesbian couples experience less violence and gay male couples experience more violence than do heterosexual couples.

Battered Husbands

Getting a figure on the exact amount of husband abuse that occurs each year is extremely difficult, as parties are reluctant to admit that the abuse occurred and sometimes fail to categorize their situations as abusive. However, estimates from the National Family Violence Survey conducted in 1995–1996 indicate that 12% of the husbands reported some level of physical assault by their spouses in the preceding year. Importantly, research has shown that men are much less likely than women to report their abuse.

Immigrant Women

This is a population that faces unique challenges in this area. Domestic violence is often thought to be more prevalent among this population. Often the cultures that these women come from implicitly or explicitly approve of violence in the family. In addition, these individuals do not necessarily have the same access to the legal system and often face serious economic problems, language problems, and problems with their immigration status. This population also is more likely to believe that family violence is a private matter and is less likely to report such abuse.

Future Outlook

Family violence has been documented throughout history in all types of families. In the past few decades the pervasive view of this problem as a private family matter has changed, and we now recognize it as a serious societal problem. As resources in the United States continue to be focused on addressing all the complex facets of this

problem, from recognizing abuse to developing successful intervention programs, it is hoped that U.S. society will be able to successfully tackle the issue and give victims the help they need.

Beth Bjerregaard

See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Battered Woman Syndrome; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Domestic Violence; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Intimate Partner Violence; National Violence Against Woman Survey (NVAWS); Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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Web Sites

- National Center on Elder Abuse: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families: <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cb/systems>

U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics:
<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs>
 U.S. Department of Justice—Violence Against Women
 Act: <http://www.ovw.usdoj.gov/regulations.htm>

FEAR OF CRIME

Fear is a response that allows individuals to avoid danger, and many individuals who are fearful of criminal victimization, and the danger associated with it, may limit their activities or take other actions designed to avoid this danger, and thus reduce their fear. Individuals who are fearful of crime may not travel at night, may avoid certain areas that they consider dangerous, and may engage in myriad avoidance behaviors and adaptive strategies.

Fear is a natural, often beneficial emotion under many circumstances. Under the wrong circumstances, however, fear can restrict individual freedom, constrain behaviors, and negatively influence the quality of life of a fearful individual. Fear of crime differs from most hazards of life because it is often based on limited or inaccurate information about crime risk and crime realities. Because crime victimization has the potential to be catastrophic, many individuals often err on the side of caution, fearing crime far more than is necessary. As such, it is imperative that reliable information about crime and the potential for criminal victimization, as well as the personal and social characteristics that reduce the risk of criminal victimization, be provided to individuals, particularly those most fearful of crime. Reducing the gap between factual information on the potential for crime and the often distorted information available from media and anecdotal sources will go a long way toward reducing fear of crime and upgrading the quality of life for many fearful individuals.

Definitions

One of the most controversial issues in recent studies that examine the psychological consequences of crime is that of defining fear of crime; this debate regarding definitions of fear of crime has raged over three decades. Although a number of researchers have defined and conceptualized fear in a variety of ways, the most well-accepted definition is

generally traced to Kenneth Ferraro's seminal work, *Fear of Crime: Interpreting Victimization Risk*. In this book, Ferraro argued that many investigators apparently assume that the definition of fear of crime is obvious, and thus they refrain from clearly delineating exactly what fear is. Ferraro attempted to remedy this problem by clearly defining fear of crime as an emotional response of anxiety or dread to crime victimization or symbols associated with crime. Although there are many different definitions of fear of crime, Ferraro's definition captures its essence: Fear of crime comes as an emotional response to what an individual perceives to be a crime situation. Fear of crime can also be categorized into two global categories: personal fear (fear for one's own personal safety) and altruistic fear (fear for others, including spouses, children, etc.). Only recently have researchers begun to consider altruistic fear.

In the United States particularly, many people argue that fear of crime may be a greater problem than crime itself. From its inception, the General Social Survey (GSS), a national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, has asked respondents, "Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" In 2008, 37% of respondents answered "Yes," a percentage that has remained relatively unchanged for 15 years, despite decreasing crime rates over that time. Even though there is some controversy over whether this question is a valid measure of fear, it is apparent that whatever the question is measuring, a substantial minority of Americans experience this phenomenon, and their number appears to remain relatively stable regardless of what is happening with the actual crime rate.

Nevertheless, despite the plethora of researchers who have considered fear of crime over the past four decades, fear of crime research is a relatively recent phenomenon. Based on the attention it received from criminologists throughout the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, most criminologists apparently considered it unworthy of study or assumed that the fear of crime and its consequences were directly proportional to the risk of criminal victimization, and any efforts to reduce crime would necessarily reduce fear of crime as well.

Whether coincidentally or by design, fear of crime research began to appear on the scene soon

after the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice released a report that argued that fear of crime was a detrimental impact of violent crime. The report informed its readers that consequences of crime brought about not only physical harm but emotional and psychological harm as well. Beginning in the early 1970s, then, researchers begin to consider fear as a consequence of crime and criminality.

Methods of Measuring

For the first two decades of fear of crime research, fear of crime was measured most often with a single item indicator; in fact, almost half of all studies about fear of crime that were reviewed in the late 1980s used a single item indicator of fear of crime. One measure commonly used in early fear of crime research was the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) question, "How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night?" A number of researchers found that measure problematic because it does not mention the word *crime*, and the respondents are asked to think about their safety in a hypothetical situation they rarely encounter (when they are alone at night in their neighborhood), among other reasons. Other studies have used a slightly different measure by asking, "Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" This is the most frequently employed single-item indicator in the fear of crime literature and is the measure used by the GSS as an indicator of fear of crime. This indicator had some advantages over the previous one, such as defining what the neighborhood is, but it still has some of the same problems. The question is still a single item indicator, it does not specify "fear of what," and the likelihood of being out alone at night in the neighborhood is relatively remote, even for the most active people.

Because of these and other criticisms, researchers began to use multiple-item indices to assess fear. Mark Warr was one of the first researchers to measure fear of crime by asking questions about individuals' fear of specific crimes. Warr used indices measuring fear of specific crimes in his analysis of data collected via mail survey from residents in Seattle in 1981, and Ferraro and others determined

that his scales were some of the best available, recommending that all fear of crime researchers use these types of questions to measure fear of crime. As such, by the end of the 20th century, most fear of crime researchers began to use multiple items that used the words *fear* or *afraid* and asked respondents about their fear regarding a number of different types of crime. This method has yielded a number of reliable measures of fear of criminal victimization that are commonly accepted as the most reliable survey measures available.

Who Is Fearful of Crime?

Gender

The vast majority of studies examining fear of crime have determined that females are more fearful of crime than are males. In addition, this difference seems to hold true regardless of the measure used for fear. Several explanations have been offered for women's higher levels of fear of crime. One explanation centers on both the social and physical vulnerability of women, arguing that women are socialized to perceive themselves as weaker than men and thus feel a powerlessness to resist attack that causes heightened levels of fear. Socialization experiences also provide another explanation for gender differences. Because the vast majority of those who research fear of crime use self-report questionnaires to determine levels of fear, and women are socialized to be more open about their fears, women are more likely to report their fear than are men, who are socialized not to show signs of weakness such as expressions of fear. Another well-accepted explanation for the differential fear by gender is the suggestion that women have an inordinate fear of sexual assault, especially rape, and that this fear pervades all aspects of their lives, causing them to express greater overall fear levels. This explanation suggests that women associate rape with myriad forms of crime (burglary, robbery, etc.) because they realize that, if they become victims of any of these crimes, there is the possibility that they also will be raped. This explanation has been labeled as the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis. Numerous studies have found support for this argument.

Race/Ethnicity

Although there are some exceptions, in those studies where race has been found to have a significant association with fear, Blacks are more fearful than Whites. The most well-accepted explanation for this phenomenon seems to be the social vulnerability explanation (discussed in detail below) that suggests that certain groups (e.g., the poor, Blacks) realize that they are at a higher risk of crime victimization by crime and thus are more fearful of crime.

Age

A large number of studies have determined that older people are significantly more fearful than younger people, although a number of researchers have pointed out that the positive relationship between age and fear of crime is found to be much stronger when researchers use single-item measures of fear such as those used in the GSS that were discussed earlier. In fact, most recent studies suggest that if the researcher controls for perceived risk of criminal victimization, and uses questions that gauge respondents' fears of specific crimes (e.g., robbery, assault, murder), the relationship between age and fear of crime is much weaker and, in many studies, nonexistent. This research has noted that it is likely that young people realize that they are at greater risk of victimization and thus have higher levels of perceived risk, which leads to higher levels of fear.

Socioeconomic Status

The relationship between socioeconomic status and fear of crime is mixed as well. Although the majority of studies have found that individuals with lower levels of income and education have greater levels of fear, there are a number of studies that have found no relationship between socioeconomic status and fear of crime or a positive relationship between the two. Some researchers suggest that the limited exposure of the higher socioeconomic groups to criminal conditions, their ability to secure private security devices, and their generally greater confidence in the police to protect them from crime may cause them to have lower levels of fear. Nevertheless, because these variables are rarely controlled for, the relationship between

socioeconomic status and fear of crime appears to vary by sample and measure of fear of crime.

Theoretical Explanations

Many of the early studies that examined fear of crime were conducted without a priori theoretical expectations. Most of the initial efforts tested bivariate relationships (e.g., gender and fear of crime, age and fear of crime) or used national data such as the GSS or NCVS to determine the prevalence of fear of crime and the demographic predictors of fear of crime. The accumulation of evidence regarding fear of crime, however, has led most researchers to accept that there are at least three important theoretical perspectives that can be used to understand fear of crime and its causes and consequences. Each of these three perspectives is discussed in detail below.

The Vulnerability Perspective

As a theoretical perspective, vulnerability refers to the interaction of three factors: (1) probability of victimization, (2) seriousness of anticipated consequences of crime victimization, and (3) powerlessness to control the previous two factors. According to this perspective, the most fearful people are those who rate their probability of victimization as high; realize that crime victimization would have serious personal, emotional, and financial consequences; and realize they have little control over either their probability of victimization or the detrimental consequences it has for their lives. As mentioned earlier, this perspective has been used to explain racial and socioeconomic differences in fear of crime and is also regularly used to explain gender and age differences in fear of crime. Assuming this perspective, some researchers have suggested that the discrepancy between females' higher levels of fear of crime and lower levels of victimization (when compared to males) is not an irrational fear, but a fear due to their very real physical and social vulnerabilities when compared to males. The aforementioned shadow of sexual assault hypothesis also fits well in this perspective, as girls' and women's vulnerability to sexual assault also may foreshadow their fear of other crimes. This explanation, that perceived physical vulnerability leads to higher levels of fear

of crime, has also been used to explain higher levels of fear of crime among the elderly. Additional evidence supporting the vulnerability perspective is also found in the interaction between age and gender, as women tend to report higher levels of fear regardless of age, while fear of crime increases with age for men, and gender differences regarding fear of crime lessen as people age.

Despite the relevance of vulnerability to fear of crime, race, class, gender, and age, a number of critics have questioned the relevance of the vulnerability perspective for explaining fear of crime and argue that level of fear of crime can be predicted by controlling for either the real or perceived risk of criminal victimization. As most research indicates that the best predictor of fear of crime is often an individual's perceived risk of crime, and this relationship is often far stronger than any other predictor variable included in models to explain this fear, it is obvious that risk of victimization is an important correlate of fear of crime. Where that relationship fits in the vulnerability perspective is a question that researchers will continue to explore in the future.

Direct and Indirect Experience With Crime

A second theoretical explanation of fear of crime involves experience (both direct and indirect) with criminal victimization. According to this perspective, individuals' fear of crime is caused by their personal encounters with crime (direct experience) and/or what they hear about crime (indirect experience). Intuitively, one would reason that those who have been victimized by crime would be most fearful of crime (and this appears to be one explanation for the dearth of research on fear of crime in the early years of criminology). Interestingly, however, this is not necessarily the case. Although several researchers have found that those who have been victimized by crime (particularly violent crime) are more fearful than those who have not been victimized, almost as many studies have found a weak or nonexistent relationship between fear of crime and prior victimization experiences. A number of explanations have been offered for this counterintuitive finding, but the most relevant seem to center around the measurement issues discussed earlier, and the fact that few studies consider the number of victimizations an

individual has experienced or the seriousness of the victimization. In addition, some studies argue that the impact of previous victimization may be affected by people's beliefs regarding the reason for the victimization experience (e.g., I did something stupid and brought it on myself, I was in the wrong place at the wrong time) or the use of psychological and coping techniques (e.g., neutralization strategies).

Indirect experience with crime refers to all the methods, besides direct experience, by which a person develops attitudes and perceptions about crime. These methods may include situations where an individual hears about crime from family or friends or reads about crime in the newspaper or a magazine; in addition, practically everyone is regularly exposed to crime through television and the Internet. As with direct victimization, the research findings on the relationship between indirect victimization and fear of crime are mixed, with some studies having found that those who read or watch stories about crime (particularly in their local area) are more fearful than those who do not, and other studies not having found a relationship between indirect victimization and fear of crime. However, knowing someone who has been victimized by crime, especially locally, or learning of victimization in one's own neighborhood does appear to increase levels of fear of criminal victimization. Some researchers have suggested that psychological proximity is more important to engendering fear of crime than is geographical proximity; in other words, the more similar individuals believe they are to a victim, the more likely they are to be fearful of crime.

Ecological Explanations

The research that discovered that individuals' victimization experiences did not have a strong association with their fear of crime led researchers to explore a third perspective as an explanation for fear of crime. This explanation, often entitled the ecological perspective, suggests that individuals' fear of crime is affected by a number of contextual variables related to their place in society. These variables include their place of residence (urban residents often have higher levels of fear of crime than do rural residents) and, among urban residents, the characteristics of their neighborhood (people living in inner-city areas often have higher

levels of fear of crime than those living in other parts of the same city).

Within this perspective, there are a number of explanations for these findings. One explanation suggests that fear of crime is a rational response to the higher victimization rates of urban and inner-city residents, although a number of studies have found no relationship between the actual crime rate of an area and the fear of crime of the residents of that area. A second explanation focuses on the demographic heterogeneity of a neighborhood, or its lack of social capital and social climate. This explanation follows the tenets of the Chicago School of Sociology's ideas of social disorganization and suggests that inner-city and urban neighborhoods have much higher transition among residents, much more anonymity and apathy, and thus much less social capital than neighborhoods with less heterogeneity. Following this explanation, then, residents from areas with these characteristics should have higher levels of fear of crime. As with the previous explanations, some researchers have found support for this argument, while others have been unable to find sufficient evidence to support the argument.

In addition to the explanations focusing on differential rates of victimization and social capital found in inner-city and urban areas, there is a third ecological explanation, which focuses on the design and appearance of an area when examining the relationship between location and fear of crime. Researchers following this explanation argue that individuals who live in areas with higher visibility and surveillance opportunities (in other words, areas where crimes are easily seen because of the built design or human surveillance in an area) are less fearful of crime. Some (although certainly not all) researchers have found support for this hypothesis, finding that increasing levels of lighting and/or social surveillance in an area decreases fear of crime in that area. Finally, a number of researchers have focused on a fourth ecological explanation, that of incivilities. According to the neighborhood incivility explanation, individuals who live in neighborhoods characterized by certain criteria have higher levels of incivility in their neighborhoods and thus are more fearful of crime. These criteria include incivilities such as noisy neighbors, graffiti, loitering teenagers, garbage and litter in the streets, and abandoned

houses and cars, among others. A large body of research has supported this argument that people living in neighborhoods with high levels of incivility are more fearful of crime.

Reactions

As a result of fear of crime, many individuals take actions that have an impact on their daily lives. The actions people take as a result of this fear are commonly grouped into two categories: defensive behaviors (e.g., installing security systems, buying a guard dog, purchasing a gun) and avoidance behaviors (e.g., limiting activity, avoiding unsafe areas at night). Polls that ask individuals if/how they change their activities due to their fear of crime suggest that a number of these actions occur regularly, with as many as half of the respondents in some polls saying they have avoided certain places because of their concern about crime. In addition, about one in four Americans keep a dog or a gun for protection and have a burglar alarm installed in their home.

Much of the research on the relationship between fear of crime and behavior indicates that fear has a positive effect on both avoidance behaviors and defensive behaviors. Fear of crime limits social behavior by leading people who are fearful of crime to avoid seemingly dangerous situations, a decision that often intensifies that fear. Some research suggests that defensive and avoidance behaviors do not necessarily differ by age, but do differ by income, gender, and race. Thus women appear to be more likely to engage in avoidance behaviors (e.g., avoiding places at night or when they are alone), whereas men are more likely to engage in some defensive behaviors (e.g., purchasing a gun). In addition, fearful people of color appear to be less likely to engage in both defensive and constrained behaviors than are Whites.

Strategies to Reduce Fear of Crime

Because of the detrimental effects of fear of crime, a number of strategies have been considered to help alleviate fear of crime among the public. Some of these policies are discussed below.

One strategy to help alleviate people's fear of crime is to educate the public about criminal activity, its causes and correlates, and methods to prevent

crime from occurring. This strategy is based on the previously discussed impact of indirect victimization on fear of crime, and the realization that even those who do not have direct experience with crime victimization often have increased levels of fear of crime because of their knowledge of criminal activities in their community or among those they know. As such, educating people about their generally low likelihood of victimization by crime, and the steps they can take to protect themselves and to reduce personal fear, could lower fear of crime among those with that knowledge. This strategy not only may help reduce fear of crime but also may help people have a better understanding of their risk and what measures do actually increase public safety.

A second strategy is designed to involve communities both in crime prevention through social development and in community-based justice programs. The premise behind this strategy is that citizens who are directly involved in the justice system are generally better informed about their risk of crime victimization and their understanding of what affects crime and how criminal activity can be reduced.

A third strategy by which fear of crime may be reduced involves community corrections agencies handling of offenders supervised in the community. This strategy focuses community supervision and treatment resources on individuals with the greatest need for those resources and individuals who pose the greatest risk to society. This strategy, coupled with those mentioned above, could inform the public about how criminal justice resources are being used, and the fact that those most at risk of committing crime in the community are also those most closely supervised, thus reducing fear of crime among those potentially targeted by those offenders.

Given the detrimental impact of incivilities on fear of crime among residents of those neighborhoods where incivilities are found, a fourth strategy in reducing fear of crime involves supporting (or leading) organized community efforts to reduce disorder in communities. Strategies as simple as having public works agencies paint over graffiti on public buildings immediately after it is found could reduce perceptions of neighborhood incivility and thus reduce fear of crime in those neighborhoods as well. Condemning and destroying abandoned buildings, towing abandoned cars, and replacing

broken windows in public buildings soon after these are discovered also could reduce perceptions of incivility and decrease fear of crime.

A final strategy for reducing fear of crime involves a policing strategy that began in the United States in the early 1970s, was very popular for one or two decades, and then lost popularity at the end of the 20th century. That strategy is community policing. Community policing is a police agency organizational strategy and philosophy that promotes a partnership between police officers and the public that they serve. Community policing is based on the idea that the police and citizens should work together as partners to identify crime problems in their community and then work together to solve those problems. Each of the strategies mentioned above involves community residents taking a more active role in reducing crime and fear of crime in their community. The goal of community policing is not just to prevent and/or respond to crime in an area. The primary goal of community policing is to improve the overall quality of life in an area; one method of doing so is to reduce residents' fear of crime in their neighborhood. By actively working with the community, police gain the trust of the community. This increased trust often leads to an increased awareness of criminal activity and allows police to both uncover and prevent crime that traditional policing methods may not uncover. A number of studies have suggested that when police officers follow the tenets of community policing, neighborhood residents have more confidence in the police and feel safer from crime in their community.

Despite the evidence that has accumulated over four decades of research into fear of crime, there are a number of methodological weaknesses that have limited the impact of this research. As mentioned earlier, there is still some debate regarding the definition and conceptualization of fear of crime. Future research could seek to clarify both the definition and conceptualization of this fear; this would prevent researchers in the future from having to justify their understanding of fear of crime.

In addition, only recently have fear of crime researchers begun using theoretical models to attempt to explain fear of crime, and none of the current models do a satisfactory job in explaining fear of crime in every location among every sample

of respondents. As such, more work is needed to continue to develop these theories of why fear of crime occurs.

Further, most of the research on fear of crime has been primarily quantitative research, and researchers have only recently begun to use qualitative strategies to attempt to understand the causes and consequences of fear of crime. Additional qualitative research efforts could help advance the limited theoretical perspectives currently available and yield more well-defined theories.

Finally, despite the admitted methodological shortcomings of self-report measures of fear of crime, few (if any) researchers have used either physiological or observational methods to better understand the impact of fear of crime in a person's life. As such, these methods have the potential to dramatically influence fear of crime research in the future.

David C. May

See also Age and Victimization; Community Policing; Contextual Effects on Victimization; Correlates of Victimization; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Hot Spots of Fear; Incivilities/Social Disorder; Shadow of Sexual Assault Hypothesis

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FEAR OF CRIME, INDIVIDUAL- AND COMMUNITY-LEVEL EFFECTS

Fear of crime has been defined as an emotional response, or anxiety, caused by crime or environmental cues that a person associates with crime. Fear of crime is important to study because fear levels do not always directly coincide with the amount of crime in the community or one's own particular experience with or risk of being victimized by crime. Individual personal characteristics and perceptions of environmental features other than crime often are better at predicting one's amount of fear.

There have been two key trends in fear of crime research over the last three decades—the first related to improving measurement of fear, and the second related to better understanding seemingly illogical findings in some studies. Because these trends are connected and together have led to important advances in the understanding of individual and community effects on fear, both are discussed in this entry.

Improving Measurement to Better Understand Individual Predictors

Early studies on fear of crime found that women and the elderly were most afraid of crime, even though young males were most likely to be victimized by crime. The scholarly assumption was that those who were most at risk of being victimized or had been victimized would be most afraid. The unusual findings led researchers to look for other factors that might cause people to be afraid. One line of research focused on the quality of the measures that were being used to operationalize fear of crime. Most studies in the 1970s used a variation of two questions. The one used in the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) read, "How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night (or during the day)?" The General Social Survey (GSS) question generally read, "Is there any area around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night (or during the day)?" Scholars noted that these questions were limited in their ability to gauge fear because they were too general, did not mention the word *crime*, and did

not capture the likelihood that people do not fear all crimes in the same way. Some researchers argued that these questions better measured “perceived risk,” or thoughts (rather than emotions) about individuals’ likelihood of being victimized by crime.

Consequently, researchers began to design different questions to measure fear, focusing on using the concept “afraid” and indicating the type of crime in the question (e.g., burglary, homicide, or rape). In studies using these revised questions, researchers continued to find that women were more afraid, but they now often found that older people were not as afraid as younger people.

The age findings then became more logical, but the strong and continued finding that women were more afraid than men led some scholars, such as Mark Warr and Ken Ferraro, to argue that it was because fear of rape “shadowed” women’s fear of other crimes. Specifically, they argued that women were afraid of other crimes, like burglary and harassment, because they were afraid that these offenses could lead to rape. Warr called these “perceptually contemporaneous offenses,” because they were coupled in women’s minds, and Ferraro called it the “shadow of sexual assault.” A number of studies since have found that for women (and sometimes for men), fear of rape is strongly related to fear of other crimes, and that accounting for it sometimes lessens or reverses the effect of gender on fear (i.e., men and women show more similar levels of fear). One study by Jodi Lane and James Meeker attempted to separate the harm (assault) aspect of rape from the sexual part. They found that while fear of rape was still related to fear of other crimes, it was less important when they also measured fear of assault. In other words, the physical harm component of rape contributes to fear, but there is something unique about the sexual intrusion that matters. Elizabeth Stanko has argued that women are appropriately more afraid because their “ordinary experiences” with men’s unruly behavior (such as crimes that occur in private, like incest and rape, and less serious behaviors like harassment) lead women to believe that they might be victimized at any time. More recent studies have attempted to further refine the measurement of fear of crime by specifying the perpetrator in their questions (e.g., gangs or terrorists) and asking about crimes that are typically specific

to these types of offenders. The idea is that like some offenses, some types of offenders might invoke more fear than others.

Environmental Cues and Community Networks

As the measurement of fear was being refined, many scholars studied other factors that might predict fear of crime in those who were less likely to be victimized. Researchers developed four theoretical models to predict individual fear of crime. The first perspective involves *indirect victimization*, that is, the possibility that people are afraid because they hear about crime through the media or others in their community. Local social ties, such as knowing neighbors or participating in community groups, are thought to increase fear because people hear about things that happen to other people in the area or elsewhere. The *disorder or incivilities* perspective argues that when people see evidence of social and physical disorder (or incivilities), they become more afraid because they associate those problems with crime. Social incivilities are problems such as prostitution, drug use, homelessness, and gangs. Physical incivilities are problems such as graffiti, trash, unkempt yards, and rundown buildings. The *community concern or community decline* model points to the probability that some people are afraid because they believe their community is not the way it “used to be.” For example, parents might say that their children used to be able to play alone in the park but now they can’t because gangs hang out there. *Racial heterogeneity or subcultural diversity* is the fourth model predicting individuals’ fear of crime, and it focuses on the possibility that in communities without strong friendship networks, people are afraid because they encounter people who are racially, ethnically, or culturally different. Sally Merry has argued that fear of crime is prompted by residents’ inability to interpret the mannerisms and behaviors of people who look and act differently. In other words, people do not understand people who are different, and it makes them afraid.

Some studies have examined these models of fear of crime independently, under the assumption that people are thinking about only one of these issues when they are afraid (e.g., worrying about diversity *or* disorder, but maybe not both), and

found that each issue can explain fear of crime. Other studies have examined connections between the theoretical models and found that people do not necessarily think about these things independently. In addition, researchers have examined the possibility that worry about disorder causes worry about community decline and have found that it does. For example, people might see homeless people or lawns that are not well maintained and worry that the community is going “downhill,” which may cause them to become more afraid of crime. People might also be worried about community decline for other reasons, however, such as increasing diversity or population density, and so the disorder and decline arguments remain distinct.

In her qualitative study of fear of gang crime in neighborhoods in Santa Ana, California, Lane found that people indicated very specific connections among all of these issues. Her respondents noted that they believed that an increase in diversity (and especially in the number of undocumented immigrants) led to more disorder in their neighborhoods, which led to community decline, which led residents to feel more perceived risk and fear of gang crime. Respondents also noted that they learned of crimes and other problems through their neighbors. Other researchers have examined some specific issues that might cause fear at certain times, such as dark places, tunnels, or walkways, because women, especially, worry that there might be hiding places for potential offenders or that they will be unable to get away from an attacker.

Other Individual Characteristics and Fear

Although much of the focus on individual factors has been on gender and age, and much of the research on community factors originated to explain women's and older people's seemingly illogical fear, research has shown that other personal characteristics can be related to fear of crime. Most studies have found that minorities (e.g., African Americans and Hispanics) are more afraid of crime than are Whites, probably because, as a group, they experience more of the environmental factors that lead to fear. Probably for similar reasons, lower-income people and those in urban areas are generally more afraid of crime than are upper-income people and those who live in rural areas. Personal experience with victimization is

sometimes related to more fear, but sometimes not. Some scholars have speculated that those who are less afraid may have taken more precautions to protect themselves after the victimization and therefore feel safer.

Fear of crime does not always correspond directly to the level of crime in one's community or one's own personal risk of being victimized. Sometimes personal characteristics are important (e.g., gender, age, race, and income) in explaining fear, and sometimes increased fear can result from other problems in the community (such as unseemly people hanging out or people not taking care of their homes and yards). Consequently, those who hope to lessen fear must fight more than crime. They must also work to improve communities more generally and share information and strategies to avoid crime with those who are most afraid.

Jodi Lane

See also Fear of Crime; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Shadow of Sexual Assault Hypothesis; Victimology

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FEAR OF CRIME, MEASUREMENT OF

The development of any meaningful measure of “fear of crime” requires a conceptual understanding of the construct. This understanding can then drive the measurement of fear of crime. From a psychological perspective, fear is an emotion. Fear of crime, therefore, is the emotion that is associated with, as Kenneth Ferraro and Randy LaGrange put it, “crime or symbols associated with crime.” A measurement of the fear of crime therefore is an attempt to measure this emotion in the context of crime. Instruments that measure fear of crime focus on the measurement of danger, safety, and threat, and much research emphasizes and measures safety.

Fear of crime first emerged as a political construct from studies commissioned by the President's Crime Commission on Law and Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in the United States in 1967. These studies made the first attempt at a measure of fear of crime by asking questions on anxiety, a proxy measure of fear. From these studies came one of the now standard National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) questions “How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?” Other questions were “How concerned are you about having your home broken into?” and “How likely is it a person walking around here at night would be held up or attacked?” These questions were intended to gauge people's attitudes rather than consciously measure a coherent and cogent fear of crime; they both significantly influenced the genesis of measures of this fear.

Researchers such as Mark Warr and Mark Stafford, over a quarter of a century ago, expressed their concerns on proximate causes of fear asking such questions as “Does risk enter into the cognitive equation of fear?” Their study was one of the first in

the literature that attempted to move away from the aggregated measures of crimes to measures of more specific fear of different kinds of crimes. Their measures were later elaborated in the literature.

In offering his measurement of fear of crime, Ferraro, a major contributor to fear of crime measures, cautioned that measures of fear of crime need to capture the emotional states of the respondents; an assessment of events in respondents' lives as related to fear of crime; and fear of specific crimes rather than just a generic measure of fear, with risk of being a victim and fear of crime treated as distinct constructs.

A deficiency in the fear of crime literature is the absence of identifiable different dimensions of fear. Differentiation between feelings of “unsafety” from fear of crime is important. According to Ferraro, feelings of unsafety are determined by a risk assessment (probability of victimization), while “fear of crime is an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime” (1995, p. 24).

However, dozens of studies on fear of crime have used safety questions from the General Social Survey (GSS) or the National Crime Survey (NCS) to measure fear. The problem with these questions is their inability to distinguish fear from perceived risk and fear from general concerns about crime. Steve Farrell, Elizabeth Gilchrist, and Jason Ditton referred to these measures as standard “formless” questions, and they include questions such as “Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?” and “How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night?” Similar questions sometimes are asked about feelings of safety while out alone during the day and when at home. A criticism of these measures is that a person may have a high sense of safety but yet still feel afraid.

In assessing fear of crime, researchers should be cognizant of its cognitive (i.e., risk perception) and emotional (i.e., being afraid) dimensions. There may be a validity problem with many of the measurements of fear of crime because of the inadequacy of their definitions, as many such measurements carry the implicit definition of the probability of being victimized.

The concepts of “formless” and “concrete” fears are important. Measurements of formless

fears try to articulate information on a general assessment of fear (e.g., safety questions), while measures of concrete fears try to acquire information on particular offenses (e.g., murder). The phrasing of safety/risk questions gives geographical and temporal (but not criminal) specificity; for example, "How safe would you feel to walk alone in your neighborhood during the night?" Given the time and space parameters set by safety questions, responses are governed by information on the immediate environment (e.g., the neighborhood). In other words, safety questions are specifically asking respondents to consider internal happenings in their community. The questions about fear of crime used by some researchers do not have time and space parameters. This lack of parameters can create cognitive ambiguity in respondents and, therefore, may provoke stereotypes, especially those related to crime. This is not necessarily a weakness of the measure but, in fact, assists researchers to acquire a gestalt level of fear of crime from respondents. There are no explicit theoretical articulations that can be used to integrate the concepts of perceived risk (which is cognitive) and fear of crime (which is affective).

A classic study on measurement of fear of crime, undertaken by Ferraro and LaGrange in 1987, evaluated important measurements of fear of crime in the literature and identified the problems of the duplication of risk and fear in these measurements. They further noted two important dimensions into which many questions about fear of crime often fall. The first dimension is the level of crime perception, and it ranges from general (community-oriented) to personal (self-oriented) measurements. The second dimension is the type of crime perception, and it ranges from the cognitive level to the affective level.

The gender paradox, that is, that females are more likely to be fearful of crime than are males, yet males are more likely to be victims of crimes aggregately, needs to be methodologically revisited. Often this paradox is explained as the result of a shadow effect of sexual assault. However, the paradox may be the result of the persistent use of quantitative measures of fear of crime that are correlated with gender. Such structured measures may prevent males, who are socialized to show toughness, from articulating their true cognitions and emotions about the issue of crime. More qualitative measures

may be considered by researchers when undertaking research on gender and fear of crime.

Measures of fear of crime have generally emerged from a data-driven approach. To move away from the current *modus operandi*, more researchers in this field could be driven by theory, rather than quickly absorbing scales from the literature into their research. On a final note, the more diverse the application of a measure across groups, the greater should be the sensitivity of the measuring instrument, so that nuances with explanatory power would be picked up by the measure. In other words, any attempt at a universal fear-of-crime scale allowing for standardizing of research findings must consider the multifaceted cultural reality of societies as well as the relevance and reliability of scale items. Therefore, the issue of transferability of scale, which has been a norm in research on fear of crime, needs to be seriously revisited—not only across cultures but within cultures.

Derek Chadee

See also Fear of Crime; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Hot Spots of Fear

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FEMICIDE

Femicide, the murder of women, is a leading cause of premature death in the United States for women. Women in the United States are murdered by intimate partners (husband, boyfriend) or former partners approximately nine times more often than by strangers. Between 40% and 50% of women killed by a known perpetrator are killed by an intimate partner, compared to 5.5% of men killed by an intimate partner. Femicide rates are highest among women 20 to 49 years old. Also important to consider are intimate partner attempted femicides, as at least eight such near-fatal incidents occur for every actual intimate partner femicide.

From 1981 to 1998, intimate partner homicides decreased by almost 50% in the United States, with rates decreasing far more for male victims (67.8%) than for female victims (30.1%). The rates have since stabilized, with three to four female partners killed for every male partner. The decreases in intimate partner homicides occurred during the same time period as national social programs and legal interventions to reduce intimate partner (domestic) violence; in states where the laws and resources (shelters and crisis hotlines) were the most available, there were the greatest decreases in women killing male intimate partners. Increases in women's resources, decreases in marriage rates, domestic

violence policies such as proarrest mandates, as well as decreases in gun accessibility, are all associated with the decreases in intimate partner homicides. Recently, rural intimate partner femicides have increased, while urban intimate partner femicides have stayed stable or decreased.

The vast majority (67%–80%) of intimate partner homicides involve physical abuse of the female by the male partner or ex-partner before the murder, no matter which partner is killed; therefore, prior domestic violence against the female partner is the number one risk factor for intimate partner homicide. A national case control study completed in 2001 found the following factors most strongly associated with increased intimate partner femicide risks over and above prior domestic violence:

- Perpetrator access to a gun
- Estrangement
- Perpetrator unemployment
- Perpetrator highly controlling
- Perpetrator threatens to kill partners
- Prior threats or use of weapons by perpetrators against their partners
- Biological child of female partner not the perpetrator's
- Forced sex

Protective factors include the victim and perpetrator never having lived together and the perpetrator's prior arrest for domestic violence. Another risk factor that is only now completely understood is attempted strangulation, or in the vernacular most often used by abused women, "choking." This is not only a risk factor for intimate partner femicide but also a serious health problem that can result in death by stroke or pneumonia following aspiration in the days following the attempted strangulation. Due to the seriousness of this event, many states have passed laws to make these attempted strangulations a felony.

Femicide–Suicide

Jane Koziol-McLain and her colleagues in 2006 reported that in about a third of the cases of intimate partner femicide, or about 400 to 500 cases per year, the male partner kills himself (and

sometimes his children) after killing his partner. (Only about one case of intimate partner homicide-suicide per year involves a female killing a male partner.) The major risk factors, including prior domestic violence, are the same as for intimate partner femicide cases without suicide, with an additional factor present of the perpetrator's prior threats of or attempted suicide. This type of perpetrator was also more likely to have been seen in the mental health care system in the year before he killed his partner. Suicidal perpetrators are more likely to be married, employed, and report less illicit drug use and abuse during the woman's pregnancy than those who did not kill themselves. These differences suggest that men who kill their partners and then kill themselves may have a larger "stake in conformity" than those who kill their female intimate partners and do not commit suicide. In other words, they may appear at first assessment, or by risk of domestic violence reassessment, to be somewhat less dangerous perpetrators than others who are seen in the domestic violence systems. Even so, Koziol-McLain and her colleagues have shown that femicide-suicide perpetrators and femicide-only perpetrators have a similar background in terms of prior arrest for violent crimes (18% and 23%, respectively), and that they engender a similar amount of fear in their partners (who think their partner is capable of killing them, 53% and 49%, respectively).

One of the recent explanations for femicide-suicide relates to male proprietariness—"a pathological possessiveness" connected to issues of power and control in intimate relationships. Femicide-suicides often occur following estrangement and are planned acts by the perpetrator, supporting the explanation of male proprietariness. However, this explanation is also incomplete; combining male proprietariness and perpetrator mental health issues with a history of intimate partner violence may more comprehensively account for high stakes placed on the relationship with the partner. Interestingly, the constant across the literature is the perpetrator statement echoing, "If I can't have you, nobody can." Yet this statement and the estrangement and controlling behavior are also significant risk factors for femicide without suicide. Again, these dynamics are the extreme end of the continuum of other forms of domestic violence.

Same-Sex Intimate Partner Homicide

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in 2008, the proportion of intimate partner homicides committed by same-sex partners is greater for gay men than for lesbians. Nationally, among male victims of homicide, 6.2% were murdered by a same-sex partner, and among female victims, less than 1% (0.5%) were murdered by a same-sex partner.

Using the data from the large multicity study on femicide conducted by Jacquelyn Campbell and her colleagues, a case study of the five (1.6%) female-perpetrated intimate partner femicides was conducted. Among the five cases, prior physical violence, controlling behaviors, jealousy, alcohol and drugs, and ending the relationship were consistently reported antecedents to the murder. These preliminary findings support that power and control are central to models of intimate partner femicide, whether it is perpetrated by a man or a woman.

Maternal Mortality and Intimate Partner Femicide

The national homicide database does not indicate if a woman was pregnant or had recently given birth when she was killed. Even so, detailed record reviews in some urban areas and a review of the national mortality surveillance system data by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have demonstrated that homicide is the second leading cause of injury-related maternal mortality, or pregnancy-associated death (death during pregnancy or in the year after pregnancy termination by delivery or other means) in the United States, causing 2 maternal deaths for every 100,000 live births. In at least three major urban areas in the United States (New York City, Chicago, Washington, D.C.) and the entire state of Maryland, homicide is the leading cause of maternal mortality, causing as many as 20% of maternal deaths. The increased proportion related to homicide is attributed to decreases in other causes of maternal mortality such as medical complications of pregnancy and delivery.

Although current limitations in the data do not allow the identification of the perpetrator in these maternal mortality homicides, we can assume that the majority were by an intimate partner, as in cases when women were not pregnant. We can

also deduce that the majority of cases that were intimate partner homicide were preceded by domestic violence against the woman.

Abuse during pregnancy was associated with a threefold increase in risk of intimate partner completed or attempted femicide in the multicity femicide study. Violent victimization during pregnancy has also been associated with outcomes such as prenatal and postpartum depression, substance use, smoking, anemia, first- and second-trimester bleeding, poor weight gain, and maternal death. These findings lend support to medical and nursing organizations' insistence on the need for health care settings, including prenatal care settings, to assess for and intervene in domestic violence.

Ethnic-Specific Issues

Among African American women between the ages of 15 and 44 years, femicide is the leading cause of premature death. Recent national data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reveal that African American women are murdered by men at a rate (2.70 per 100,000) nearly three times higher than that of White women (1.00 per 100,000). African American women are also disproportionately affected by pregnancy-associated homicide.

American Indian and Alaska Native women also had higher rates of murder by a male (1.33 per 100,000) than did Caucasian women, while Asian and Pacific Islander women were the least likely (0.52 per 100,000) women of any race to be murdered. Among the five states that report ethnic/racial background (Arizona, California, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas), Hispanic women have the second highest rate compared to Caucasian women in 2003, but in 2006 there were insufficient states reporting Hispanic/Latina femicides to make comparisons. In New York City, immigrant women have been found to be more at risk for intimate partner femicide than those born in the United States. Near-fatal femicide of African American and other ethnic minority women also contributes to long-term disabling injuries and conditions. In the majority of these fatal and near-fatal femicides, the men who kill or abuse these women are intimate partners (husbands, boyfriends, ex-husbands, or ex-boyfriends).

Several multiyear studies of femicide (homicide) trends have also reported ethnic-specific data. The

majority of African American women killed (84%) are between the ages of 18 and 64, with the mean age being 32. African American women, similar to other women in the United States, are more likely to be murdered by a man they know, such as a spouse (59%) or intimate acquaintance, than by a stranger. In cases when the male perpetrator is known, 94% of the homicides of African American women were intraracial.

Hispanic women have the second highest rate of femicide victimization. The data for Hispanic women are very similar to those of African American women, except for age data. The mean age of Hispanic women killed is 28 years, younger than both Caucasian and African American women, with the overwhelming majority being killed between the ages of 18 and 64 (86%). Similar to African American women, they are most likely to be killed by a spouse (69%) or intimate acquaintance, and the majority of the perpetrators are of the same race, although the percentage was slightly lower (84%) than that for African American women.

Risk Factors

In general, studies have shown that poverty, low educational level, partner unemployment, and young age are associated with a group's increased intimate partner homicide experiences. Among the few intragroup studies examining these risk factors and intimate partner homicide rates among African American women, low socioeconomic status, lack of employment of the partner, and the establishment of limited social networks within a community have been found to be significant risk factors for intimate partner violence. Similarly, Hispanic women often find that the context of their lives is characterized by poverty, lower levels of education, discrimination, and an environment with high use of alcohol and drugs, often by their male intimate partners. Often both African American and Hispanic women live in communities where there is a high level of violence, and there are limited resources in general, and even fewer resources to protect women and children from intimate partner violence and ultimately intimate partner homicide. In the multicity intimate partner femicide study, unemployment was found to be a stronger risk factor than ethnicity or race, suggesting that it is the context of lack

of resources that drives the increased risk associated with minority status rather than any culturally or racially specific characteristics.

Research Conclusions

Intimate violence continues to be a major public health issue for all women, and even though it has decreased, it ends with an intimate partner homicide all too frequently. Many studies have identified characteristics of intimate partner homicide that distinguish it from other forms of homicide. Despite these findings that enhance our understanding of intimate partner homicide, there is still a lack of systematic research studies on several issues, especially ethnic-specific issues related to intimate partner homicide. Research on Hispanic, Native American, and Asian American women, among others, is very limited, and in studies that include ethnic/racial minority groups, most comparisons are made to Caucasian women. Thus more studies are needed to examine within ethnic group comparison across socioeconomic groups. The research to date suggests that disproportionate risk related to ethnic/racial minority status may be less a reflection of race than of poverty, discrimination, and unemployment and its negative consequences, which result in a lack of access to resources that could help women escape from abusive relationships or make the violence end, thereby preventing intimate partner homicide. In addition, more studies are needed that clearly define and identify ethnic/racial minority groups rather than grouping all Black women (i.e., American, African, and Caribbean women), all Hispanic women (i.e., Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Cuban women) or all Asian women (i.e., Korean, Chinese, Japanese women) together as if they are homogenous groups.

Interventions

Demonstration projects are needed that test and evaluate evidence-based interventions aimed at reducing intimate partner violence and ultimately intimate partner homicide. Such interventions must reflect what is known about gender issues and cultural influences as well as intimate partner violence, and also incorporate mental health (depression, posttraumatic stress disorder), substance use/abuse issues, and parenting.

Advocates, health care providers, law enforcement, lawyers, and community activists must also continue to support coordinated community responses to reduce risks for intimate partner homicide. In a health care, legal, law enforcement, or community setting, a woman identified as abused should be assessed for risk factors for lethal violence in the abusive relationship. This assessment can be done using an instrument such as the Danger Assessment or the brief assessments for lethality used by criminal justice first responders. In particular, it is important to assess the perpetrator's access to guns and warn the woman of the risk he presents. This is especially true in the case of women who are estranged from their partners and/or who have been threatened with a gun or another weapon. Under federal law, individuals who have been convicted of domestic violence or who are subject to a restraining order are barred from purchasing or possessing firearms, although there are some variations in state laws. Judges issuing orders of protection in cases of intimate partner violence should consider the heightened risk of lethal violence associated with the abuser's access to firearms and order removal of such guns whenever possible.

An excellent resource for referral, shelter, and information is the National Domestic Violence Hotline (1-800-799-SAFE). If a woman confides that she is planning to leave her abuser, it is critical to warn her not to tell him face-to-face that she is leaving. It is also clear that extremely controlling abusers are particularly dangerous under conditions of estrangement. A question such as "Does your partner try to control *all* of your daily activities?" can quickly assess this extreme need for control. Professionals can also expeditiously assess whether the perpetrator is unemployed, whether stepchildren are present in the home, and whether the perpetrator has threatened to kill the victim. Under these conditions of extreme danger, it is incumbent on professionals to be extremely assertive with abused women about their risk of homicide and their need for shelter, as this has been shown to be effective in preventing severe re-assault in domestic violence cases.

Evidence suggests that where there are shelters, legal advocates, health care professionals, and police trained to intervene collaboratively in cases of intimate partner violence, and where communities are consistently made aware of the issues

related to intimate partner violence and intimate partner homicide, women and children are more likely to survive the violence in their lives.

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See also Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Risk Assessment

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FEMINIST VICTIMOLOGY

Feminist victimology is a victimological perspective that informs research, policy, and practice. It is a lens through which to view how to define, research, and intervene with both male and female victims and offenders, and it is concerned with combating sexism, achieving gender equality, and struggling for women's rights. Feminist victimology is the application of various feminist approaches from a variety of disciplines to victimology and crime prevention.

Given that there are many feminist approaches, there are also many feminist victimological perspectives. Most of these approaches involve uncovering the gendered nature of victimization, recognizing victimization as the product of power relations, combating sexism and other types of prejudice in law and criminal justice, and working toward the empowerment of women. Feminist approaches to victimology are likely to emphasize activism and advocacy for social change.

Among feminist victimological perspectives, the most radical versions are those that reject the terms *victimology* and *victim*. From such a perspective, Sandra Walklate has argued that *feminist victimology* is a contradiction in terms. Since victimology is a scientific approach that stresses differentiation

and has endeavored to differentiate victims from nonvictims, its efforts have led to theories of victim precipitation and lifestyle. These theories, which imply that victims either provoke or contribute to offending, through their own lifestyle or decision making, cannot be applied to situations that are the product of power relations. Most feminist approaches acknowledge that gendered victimization reflects a power imbalance. Thus, Walklate has argued that victimology cannot “see” gender. For feminists, there is no excuse for the victimization of women, and women and their differential patterns of behavior are not responsible for their victimization.

Victimology, say some feminists, is a male-dominated discipline that typically ignores women’s victimization as the product of patriarchy, that is, the ubiquitous and timeless domination of women by men, justified by a belief system that can be perpetuated by both men and women. This belief system minimizes the harm done to female victims and sees them as either invisible or blameworthy. It is not surprising, then, that while women’s rights organizations from the 1970s to the present have made great strides in recognizing such gendered crimes as rape and domestic violence as serious crimes, and in redefining states’ neglecting to intervene and prevent and punish these crimes as major human rights violations, this movement has occurred outside of or parallel to developments in victimology.

For different reasons, some feminists as well as antifeminists have also taken issue with the term *victim*. There is a revisionist stance that attempts to counter the impression created by early feminist activists—those who fought for the recognition of rape and battering as serious crimes—that the only victims of crime are women. According to this stance, the word *victim* has become feminized, implying passivity (a stereotypical quality of women), and thus labeling women “victims” sends the message that women tolerate being victimized or that their fate is to be victimized. Some feminists, particularly those who work in victims’ services, feel that the label “victim” serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy to prevent women from recovering from victimization and leading normal lives. Therefore, some feminists prefer the term *survivor* for those who survive rape and battering, which emphasizes positive, postvictimization adjustment. Other feminists simply seek to refute the stereotype that all women are currently or

potentially “helpless victims.” From the 1990s onward, participants in the antifeminist “backlash” have argued that women are not really so poorly off and that reports of rape and domestic violence are exaggerated, and that feminists who confer “victim” status on a population of women use it to manipulate society and services to their advantage.

Feminists are particularly concerned with women’s victimization and holding perpetrators accountable for their acts. They are also conscious that the victimization of women, while never precipitated, is not a random event but a response to the sexual stratification of society. Most recently, some feminists also have considered that poor women and women of color have specific risk factors for victimization besides their gender. Feminists have partnered with public health advocates to redefine many gender-based crimes as part of a continuum of gender-based violence that occurs throughout the life course. Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women states that violence against women is to be understood as “Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” It encompasses a wide range of acts, including son preference, female infanticide, child marriage, female genital mutilation, sexual harassment, rape, forced sterilization, dowry deaths, domestic violence, trafficking for sexual exploitation, and widow abuse. It is through this kind of internationalization of the conceptualization of violence against women that a feminist approach to victimology gains ground.

For feminists, much of the crime prevention advice that is given to women to prevent their victimization is ideologically tainted. For example, using a trusted man to ward off possible perpetrators, never going out alone or late at night, and dressing conservatively are all mechanisms that serve to restrict women’s movement and undermine their rights. Instead of using these kinds of mechanisms, feminists could advocate for attitude change among men and women, better provision of public services such as improved lighting and public transportation, holding perpetrators accountable, and women-centered networks of support and safety.

Many feminists are critical of the institutional sexism of the criminal justice system, as it results in minimizing, dismissing, or even blaming female victims. Feminists are responsible for a number of criminal justice mechanisms that are respectful of and responsive to women victims, such as restraining orders, rape shield laws, changes in laws so that the victim no longer needs to prove forceful resistance to rape, video witness testimony, mandated treatment programs for male batterers, stalking laws, recognition of marital rape, and comprehensive violence against women legislation like the United States Violence Against Women Act.

Rosemary Barberet

See also Critical Victimology; Domestic Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Rape; Sex and Victimization; Victimology; Victim Precipitation; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions; Women's Shelters/Help Lines

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FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM

Football hooliganism has no legal definition; neither is it a social scientific nor social psychological concept. Instead, it is a socially constructed

generic term that is popularly used—especially by the police, politicians, and the media—to describe the disorderly behavior of football (soccer) supporters. This behavior ranges from verbal abuse and aggressive posturing, to vandalism and the throwing of missiles, to more violent actions (with more severe consequences), such as fighting, rioting, assaults, and even murder. However, as well as being a populist political and media label, the term is also used as a self-referent by those involved, as evidenced by numerous "hooligan" Web sites and autobiographies.

While the term can encompass a range of behaviors, there are two broad forms of public disorder that are labeled *hooliganism*. One form is spontaneous and usually low-level disorder caused by fans at or around football games prompted by, for example, results or officials' decisions, provocation by stewarding or policing strategies, incitement by opposition supporters, or inebriation. The other form is highly organized disorder and involves intentional, often prearranged violence (via the Internet or cell phones) by organized gangs (or "firms") who attach themselves to football clubs and fight hooligans from other clubs. Hooligan groups tend to have strong spatial and locational attachments (not just to their football club but also to their neighborhood, town, region, nation, etc.). These attachments are activated on the basis of the nature and level of external challenges. Some hooligan groups may also have religious or political allegiances. This is particularly the case in southern and eastern European countries where some firms are linked with far-right politics and racism while others have leftist associations.

Organized football hooliganism tends to be targeted at other hooligans and so "victims" are rarely innocent bystanders, and instead are more usually rival firm members or police officers and security personnel. Spontaneous acts of "hooliganism" may inadvertently embroil more innocent victims due to their indiscriminate nature. Also of relevance to students of criminology and victimology are the debates surrounding civil liberties that have arisen following the introduction of legislation and policing strategies to combat hooliganism in some countries, as well as some miscarriages of justice involving those wrongly charged for football-related offenses.

Football hooliganism is a complex, heterogeneous, and dynamic phenomenon that should be

studied in its different social and historical contexts. What follows is a brief history of football hooliganism and a consideration of the scale and nature of the phenomenon across the world. An outline of some of the pioneering British responses and strategies to combat the problem will then be presented, followed by some supranational preventive measures.

A Brief Historical Overview

Britain—or, more specifically, England—is commonly perceived as having had the earliest and most severe problems with football hooliganism. Such is the nation's reputation that football hooliganism has been frequently labeled the “English disease.” Certainly, England is the only nation to have been excluded from all European football competitions—a ban that lasted 5 years following the 1985 Heysel Stadium tragedy in Brussels, Belgium, in which 39 Italian Juventus FC (Football Club) fans died when a wall collapsed under the pressure of the crowd after attacks from English hooligans from Liverpool FC.

Public disorder has been documented as a feature of football in Britain since the 19th century. Despite these historical origins, and English hooligans' well-deserved reputation in more recent times, the disorderly behavior of football supporters is a worldwide phenomenon that occurs in almost every country in which the game is played, as will be discussed below. However, an increase in levels of football-related disorder in England since the 1960s, alongside a much more sensationalist style of media reporting of the phenomenon, has helped cause a “moral panic” and brought hooliganism to the forefront of the national political agenda in Britain. This was never more pronounced than from the late 1970s on through the 1980s under the Thatcher government—compounded by the nadir of the Heysel Stadium tragedy, which remains Europe's worst hooligan-related disaster in terms of fatalities. This also explains the abundance of British research published on the phenomenon during this period.

The study of football-related disorder has been a focus of British academic investigation for nearly four decades. This research has been at times acrimonious and antagonistic, involving a sociological debate between conflicting schools of thought concerning the socioeconomic or sociopolitical causes

of such disorder and the integrity of the ethnographic research into the phenomenon. Despite this debate most sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists agree that football hooliganism is underpinned by aggressive masculinity, the psychosocial pleasures of football violence that are experienced by the (predominantly) male perpetrators, territorial identification, and a sense of solidarity and belonging. While incidents of football hooliganism may appear to share many features, their nature, causes, and dynamics can differ greatly according to the cultural and historical context in which they occur—fueled and contoured by numerous social, political, and economic factors—and their motives may be rooted in national specificities, which Eric Dunning has suggested reflect the major “fault lines” of respective countries across the world.

Football Hooliganism as a Global Phenomenon

The disorderly behavior of football supporters has been a worldwide phenomenon since the late 19th century. By the start of the 20th century, football-related disorder was commonplace in stadiums throughout Europe, and by the 1980s the phenomenon was perceived as an acute social problem in many European countries. Such disorder was also a staple feature of South American football during this same period, notably in Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, El Salvador, and Honduras. The latter two nations infamously fought *La Guerra del Fútbol* (“The Football War”)—a 5-day conflict—after existing political tensions between them were inflated by rioting during an FIFA World Cup qualifying fixture.

Arguably the most serious contemporary football-related disorder still takes place in South America, where mass rioting, often inside stadiums, is a frequent occurrence (as it is in sub-Saharan Africa as well). The scale and severity of this violence is such that fatalities are a regular consequence due to the widespread use of guns and knives. In Argentinean football, violence is endemic. The number of fatalities as a result of this violence, since the advent of the country's professional football league in 1931, is estimated by officials to be approaching 200, though others put the figure above this. The Argentine government has introduced various emergency security

measures in an attempt to halt the increasing football violence. For example, up to 1,000 security personnel can be appointed to “high-risk” fixtures. While the government has stopped short of suspending the whole football league program, it has suspended some fixtures and imposed stiffer penalties on offenders. In 2007, visiting supporters were banned from attending games.

Anastassia Tsoukala has provided a comprehensive outline of the strategies and methods used to regulate and police football hooliganism in Europe. Some countries have made the decision to suspend all competitions for a period of time. In April 2007, the Greek government decreed that all sports stadiums and all sport should cease for a fortnight following the death of a football fan in a prearranged fight between followers of rivals Panathinakos and Olympiakos in Athens. Just a couple of months previously, the Italian government had also imposed a fixtures break after a police officer died from injuries sustained when he was struck by an explosive while attempting to deal with fighting at the Sicilian derby between Catania and Palermo. Later that year, there was nationwide rioting when a similar break was not observed after a Lazio fan was shot dead by a police officer who was attempting to control fighting between Lazio and Juventus supporters.

Football-related violence is very much in evidence in Eastern Europe (notably Poland and Russia) and the Balkans. It is particularly acute in the former federal states of the Yugoslavia (i.e., Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro). Since the break-up of the old Yugoslav multiethnic federation in 1991, the violence has been underpinned by ethnic hostilities between Serbs and Croats, compounded further by religious rivalries between Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Muslims. There are echoes of these interethnic resentments in Australian football-related disorder, since most clubs in their National Soccer League were founded by respective ethnic migrant communities, such as Croats and Serbs, as well as Greeks.

Western European countries—notably France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium—also have problems with hooliganism. Indeed, the label “English disease” is now somewhat misplaced, as disorder in and around English stadiums is now relatively very rare. Incidents of football-related violence

over the last decade would suggest that English football fans are more likely to be targeted on their travels around Europe because of their reputation in the past. For example, in 2000, two Leeds United fans were fatally stabbed in Istanbul, Turkey, by Galatasaray supporters. Supporters of Manchester United, Liverpool FC, and Middlesbrough FC also were attacked and stabbed in Rome, Italy, on different occasions during the 2000s. Fans of the English national team have also been the victims of hostile confrontations in Slovakia, Macedonia, Liechtenstein, Estonia, Croatia, and Russia in recent years, as hooligan groups have sought to challenge English notoriety.

British Responses and Strategies

As a result of Britain’s unenviable record for football hooliganism, the country has taken the lead in the development of control measures to prevent and combat hooliganism. These measures include deterrent sentencing, the legislative responses of successive British governments, the establishment in 1988 of a Football Intelligence Unit as part of the National Criminal Intelligence Service—replaced in 2005 by the UK Football Policing Unit—and various innovative methods adopted by the British police. The various strategies and responses have been primarily reactive and, increasingly, have been influenced (some would claim, entirely led) by technological developments, such as the use of closed-circuit television (CCTV) and electronic databases. These advances have also helped facilitate supranational cooperation, for example, between the Member States of the European Union.

Legislation

Successive British governments have introduced legislation to combat hooliganism over the past three decades. During the 1970s and 1980s, the government implemented a series of reactionary policies that led to an increasingly confrontational attitude between football supporters and the police, and only really succeeded in moving violent disorder away from the immediate environment of the football stadium. The current legislative framework of enforcement action against football-related violence and disorder is contained in the Football Spectators Act

1989, amended by the Football (Offenses and Disorder) Act 1999; the Football (Disorder) Act 2000, coupled with the Football (Disorder) (Amendment) Act 2002; and football-related provision within the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006, which underpin the powers available to the police and the courts in this area. Many of these statutes have sought to refine and tighten the “football banning orders” legislation.

The main features of this legislation are that the police can arrest and prevent persons identified as potential troublemakers from attending regulated football games (at home or abroad) by means of a “banning order” granted by a magistrate’s court. Even if there is no criminal prosecution, the police may make a civil application for a football banning order against an individual they suspect is involved in organizing or participating in football-related violence or disorder. A person made the subject of a football banning order has to comply with directions given by the Football Banning Orders Authority—most notably to report to a police station and/or surrender a passport at specified times.

Some football supporter groups and civil rights campaigners have complained that these laws breach civil liberties and invest the police with too much power in limiting the activities of supporters—especially in relation to foreign travel, as upon receipt of a football banning order the subject is required to surrender his passport. According to statistics from the British government, 3,172 known hooligans were subject to football banning orders in 2007 to 2008.

Policing Strategies

A number of different approaches have been used by the British police in order to combat football hooliganism. In addition to the new legislation outlined above, these include more rigorous policing of football fans and sophisticated surveillance techniques and intelligence measures. One of the key approaches has been the use of undercover operations. The use of plainclothes officers to infiltrate hooligan firms has been used in Britain since the 1960s. This has become a particularly useful tool since the 1980s, when hooligan groups started to become more organized. One of the main ways in which the police monitor hooliganism today is

through the use of the “spotter system.” This involves “spotters” (police liaison officers attached to respective football clubs) identifying and categorizing known hooligans according to the risk they pose; monitoring their presence and movement; and informing other police forces both in the United Kingdom and abroad when appropriate. Clifford Stott and Geoff Pearson provide a comprehensive critical review of the policing of English football hooliganism in their 2005 book, *Policing Football: Social Interaction and Negotiated Disorder*.

Technological Developments

Technology has been an important part of policing football hooliganism since the 1980s when, for example, CCTV cameras were introduced both inside and outside stadiums to monitor the crowd. Today CCTV is used in and around every stadium in Britain. Larger stadiums have police control rooms from which they can monitor the surrounding area for potential public disorder. To supplement this, police officers also use hand-held video cameras to film supporters entering and exiting stadiums, primarily in a bid to deter acts of affray or violence, gather intelligence (which can be used as evidence in prosecutions), and monitor the effectiveness of crowd safety and control measures. Images from this surveillance can be shared with police forces in other countries if appropriate. Developments in information technology further facilitate the swift exchange of police intelligence between countries.

Supranational Preventive Measures

The European Union has a number of policies and measures to prevent and control football hooliganism. Many of these initiatives were pioneered in Britain. The impact of the Heysel Stadium tragedy in 1985 prompted a more concerted effort to establish cross-border cooperation in Europe between the main football authorities of FIFA and UEFA, together with the Member States of the Council of Europe to ensure safety and orderly conduct at sporting events. Since then there has been greater coordination of police forces, governments, and public agencies throughout Europe to prevent and punish violent behavior at football games and sports competitions more broadly. This has included the prompt exchange of

police intelligence information, the safer design of stadiums, and the training of stadium stewards and security personnel in crowd safety and control techniques.

Emma Poulton

See also Assault: Simple and Aggravated; Closed-Circuit Television; Homicide and Murder; Sports Violence; Vandalism

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FUTURE OF CRIME PREVENTION

All crime prevention is aimed toward the future, but most criminology is about the past. Looking at criminology databases using the keyword "future" shows that the body of that work concerns the prediction not of crime but of offender careers, specifically, the frequency and timing of reconviction. In fact, an important book by David Farrington and Roger Tarling, titled *Prediction in Criminology*, is exclusively about the prediction of crime careers. The keyword "future" also may turn up the occasional paper or book about the

future of agencies of criminal justice, such as imprisonment and policing. Thus a search of the U.S. National Institute of Justice Web site will demonstrate that many of the documents using the word "future" are concerned with the prospects for specific cutting-edge technologies, DNA testing, and the like, rather than developments in crime and its prevention.

It might be supposed that the future of crime prevention will track the future of crime, with prevention efforts responding to emerging threats and criminal opportunities, along with a changing balance of enforcement (for example, ecocrimes may feature more prominently in the future). Certainly, new types of crimes will demand some sort of preventive (and/or punitive) response, but the specifics of crime trends and of attempts to reverse them will be as difficult to predict in the future as they have been in the past. For example, during World War I, many soldiers were taught to drive, and in the years following the war, there was an increase in the theft of cars. While only a few people could drive, the opportunity presented by an unlocked car was insignificant; however, with many people having acquired the new skill came the opportunity for crime. Another example is that of poisoning. Control of poisons and the capacity of forensic pharmacology to identify poisons in a body in ever smaller quantities led to poisoning becoming a very rare means of murder, according to Dermot Walsh.

The pressures that shape the crime reduction landscape have historically been subtle and complex, and are likely to remain so. For example, seed adulteration was a huge and well-organized Victorian business in the United Kingdom. The Adulteration of Seeds Act made this criminal, but the business continued unabated until the Testing of Seeds Order 1917 established testing arrangements that gave rise to meaningful enforcement possibilities. The order took effect during World War I to point out to the people the national importance of growing one's own food, that it was in the national interest to ensure that patriotic vegetable gardening was not hobbled by seed adulteration.

Attempts to characterize crime and crime control sequences for predictive purposes have been meager. The nearest to a generalization has been the observation by Ken Pease that there are always three stages linking new products and emergent crime trends:

1. Innovation of a product or service without considering the crime consequences
2. Reaping the crime harvest
3. Retrofitting a solution, which is usually partial

This sequence has been well-nigh universal. In the United Kingdom, the Penny Black postage stamp was introduced in 1840 and withdrawn in 1841 because it was cancelled by red franking ink, which in 1840 was water soluble, leading people to wash off the franking ink and reuse the stamp. The Penny Black was replaced by the Penny Red, which was cancelled by black ink that could not be washed off. Similar sequences are evident for cars, cell phones, and laptop computers. The manufacture of small, anonymous, valuable items, and the complexities surrounding numbers used for their identification, means that such items have become a target for robbers and in thefts from cars. The magnetic stripe on credit cards was secure until thieves discovered techniques for “skimming,” where data from the stripe on one card is copied without the cardholder’s knowledge and placed on another card. The widespread use of electronic wallets will almost certainly follow the same sequence. Clearly the sequence applies to software as well as physical products. David Mann and Mike Sutton supplied an early example in their demonstration of how satellite TV services could be obtained by compromising the cards authorizing access.

The two factors selected for attention in this entry—the migration of human interactions to cyberspace and the technological means of locating people and things—are likely to change the profile of the crime reduction enterprise.

Migration of Human Interactions to Cyberspace

Human interaction before written text was invariably direct and physical. Real-time one-way human interaction had to await the telegraph, two-way interaction the telephone. One-to-many and many-to-one real-time communication is now commonplace, by a variety of electronic means. *Meatspace* is the term for the physical world of interaction. The change outlined above is, in brief, the migration of the bulk of human interaction from meatspace to cyberspace. Some forms of crime (like

murder and rape) cannot make the transition. Others do so easily. For example, threats to harm are facilitated by the relative anonymity of cyberspace, and criminal damage has its sophisticated doppelgänger in malicious software, or malware. Fraud is facilitated by the one-to-many possibilities of communication in cyberspace, since through the ease of one-to-many communication, fraudsters can cast their net more widely to capture the most gullible potential victims. Among the best-known of these is the advance fee fraud, whereby potential victims, contacted by email, are enticed by the promise of huge wealth. However, for the money to be released, a smaller sum upfront or bank account information is needed. Lawrence Kestenbaum has documented examples of such fraud. For instance, an alleged bank employee wrote in relation to a deceased customer,

Based on the reason that nobody has come forward to claim the deposit as next of kin, I hereby ask for your cooperation in using your name as the next of kin to the deceased to send these funds out to a foreign offshore bank a/c for mutual sharing between myself and you. At this point I am the only one with the information because I have removed the deposit file from the safe. By so doing, what is required is to send an application laying claims of the deposit on your name as next of kin to the late Engineer. I will need your full name and address telephone/fax number, company or residential, also your bank name and account, where the money will be transferred into.

By harvesting addresses from Web sites, or undertaking dictionary attacks, the fraudster is availed of a plentiful supply of email addresses.

Conventional law enforcement is primarily territorially based (as is reflected in the names and functions of police forces) and does not map comfortably onto cybercrime. What agency is primarily motivated to prevent cybercrime? The BBC News has noted that in the case of “advance fee fraud,” its more common name, “Nigerian letter fraud,” means that Nigeria has a national interest in avoiding its national commerce becoming equated with fraud and corruption. Of greater scale than advance fee fraud is crime associated with Internet commerce. According to the ACAPS

(Automated Credit Application Processing System), in the United Kingdom, one index of this is “card not present fraud,” which rose in value from £140 million to £190 million annually between 2004 and 2006 and by a further 37% in 2007. Gill Montia has suggested that in fact the sums defrauded are much greater, by dint of lack of victim awareness of offenses committed, being estimated at £700 million in 2007. There are other scams, and some of those perpetrated in the eBay marketplace have been detailed, which is helpful to law enforcement efforts.

The major implication of the movement to cyberspace for the future of crime prevention is that it will increasingly be seen as the function of central governments and international agencies, and of banks, vendors, and Internet service providers whose profitability depends upon trust in e-commerce. In the commercial context, loss prevention rather than crime reduction will be the focus in that, for business purposes, the money lost rather than the number of victims is the unit measured, up to the point at which trust in the system is compromised. The enhanced role of central government, in contrast, may involve an overreach of prevention, since what is deemed necessary is the prevention of *every* catastrophic crime rather than loss minimization. Terrorism, the protection of critical national infrastructure, and the thwarting of denial of service attacks provide a backcloth to this overreach, which will itself invite reaction in the name of civil liberties. In the wake of the Brighton bombing of the Conservative government on October 12, 1984, a Provisional IRA spokesperson admitting responsibility regretted that the attack had failed to kill Margaret Thatcher and her senior ministers.

Locating People and Things

The second major change to be considered is the locatability and identifiability of people and things. If one conceives of crime as the interaction between degree of criminal inclination and *perceived* ease of commission without an ensuing penalty, reducing the latter raises the threshold at which criminal inclination is sufficient to carry through with a criminal act. Locatability may be anticipatory, real-time, or retrospective. Work on local offense sequencing has recently provided more powerfully predictive software

enabling patrolling police to be in places where crime is most likely to occur. The next four examples involve real-time location finding.

Bar coding is one simple means of identifying things. Shaun Whitehead has noted that the radio frequency identification (RFID) tag is slightly more sophisticated. RFID is an automatic identification technology whereby digital data are encoded in a tag or “smart label” available for subsequent capture by a reader terminal using radio waves. RFID is comparable to bar coding, but it does not require the tag or label to be visible for its stored data to be read. The primary use of RFID in commerce has been in stock control, constituting an efficient way of keeping track of merchandise in transit, in warehouses, and in retail outlets. RFID technology has been around since the Second World War. In recent years the use of RFID technology has gathered momentum, particularly due to the following:

- the emergence of global standards;
- advances in manufacturing technology allowing costs of RFID manufacture to fall rapidly;
- infrastructure improvements to meet the requirement to move huge amounts of data so that the location of correspondingly huge amounts of product are known; and
- major buyers’ increasing recognition that the technology offers a large return on investment, leading them to demand that all suppliers should apply RFID tags to all bulk orders, and even to some individual items.

Matthew Sparkes has noted that while RFID still allows some crime opportunities, it represents a step change in the technology of location. Real-time position location using mobile telephony is well documented. A recent paper by Whitehead and Pease outlines a “real magic bullet” doctored so that when the firing pin impacts it, it doesn’t fire—it sends a quick, high power burst of information by radio wave that identifies it to nearby cell phone base stations, giving away its location.

Retrospective locatability (finding where someone or something was at a point in the past) will be crime reductive via changes in offender perceptions. Forensic analysis of satellite navigation devices is a powerful means of identifying recent travel patterns and home locations. Beverley Nutter has shown how to analyze TomTom records

(a GPS navigation system) to retrieve not only locations (and home) entered as destinations, but also other places the TomTom has been located.

Perhaps the most contentious anticipation of retrospective locatability involves DNA analysis, particularly given the technical advances that (through the “low copy number” technique) allow minute DNA traces to be analyzed. Because it is a potentially powerful means of retrospective location of people at crime scenes and will occasion much controversy, it will be dealt with at some length in this entry.

A universal national DNA database seems inevitable, and it is probably justified more in terms of identification of the victims of terrorism and genocide than of crime. However, such a database could save the potential victims of serial killers. The objection that such a database could make everyone a suspect is contested by proponents of a national database. The first forensic use of DNA analysis served to exonerate the prime suspect of two brutal murders; only later was it used to identify the real murderer. This is especially remarkable because the impressionable 17-year-old who had been the suspect confessed to one of the murders. He was saved by DNA evidence from a terrible injustice. Far from turning people into suspects, the database could serve to reduce suspicion of all those whose DNA is not found at a crime scene. Most important, however, is that many accused have been exonerated since DNA evidence became available. For example, in the United States, the Innocence Projects, by bringing DNA evidence to bear, have led to over 200 murder convictions being quashed, and 13 of those exonerated had spent time on Death Row.

The second criticism is that people with a grudge will plant the evidence of others at crime scenes, as a means of revenge. This is likely to happen much more frequently with DNA than it did with fingerprints, since all that is needed is a hair, a drop of blood, or a cigarette stub. The police already emphasize that DNA analysis must be considered along with traditional police work in order to identify the perpetrator. The danger of framing someone previously arrested already exists, and the police are well aware of this.

The third criticism of a national database is that the government’s record of keeping sensitive data safe is poor, and we could not trust the government

with our DNA. But advocates counter by asking, “Is this criticism relevant?” With your bank account details lost, you are vulnerable to identity theft. But with your DNA information on computer disk, what is the problem? The technology of DNA profiling does not allow the examination of every single difference between people’s DNA. However, techniques used by the Forensic Science Service in the United Kingdom look at specific areas of nuclear DNA that are known to vary widely between people. These areas of different people’s DNA vary in length. DNA profiling analyzes and measures these differences in length. So someone in possession of your DNA profile cannot access money with it. The DNA information as recorded only concerns selected genetic markers, so you cannot be cloned using this information. If someone wanted to frame you, there is insufficient information to synthesize your blood or saliva, even if the technical capacity to do so existed. In short, there is no key to your privacy that would be unlocked by posting this DNA material on the Internet. Moreover, the particular segments analyzed are of “junk DNA” (i.e., sequences that do not code for proteins with health implications), so the insurance value of such information is zero. An offender’s criminal career is often well advanced before his or her DNA sample finds its way into the database. Aspirations to have all active criminals on the database, frequently voiced in official documents, are not feasible because of this time lag between the onset of a criminal career and the criminal’s first contact with the police that enables DNA sampling.

Final Thoughts

Crime prevention will be driven in part by crime, in part by the threat of terrorism, in part by commercial interests in loss prevention and protection of the credibility of e-commerce, all interacting in subtle ways requiring close monitoring. Crime will increasingly migrate to cyberspace. The technologies of location (anticipatory, real-time, and retrospective) will advance and change the threshold at which criminal inclination is translated into action.

Ken Pease

See also Closed-Circuit Television; Crime Prevention; Electronic Monitoring; Innocence Projects

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FUTURE OF VICTIMOLOGY

The field of victimology is certain to expand in the future. The exact direction of victimology cannot be predicted perfectly; however, several factors will likely shape the field for years to come. These include (1) the broadening of victim status in the research community and society as a whole; (2) the consideration of the victim's social position

by examining the intersections of race, class, and gender; (3) the relationship between the victim and the legal system; (4) advances in the way victimization is measured; and (5) the attention that society and social movements give to victims. The directions that the relatively new field of victimology will take can in part be predicted by the evolution of the field and recent trends within the discipline.

Broadening the Use of the Term *Victim*

One fundamental way in which the field of victimology will likely continue to grow in the future is in recognition and classification of more individuals as victims of crime by both researchers and the general public. Specifically, victim status has been and will continue to be broadened, because there are victims of crimes that did not exist before and certain groups were not previously recognized as victims. Simply stated, victimologists will have more to study.

Certain groups of victims have only emerged recently. Thus victims of cybercrimes did not exist until the Internet became accessible to the general public. These victims are often minors, so the focus of many recent research studies considers the extent and nature of online victimization of young people. Society in general is becoming more aware of victimization of minors and other persons through the Internet and is calling for more safety and security measures for children and other vulnerable populations. The recent information gathered about illegal online activity will provide rich sources of data and subsequent scholarly analysis in the future.

Another factor contributing to the broadening of the use of the term *victim* is that there are groups of individuals who have just recently been given the designation of “victim.” This category includes criminal offenders who have been victimized. For example, prostitutes often experience abuse and other criminal victimization in their work. They can be victims of rape, and many have histories of physical and sexual abuse and neglect as children. Instead of focusing on prostitutes’ “offending,” victimologists, most often writing through a feminist lens, have brought to light the victimization of these men and women. Another group whose victimization has recently received national attention are prisoners victimized during their incarceration.

Examining the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender

Amanda Burgess-Proctor has highlighted the importance of considering the intersections of race, class, and gender in feminist criminology. Her approach has obvious relevance to the study of victimology in the future. Categories of victims, such as “rape survivors” and “spouse assault victims,” are not homogeneous groups. The characteristics of persons who have survived the same crime may vary in many ways, including social class, race, and gender. In the future, victimologists will likely consider these intersections in more thorough studies of crime victims.

Rape victims, for example, may experience their victimizations differently based in part on their social location. When describing a rape, women of color may have to deal with the skepticism of the police, whereas White women may be more likely to be believed. Differential treatment of rape victims by criminal justice officials based on race may affect these victims throughout case processing—from the time they report a rape until the case is closed by a conviction, plea bargain, or dismissal. Likewise, the social class of a victim may affect the responses of criminal justice actors. Poorer women may not be given as much sympathy after a rape as wealthier women. The implication of this is that poorer women may be less likely than wealthier women to report rape to authorities.

Gender can also play a considerable role in the way a rape victim experiences his or her victimization. Some states have yet to recognize male rape victims, thus undermining the perception of these individuals as legitimate victims. The healing process may be different for male and female rape victims due to the effects of gender role socialization and prejudices in our society. Alan McEvoy has studied the differences in rape recovery for males and females and documents important differences in the impact of rape on men and women and the role others can play in their recovery.

Understanding how the intersections of race, class, and gender affect the crime victim needs to be emphasized in the future. Simply doing research on any category of “victim” is incomplete without an understanding of the victim’s social position. Future studies of the nature of victimization and victims’ involvement with the criminal justice system and

recovery process will need to assess these intersections to be complete.

How the Legal System Defines and Acknowledges Victims

Over the past three decades, the role and relevance of the “victim” in the American legal system has undergone a dramatic transformation. The victims’ rights movement’s recent accomplishments include the drafting of victims’ bills of rights, several international victims’ rights conferences, and the development of numerous victim assistance programs.

Victims’ Rights

The participation of the victim in legal proceedings has increased in the United States in the last 30 years, although the proceedings do vary somewhat from state to state. Victims now have myriad rights, including the following: the right to attend criminal proceedings and parole hearings, the right to victim compensation, the right to be heard at sentencing and parole hearings, the right to be notified by the court system of important dates in the criminal case, the right to be protected from intimidation and violence by the defendant, the right to restitution from the offender, and the right to have property returned to the victim after it has been used as evidence. Presently, every state allows victims to give a written or oral statement before sentencing, which may include a description of the physical, psychological, and financial harm that they endured as a result of their criminal victimization. Some jurisdictions even allow victims to state their opinion on what they feel is an appropriate sentence. In 1991, the Supreme Court ruled in *Payne v. Tennessee* that victim impact statements would be permitted in capital murder trials. These statements, given prior to the pronouncement of a sentence by the victim’s family, serve to contrast the victim’s worth and innocence with the convicted offender’s guilt.

Role of the Victim in the Legal System

Throughout American history the purpose and role of the victim in the legal system has varied. In recent years, states have begun to implement means of being more responsive and sensitive to

the needs of victims. This trend is likely to continue in the future. Presently, all state legislatures have passed laws granting victims increased rights within the criminal justice process. A major goal of these reforms is victim empowerment. As the parameters of the victim's place and role within the legal system continue to evolve, victims will feel less disconnected from the judicial system. Future evaluations of whether victims have taken advantage of or benefited from these reforms will enhance the field of victimology.

Moreover, in the future, the U.S. legal system and the legislatures are likely to incorporate and balance the victim's interest with more ease. It is important to note that in the vast majority of jurisdictions, the role of the victim in initial charging decisions (e.g., specific charges, counts) and the decision to agree to a plea bargain still rest exclusively with the prosecutor, often to the victim's dismay. Thus, victims may often feel disconnected from the early phases of the prosecutorial process and the interests of the state. Some jurisdictions provide victim advocates to accompany the victim to the various criminal justice proceedings and educate the victim about what to expect in the proceedings and offer emotional support. These advocates are usually from the prosecutor's office. The interests of the victim become most relevant in the sentencing phase of the prosecutorial process. In the future, courts and legislatures will likely continue working to identify the appropriate role of victim within the legal system.

The fact remains that criminal adjudication in the American legal system is dominated by the public prosecution model. This dominance is enhanced by the system's explicit focus on defendants' rights (and thus exclusion of victims' rights). More precisely, neither the United States Constitution nor the Bill of Rights includes any reference to the rights of the crime victim, while several amendments are devoted to the rights of criminal defendants. Generally, the public prosecution model removes from consideration of the judge and jurors the direct and specific harm suffered by the victim as a result of the perpetrator's actions. Damages suffered by the victim, whether they are physical, emotional, economic, and/or psychological, tend to be viewed as incidental and inferior to the state's primary objective of deterring and punishing criminal behavior. The role of

victims will likely change along with changes in the public prosecution model, including those resulting from the influence of restorative justice, which seeks to restore the victim to his or her pre-crime status. Restorative justice programs began in the 1970s and have produced alternative methods and venues for settling conflicts.

One of the main impediments to the victims' rights movement is the concern that the rights of victims might conflict with and circumvent defendants' rights. The rights of victims may continue to gain significance in the balancing of interests as the definition of victim and the victim's role in the legal system become more dimensional and expansive. Rather than simply theorizing what victims may desire or need, the field of victimology offers a vehicle for actually examining victims' needs and concerns in relation to the crime and the offender. Extending the criminal justice system to include programs and services that can restore victims and move beyond punishment and guilt may open new pathways for the crime victim's journey to recovery. In sum, victimology is evolving as a major field of study with profound importance to the legal profession.

In criminal law, punishment serves as the enforcement mechanism. However, punishment is not the singular goal of criminal law. Rather, the goal of criminal law has been viewed by scholars as both an assenting expression of a community's norms and values, the violation of which warrants punishment, and a mechanism to prevent criminal behavior by creating law-abiding citizens. In some states, such as North Carolina, victim attributes have been included in a formal list of aggravating factors that can affect the minimum sentence a judge can hand down to the offender. For example, if the victim is very young or very old or if he or she suffered debilitating injury, these factors are recognized aggravating factors that can affect sentence length, within the confines of North Carolina structured sentencing. This highlights the increasingly relevant role of the victim in the judicial process.

International Law and Victims

During the 20th century, the world community experienced wars fought with new weapons that resulted in devastating human victimization and massive destruction. As a result, the United Nations

adopted several General Assembly resolutions dealing with the rights of victims. These resolutions include the 1985 Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power and the 2006 Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law. In addition, customary international law has recognized a limited group of universal norms allowing victims to pursue justice. This body of law, also known as the law of nations, has never remained stagnant. However, in recent years, there has been a dramatic expansion in its significance and prevalence in domestic courts. As a result of the development of certain areas of international law, including international human rights law, customary international law has expanded to cover many areas of the law that in the past it did not. As a result, international law now allows for more broadly recognized classes of victims. In the future, the field of victimology will consider these laws, which serve as fertile ground for research and evaluation.

Advances in Measuring Victimization

Victimology is a social science. The quality and nature of future research in the field depends on the availability of data that measure the incidence and characteristics of victimization. More data on crime victims and other data sources are being developed to understand specific victim populations. The future seems promising in these areas.

The two major sources of data which estimate crime on a national level are the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The UCR Program has provided and continues to provide consistency in the measurement of crime known to the police and reported to the FBI. The addition of the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), which is used in conjunction with the UCR Program, adds valuable information about victim characteristics that are absent from the traditional UCR. Law enforcement agencies only participate in the NIBRS if they have the resources to do so, therefore the NIBRS data do not provide a representative sample of crimes in the United

States. These data are maintained by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research and contain several files that capture various elements of a criminal incident that can be linked by key variables. Most notable to the field of victimology are the Victim Segment, in which victim age, sex, race, ethnicity, and injuries are recorded, and the Property Segment, which includes types and value of property stolen and recovered. This reporting contrasts with that of the traditional UCR, which is deficient in providing such victim characteristics. The number of police agencies using the NIBRS will likely grow in the future.

The NCVS is the second major source of data that provide estimates of criminal victimization on a national level. It is rich in data that measure victim characteristics. The NCVS data originate from victimization surveys given to a representative sample of residents in the United States. They include the victim-offender relationship (if known), the victim's perception of substance abuse of the offender, and whether the victim contacted police. Data on background characteristics, such as ethnicity, age, race, gender, annual household income, and marital status are also collected. The NCVS will continue to provide data rich in victim information that can be analyzed by victimologists.

Recent additions to the NCVS questionnaire include questions about identify theft and hate crime victimization. In addition, nonfatal intimate partner violence can be identified via the NCVS for cases of assault and/or rape when the victim identifies the offender as an intimate, and fatal intimate partner violence can be identified through the Supplementary Homicide Reports, which are a part of the UCR. Another data source that incorporates the NCVS data measures violence at and on the way to school. As the subject of school violence has captured the attention of the general public, this data source will continue to be analyzed in the future to help understand and prevent the victimization of youth.

Clearly, not all victimization data can be collected on the national level. Many studies rely on smaller samples and measures antecedent to and concomitant with various forms of victimization and the criminal justice system's response to crime victims. Such studies include analyses of the effects

of domestic violence policies, the efficacy of victim protection orders, risk factors for intimate partner violence, and understanding the precursors of child abuse. These studies are conducted in various jurisdictions on state and local levels. They are often focused on a particular type of victimization and can measure much more in-depth information on a particular subject than can general studies. An overview of grant solicitations and independent research that is being published in the field of victimology points to an ever-increasing body of knowledge of social science data that can be used for future victimology research.

The Attention That Society and Social Movements Give to Victims

Since victimology was first recognized as a discipline, the focus in society as well as the research community has gone from what Andrew Karmen labeled “victim blaming” to “victim defending” and “victim empowering.” Many social groups have made great strides in increasing social awareness of various types of victims. They have also sought to educate society about the nature of specific types of criminal victimization and dispel myths about the responsibility of the victim for his or her victimization. In the case of rape, the women’s movement and victims’ rights movement have uncovered myths of victim precipitation. These groups attempt to understand the sociocultural influences on violence against women and to empower, not blame, the rape victim. Social groups that support victims’ rights will continue to bring the plight of the crime victim to the attention of the public.

A variety of organizations have also provided victims with information on their rights, advocacy, and offers of various social support resources. The field of knowledge about victims’ rights and protections has become richer through the recent establishment of the VictimLaw.Info Web site. This Web site is devoted to educating the public about victims’ rights and providing crime victims with resources to help them through the criminal justice system and promote their overall well-being.

VictimLaw.Info lists 50 general Web sites of organizations (including some government agencies) devoted to providing various groups of crime victims with information and resources. VictimLaw

also lists for each state any victim assistance, advocacy, and/or compensation services that it provides.

This centralized resource offers great potential for researchers to understand the growth of social movements and organizations. It also will serve as fertile ground for research that can evaluate the efficacy of governmental and nongovernmental resources for victims. The collection of victim resource data is an important part of the future of the field of victimology.

Liz Marie Marciniak and Neil Guzy

See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; Defendants’ Rights Versus Victims’ Rights; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); Rape, Prison; Victim Impact Statements; Victimology; Victims’ Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims’ Rights Legislation, International; Victims’ Rights Movement, International; Victims’ Rights Movement, United States

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GANG RESISTANCE EDUCATION AND TRAINING (G.R.E.A.T.)

Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) is a school-based prevention program, taught by law enforcement officers, that is designed to help prevent not only gangs but youth violence and delinquency generally. Like Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), it is designed for elementary and middle school youth and includes a summer program and a family training component. G.R.E.A.T. has established various partnerships nationally with agencies and organizations to increase the positive relationships between and across community organizations, schools, youth, families, and the police. The program provides enough flexibility for schools and police at the local level to develop similar appropriate partnerships with local agencies and programs.

In 13 lessons, G.R.E.A.T. uses various methodologies, including traditional instruction, role-playing, and discussion, to provide youth with the skills necessary to make good decisions. The program also seeks to foster more positive relationships between the youth and the police. The 13 lessons are as follows:

1. Welcome to G.R.E.A.T.
 - a. Program Introduction
 - b. Relationship Between Gangs, Violence, Drugs, and Crime
2. What's the Real Deal?
 - a. Message Analysis
 - b. Facts and Fiction About Gangs and Violence
3. It's About Us
 - a. Community
 - b. Roles and Responsibilities
 - c. What You Can Do About Gangs
4. Where Do We Go From Here?
 - a. Setting Realistic and Achievable Goals
5. Decisions, Decisions, Decisions
 - a. G.R.E.A.T. Decision-Making Model
 - b. Impact of Decisions on Goals
 - c. Decision-Making Practice
6. Do You Hear What I Am Saying?
 - a. Effective Communication
 - b. Verbal Versus Nonverbal
7. Walk In Someone Else's Shoes
 - a. Active Listening
 - b. Identification of Different Emotions
 - c. Empathy for Others
8. Say It Like You Mean It
 - a. Body Language
 - b. Tone of Voice
 - c. Refusal-Skills Practice
9. Getting Along Without Going Along
 - a. Influences and Peer Pressure
 - b. Refusal-Skills Practice
10. Keeping Your Cool
 - a. G.R.E.A.T. Anger Management Tips
 - b. Practice Cooling Off

11. Keeping It Together
 - a. Recognizing Anger in Others
 - b. Tips for Calming Others
12. Working It Out
 - a. Consequences for Fighting
 - b. G.R.E.A.T. Tips for Conflict Resolution
 - c. Conflict Resolution Practice
 - d. Where to Go for Help
13. Looking Back
 - a. Program Review
 - b. "Making My School a G.R.E.A.T. Place" Project Review

Through these lessons students are taught conflict resolution, cultural sensitivity, and the negative effects of gang banging. The program is designed to give students the tools and skills necessary to resist the many types of antisocial and deviant pressures they may face.

Evaluations of G.R.E.A.T. have revealed mixed results. Students tend to exhibit more prosocial attitudes after completing the program than do students who did not participate. In addition, evaluations seem to suggest that the program results in less gang activity and more knowledge and education about gangs and gang activity.

However, apparently delinquency has not been eliminated in students as a result of their having been involved in G.R.E.A.T. This was found in both the short- and long-term follow-up evaluations. It would appear that students develop and maintain prosocial attitudes as a result of participation in the program, but their participation in delinquency (including gang banging) does not end.

Educators who are familiar with G.R.E.A.T. seem to favor it for the attitudinal change it appears to make in students, but they do not see any behavioral change. Researchers found that whether educators were in schools with gangs affected their perceptions of the G.R.E.A.T. program. In addition, education evaluations also showed differences in the responses of administrators and teachers, with the former generally favoring G.R.E.A.T. and the latter not. Further, teachers expressed reluctance to incorporate G.R.E.A.T. and related programs into their classrooms, viewing them as disruptions of teaching.

In times of personnel shortages and other financial concerns, the question for law enforcement administrators is whether they want to invest in officers to teach G.R.E.A.T. (or similar programs). There is no question that law enforcement officers are effective in teaching this program, but from a police agency perspective, does it make good sense to do it? The most productive aspect of G.R.E.A.T. appears to be its improvement in students' attitudes.

In a time where many believe it is better to feel good than to be (or do) good, perhaps G.R.E.A.T. is a worthwhile endeavor. But if the goal is to change behavior, G.R.E.A.T., like D.A.R.E., is a failure. Ultimately it is up to the police administrator and school personnel to decide what the goal for their community is going to be.

Jeffrey P. Rush and Gregory P. Orvis

See also Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Gangs and Victimization; School-Based Violence Programs, United States

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GANGS AND VICTIMIZATION

Youth gangs have received substantial public and academic attention. Media depictions of the activities of gangs and gang members have evoked

considerable public concern, with people in general fearing that they may become the victims of a violent gang crime. While this fear is real, it may be misguided.

Recent research has illustrated the increased victimization risk experienced by gang members relative to their nongang peers, even when other risk factors are taken into account. This may be viewed as somewhat surprising, as it is at odds with the popular commonsense notion that there is strength in numbers and with the accounts of the many gang members who say they joined gangs for protection.

Terrence J. Taylor, Dana Peterson, and Finn-Aage Esbensen, and Adrienne Freng discuss a 1995 cross-sectional study of eighth-grade public school students in 11 U.S. cities that highlights the relationships between gang membership and victimization. Gang members were found to be significantly more likely to be violently victimized during the preceding year and to have experienced significantly more annual victimizations than nongang youth, and this was the case for several types of violence. Substantively, the differences were found to be quite large. For example, 70% of gang youth reported being the victim of general violence (assault, aggravated assault, and/or robbery), compared with 46% of nongang youth. While most of the general violent victimization consisted of assaults (60% of gang members, 43% of nongang youth), differences in serious violent victimization (e.g., aggravated assault and/or robbery) were even more pronounced. Thus 44% of gang youth reported being a victim of serious violence during the preceding year, with 38% of gang members reporting one or more aggravated assaults and 21% reporting one or more robberies during this time. Corresponding figures for nongang youth were 12% for any type of serious violent victimization, 8% for aggravated assault, and 7% for robbery. Gang members who were victims also experienced significantly more violent victimization incidents (4.9 assaults, 3.8 aggravated assaults, 4.1 robberies) than did nongang youth who were victims (3.4 assaults, 2.7 aggravated assaults, 2.4 robberies) during the preceding year.

Gang members are also at increased risk of homicide victimization. This, according to William Sanders, may be due to an informal code among gang members, according to which drive-by shootings of other gang

members were generally condoned, but shooting at “innocents” (i.e., those not involved with gangs) was generally prohibited.

While surprising at first, these patterns do make sense. Research has consistently illustrated the “victim–offender overlap” that makes the risk of victimization greater for those involved in offending than for those who are not. Findings have consistently revealed that gang members are involved in a substantial amount of crime relative to nongang members. In fact, longitudinal panel studies of youth have found that while gang members comprise a relatively small proportion of the adolescent population, they account for a majority of offending—particularly serious, violent offending. Given the high levels of offending by gang members, it may be no surprise that gang members are also at higher risk of victimization.

Does Timing Matter?

Several studies have found that girls join gangs to escape violently abusive home environments. For example, Jody Miller’s interviews with gang and nongang girls (in Columbus, Ohio, and St. Louis, Missouri) found that gang girls were significantly more likely to have witnessed and personally experienced physical and sexual violence in their homes. Many of the gang girls stated that they began associating with gang members in their own neighborhoods—and eventually became gang members themselves—after spending more time away from home to escape the violence.

Joining a gang seems to enhance the risk of victimization. Youth are typically more likely to be violently victimized *after* they join their gang. Dana Peterson and her colleagues examined this issue by comparing the self-reported victimization of youth prior to joining a gang, when they reported that they were in gangs, and after they exited their gangs. Violent victimization was highest for gang youth, both males and females, in the year following their entry into the gang. Such victimization was more likely to occur and occurred more frequently after youth joined their gang than prior to their gang membership.

Ethnographic studies have detailed the victimization experiences of gang members. Findings from these studies suggest that gang members may be at greatest risk of violence from members of

their own gang. Thus members may be required to participate in violent initiation rituals when entering a gang. For example, approximately two thirds of the gang members in Scott Decker and Barrik Van Winkle's ethnographic study of St. Louis gang members reported being "beat in" as part of their initiation process. While the process varied from gang to gang, interviewees often recounted a process whereby prospective members were expected to fight against several current gang members, who were arranged in a line or a circle. Gang members may also be subjected to harsh discipline from members of their own gangs for violating gang rules. Felix Padilla's research on a gang organized around drug sales uncovered the use of violence by the gang to sanction members for violations of collective rules, referred to as "Vs." The process Padilla outlined is similar to the one Decker and Van Winkle described, under which violators are expected to walk through a line of other gang members who take turns beating on them. Gang members may not perceive these experiences as violent victimization. Gang members' accounts of these processes, however, leave little doubt that they may be classified as such. Gang members also may become the victims of predatory offending by others. Previous research has found, for example, that gang members are more likely than nongang youth to be involved in drug-selling activities and possession of weapons, which may make them potential targets of robbers due to their reluctance to report victimizations to authorities.

From the perspective of lifestyle theory and routine activities theory, the enhanced risk of victimization for gang members relative to their nongang peers also makes sense. Gang members may be viewed as suitable targets for serious violent victimization, as they lack capable guardianship and often have extensive interactions with motivated offenders. Exposure and proximity to high risk situations abound. Involvement in delinquency and violence is more common among gang members than among their nongang peers. Recent findings from a study by Taylor, Freng, Peterson, and Esbensen illustrate that the increased risk of serious violent victimization found for gang members relative to their nongang peers was due primarily to gang members being more likely than other youth to engage in unsupervised hanging out with peers, to hang out where drugs and/or alcohol are

available, and to engage in a substantially greater amount of delinquent behavior.

From a broader perspective, violence shapes the gang context and the lives of gang members. The belief that potential conflicts with outside forces will occur, such as with the police or other gangs, often creates a sense of group cohesion among gang members. The social cohesion of members within individual gangs is strengthened by living in a situation where violence is viewed as omnipresent, coupled with an "us against them" orientation. Such an approach also adds context for the spread (or contagion) of intergang violence. In addition, violent initiation rituals or enforcement of rule violations may be deemed "acceptable" by gang members, as this violence is viewed as enhancing group solidarity. Indeed, the girls in Miller's study often highlighted the potential "trade-offs" of victimization: Victimization related to their gangs was viewed as more tolerable than violence unrelated to their gangs.

Are Gang Members Lost Causes?

Given the increased victimization risk of gang members, one may ask whether gang members are lost causes. That is, are gang members destined for a life filled with violent victimization?

While there is no definitive answer to this question, it is important to point out that gang membership is a transitory state. The old adage that "once you're in a gang, you're in for life" is typically untrue. For example, findings from longitudinal panel studies of adolescents in high-risk neighborhoods, such as the Denver Youth Survey, Rochester Youth Development Study, Seattle Social Development Study, and of public school students, such as the National Evaluation of G.R.E.A.T., have found that the duration of gang membership typically lasts a year or less for both boys and girls. At that point, the victimization risk of these youth appears to drop from the highs experienced during the period of gang membership.

In some cases, however, violent victimization is synonymous with gang exit. The most striking examples are homicide victimizations. More commonly, however, are instances where youth willingly exit gangs through a process of "aging out" or "fading out" by withdrawing from gang activities over a period of time once ties with other

social institutions, such as jobs and family, are established. Perhaps the most striking finding related to gangs and victimization was reported by Scott Decker and Janet Lauritsen: Violent victimization of gang members themselves or of friends and/or family members was found to be the primary reason that St. Louis gang members exited their gangs.

Terrance J. Taylor

See also Correlates of Victimization; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER INDIVIDUALS, VICTIMIZATION OF

Victimization of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) individuals (and especially of bisexual and transgender persons) is a common yet understudied problem. This entry describes some common types of such victimization (including intimate partner violence, sexual assault, hate crimes, and discrimination and institutionalized victimization), noting each type's prevalence, risk factors, and outcomes. It concludes with some recommendations for future research and intervention development.

Intimate Partner Violence

There is a dearth of research focused on intimate partner violence (IPV) among bisexual and transgender persons. IPV among gay and lesbian (same-sex) couples is similar in many ways to IPV among heterosexual (opposite-sex) couples. Like opposite-sex IPV, same-sex IPV consists of emotional/psychological, physical, and/or sexual abuse occurring between current or former spouses or dating/intimate partners. One unique form of IPV among same-sex couples is the threat of “outing” an individual, which can cause extreme psychological distress. Prevalence estimates of same-sex IPV vary dramatically depending on the sample studied and the methods used. A nationally representative survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice reported that 11.4% of females and 15.4% of males in same-sex cohabiting relationships experienced victimization by a same-sex partner at some point in their lifetime. Same-sex IPV often evidences a pattern similar to that of opposite-sex

IPV, progressing in frequency and severity over time. Similar to opposite-sex IPV victimization, factors that increase the risk of same-sex IPV victimization include younger age, lower income, history of family violence, childhood sexual abuse, low relationship cohesion, depression, and substance use/abuse. Same-sex IPV victims can suffer from the same immediate and long-term effects as opposite-sex IPV victims, including death; physical injuries; physical health problems such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs), gastrointestinal disorders, and so on; mental health problems such as anxiety, depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and so on; and behavioral problems such as substance use/abuse.

Sexual Assault

Sexual assault may be defined as any type of forced sexual contact without consent. Estimates of its prevalence among GLBT individuals vary depending on the study methodology employed; however, most studies estimate that between 15% and 50% of GLBT individuals experience some form of sexual assault as an adult. In most cases, GLBT women (especially bisexual women), are more likely than GLBT men to have been sexually assaulted. Much of the sexual assault of GLBT individuals is perpetrated by strangers or casual acquaintances; however, intimate partners may also commit such violence. The perpetrators of sexual assault are typically males, for both male and female GLBT victims/survivors. Some risk factors associated with sexual assault victimization among GLBT individuals include low education, low income, young age, history of prostitution, substance use/abuse, and ethnic minority status. Similar to sexual assault of heterosexuals, sexual assault of GLBT individuals can result in death, physical injuries, physical health problems (sexually transmitted diseases, etc.), mental health problems (anxiety, depression, PTSD, etc.), and behavioral problems (increased sexual risk taking and increased substance use/abuse, which may enhance individuals' risk for revictimization).

Hate Crimes

Hate crimes, also known as bias-motivated crimes, are a pervasive form of GLBT victimization that

include intimidation, destruction of property, assault, stalking, sexual assault, and murder. Multiple studies find that more than half of GLBT individuals report experiencing a hate crime. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, 15% of all hate crimes are motivated by sexual orientation, with social attitudes toward homosexuality often underlying the perpetration of these crimes. Perpetrators of GLBT hate crimes, who are usually men, have reported committing the offense because of negative beliefs about sexual minorities, or because they perceive themselves as the target of sexual aggression. GLBT hate crimes may result in death, physical injuries, physical health problems, mental health problems, and financial damage. Survivors of GLBT hate crimes often report persistent feelings of stress and anger, and may link feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability with their sexual orientation, which may create long-term harm to their self-identity. Hate crimes also can reverberate throughout the GLBT community, increasing anxiety and fear of attack.

Discrimination and Institutionalized Victimization

GLBT individuals are vulnerable to discrimination and institutionalized victimization because of their sexual minority status. Discrimination includes unfair treatment in areas such as employment, housing, and law enforcement, while institutionalized victimization occurs when laws and social practices result in prejudicial acts against sexual minorities. Nationwide surveys have shown that up to 34% of GLBT individuals have experienced housing discrimination, while 20% to 44% have experienced discriminatory practices in the workplace. Some law enforcement officials also may discriminate against GLBT individuals, viewing same-sex IPV and other crimes against GLBT individuals as being less serious than other bias-motivated crimes. Laws that discriminate against GLBT individuals (such as same-sex marriage bans, prejudicial child custody laws, and criminal statutes prohibiting same-sex relations) promote institutionalized victimization. In the case of housing and employment, no federal laws prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, and only a handful of states have enacted specific antidiscrimination laws. The repercussions of such victimization, while

less obvious than those of physical or sexual violence, can have lasting negative psychological and financial effects on GLBT individuals.

Future Research and Intervention Recommendations

Given the prevalence of victimization of GLBT individuals, the serious outcomes associated with such violence, and the relative dearth of rigorous empirical information on such victimization, further research of this topic is warranted, with special attention paid to bisexuals and transgender individuals (who have received the least amount of consideration in the scientific literature). Future research should aspire to obtain representative samples of GLBT individuals, and to employ psychometrically sound assessment instruments and sophisticated analytic procedures. Professionals in contact with victimized GLBT individuals, including health care personnel, law enforcement, and social workers, could be better trained to understand and address the specific needs of GLBT populations. Furthermore, increased public awareness of GLBT victimization issues and promotion of community-based prevention programs would help to counteract negative or discriminatory attitudes toward GLBT communities. Finally, legal and political advocacy for GLBT rights would help to dismantle deep-rooted inequitable practices.

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See also Domestic Violence, Same-Sex; Hate and Bias Crime; Intimate Partner Violence; Sexual Orientation and Victimization

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GENERALIZED ANXIETY DISORDER (GAD)

Generalized anxiety disorder (GAD) is characterized by excessive anxiety and worry, often without a discernible source, and can increase a person's risk of victimization. According to Internet Mental Health, approximately 3% of all U.S. adults experience GAD at any given time, with a lifetime prevalence rate of 5%. In addition, GAD will vary in degree throughout a person's lifetime, and two out of every three people with GAD are female.

There are two intertwined paths by which GAD can lead to victimization: (1) the person with GAD is fearful of ending a relationship that is abusive, and (2) the person with GAD is afraid of contacting agencies (e.g., the police, social services) that could stop their victimization.

The abused person with GAD may believe that the abuser is solving other problems in his or her life, and may come to rely on the abuser (e.g., for money and for help in completing daily tasks). It is important to remember that, at times, people with GAD may be socially incapacitated because of the disorder. The abused person may also experience an increase in anxiety at the thought of leaving the abuser. This is not an irrational fear, as many domestic violence victims are murdered while attempting to leave an abusive situation.

Many victims of domestic violence who do leave their abusive situations are helped by various agencies, such as victim services and the police. Although many abused people may have trouble gaining access to these agencies, the victim with GAD would have an especially difficult time doing so. The anxiety caused by calling, visiting, or even thinking about contacting these agencies could be enough to stop the individual from contacting anybody outside of his or her household or present social network.

A practical example may better illustrate this process: Erica is a 23-year-old woman who has GAD. She started experiencing symptoms of anxiety for no particular reason when she was 14 years old. She is similar to two thirds of those with GAD in that she is female, and similar to half of those with GAD in that she began experiencing symptoms as a child. Erica's anxiety has increased and

decreased in severity over time, and sometimes it has been so disabling that she has been unable to go to work or school. Erica never thought that her anxiety was unusual, as her mother seemed to experience symptoms of anxiety for no particular reason throughout her life.

Erica never dated much throughout high school. When she was 21 years old she met John. John seemed to be a great guy at first. Erica felt that she could depend on John, and he took care of things for Erica when her fears and physical symptoms flared up and at times disabled her. John would reassure her that she was physically safe when she felt frightened. He would handle things for Erica, like taking her car to get it fixed. While there is nothing wrong with one person helping another, Erica began to become overly dependent on John to provide a sense of security when her fears took over. John was available in the middle of the night and would answer her calls at any other time as well. In fact, Erica had become involved with John to the almost complete exclusion of others. John moved in with Erica and encouraged her to stop working (to calm her nerves), which she did. John also suggested that Erica relax her nerves by severing communication with her family, who he believed did nothing but upset her.

John had focused on Erica's anxiety to completely work his way into her life; he used her anxiety to move into a position where he became her sole economic supply as well as emotional support. This is when the abuse began. John had always been overly concerned with Erica's comings and goings. She appreciated this at first, but later John would become violent when Erica left the house without his permission or didn't answer his phone call by the third ring. Sometimes he would berate her, but at other times he would hit her. He told her that if she left him, he would hurt her and members of her family. Despite the danger she was in, she felt that leaving would be even more dangerous for her and for her family.

Eventually, Erica's sister suggested that together they contact the police and victim services; however, Erica was even afraid to deal with the people at these agencies, not knowing how she would speak to them or explain her situation. Thus Erica continues to live in this cycle of violence today. Although many women have similar stories, Erica

was initially trapped in this victimization cycle because her GAD produced fears that were temporarily relieved by an individual who seemed to care about her. Although at first John seemed to relieve Erica's exaggerated fears, later he abused Erica and cut her off from financial and family resources, further increasing her anxiety and dependence on him. GAD made it much more difficult for Erica than for most women in domestic violence situations to make contact with agencies that could help her leave her situation (e.g., police, victim services).

Although most women experiencing domestic violence do not have GAD, when women do, as in Erica's case, GAD makes it more difficult for them to leave the cycle of violence. For someone like Erica, treating her GAD will most likely be an important part of her leaving the abusive relationship in which she is trapped.

For those with GAD, treatment can alleviate symptoms. Various forms of treatment exist for GAD: psychotherapy, antidepressants, and benzodiazepines. According to a *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry* article by Jack Gorman, those with GAD benefit from psychotherapy because it helps them develop cognitive and behavioral strategies to deal with thoughts and somatic complaints. Antidepressants (specifically venlafaxine and paroxetine) also have been shown to be efficacious, and benzodiazepines are appropriate when these approaches do not work and in acute situations.

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See also Domestic Violence; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

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GUNS AND VICTIMIZATION

Guns are ubiquitous within our society. In fact, over 40% of households within the United States report owning a firearm. Although the Second Amendment guarantees “the right of the people to keep and bear arms,” the question as to whether gun ownership is a right or a privilege remains controversial. The controversy lies in part in the large number of fatal and nonfatal crimes that are committed with the use of a firearm. Research has repeatedly found that the availability of firearms has been linked to death and injury. In addition, crimes committed with the use of a firearm are more likely to result in the death of an individual than are crimes committed with any other weapon. This entry discusses the incidents of gun-related victimization in the United States, what groups are most likely to be victims, and the attempts to prevent victimization through firearm regulation in the United States.

Gun Victimization in the United States

Between 1985 and 1993, violent crimes committed with firearms increased at an astronomical rate. In 1992 alone, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that crimes committed with handguns reached a record high of approximately 930,000. The vast majority of these crimes were nonfatal, including such crimes as robbery and sexual assault; however, over 13,000 fatalities were a result of gun-related homicide. Although the homicide rate in the United States had systematically increased and decreased over a 35-year period, the sudden increase in gun violence over this relatively short time period can be directly attributed to the emergence of crack cocaine, as has consistently been noted in the literature. The rise in gun violence, which was mainly perpetrated by juveniles and young adults, increased at an inordinately rapid rate; nevertheless, it declined in the same manner. Although the rise in gun violence and gun-related homicides was only temporary and has since stabilized to rates prior to 1985, gun victimization continues to be a problem in American society.

In 2005, over 470,000 individuals reported they had been a victim of a crime in which a firearm was used. In addition, a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) report found that, on average, approximately 60% of all homicides in the United States involved a firearm. Notably, the second leading cause of injury-related deaths results from firearm use. Although much attention is paid to fatal victimizations, there are approximately six nonfatal injuries for each gun-related homicide. An estimated 25% of nonfatal violent crime survivors, including victims of sexual assault and robbery, reported the crime was committed with a handgun; handgun use accounts for approximately 13% of all violent crimes. It is not surprising that the United States leads developed nations not only in gun ownership but in homicide rates as well.

Victims of Gun Violence

Gun victimization crosses all socioeconomic, cultural, and geographic boundaries; however, certain populations are disproportionately involved in the gun-related crimes that occur within the United States. Hence, some groups are more vulnerable to the risk of gun victimization. Age is a determining factor in whether an individual will be a victim of gun violence. The likelihood that an individual will be a victim of a gun crime decreases with age. For instance, approximately 38% of all gun-related homicide victims are between the ages of 15 and 24. Statistics show that risk of gun victimization increases to the age of 17 or 18 and then begins to steadily decline. Ironically, prior to 1985, those between the ages of 24 and 35 had the highest homicide rates; however, after 1985, those between the ages of 18 and 24 had the highest rates of homicide. The likely culprit in the change in homicide rates is most likely the crack-cocaine trade that emerged during that time. Thus, gun-related homicide became the second leading cause of death for the younger group.

Males are disproportionately more likely than females to be a victim of a gun crime. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey, one in three males, compared to one in five females, reported being victimized by a gun-wielding assailant. In homicide cases, males are over three times more likely than females to be murdered with a firearm. Firearm availability in the home, however, has an inordinate impact on the female homicide

rate, as women are more likely than men to be killed by an intimate partner or family member.

Race also plays a critical role in risk of victimization from gun violence. African Americans and Native Americans are more likely to be victimized than are Whites and Hispanics. In fact, over half of the victims in gun-related homicides are African American, even though African Americans make up only 13% of the total U.S. population. Further, race coupled with low socioeconomic status further increases the risk of violent victimization. One study found that those in households with an annual income less than \$75,000 were more likely to be victims of a firearm-related crime. Since there is an overrepresentation of African Americans living in low socioeconomic areas, the intersection between race and socioeconomic status places these individuals at a greater vulnerability to gun violence. Coupled with factors such as age and gender, the risk of victimization continues to increase.

Geographic location is also a factor in a person's vulnerability to gun victimization. Individuals residing in urban areas are more likely to be a victim of a firearm-related violence than those living in rural areas. A disproportionate number of young minority males are victims in urban areas. Much of the gun violence in urban areas has been associated with gangs and the drug market. In 2004, approximately 94% of gang-related homicides were due to gun violence.

Those living in the Southern United States also have a greater susceptibility to gun victimization than those in other parts of the country. Some theorists have attempted to link this higher risk of victimization to "Southern culture," an approach that is controversial. Most research, however, has found that poverty, an income-related problem, is more likely than culture to be responsible for this higher risk of victimization. The factors listed above can all contribute to gun-related victimization, especially when they intersect with one another. Nevertheless, the vulnerability to gun victimization is not endemic to one group; anyone can be a victim of gun violence, regardless of demographic, cultural, or geographic situation.

Firearms Legislation

Although the past 25 years have seen a wave of gun legislation in the United States, attempts to

regulate the sale and manufacture of firearms are neither new nor innovative. During the early part of the 20th century, Congress passed laws to help regulate the sale of handguns through the mail, and even attempted to curtail the use of certain types of firearms. In 1938, the federal government attempted to prevent the "criminal class" from obtaining firearms with the passing of the Federal Firearms Act. This act made it a crime to transfer a firearm to people who were under indictment or had been convicted of a violent crime.

The Gun Control Act of 1968 (GCA), however, is the most significant piece of firearms legislation passed in recent history. The intent of this congressional act was to prohibit interstate firearms sales, the sale of firearms to dangerous individuals, and the importation of inexpensive handguns ("Saturday night specials") and surplus military weapons. It also added certain destructive devices to the list of prohibited weapons. In addition, the GCA placed the monitoring of these provisions under the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). Nevertheless, with the passing of the Firearms Owners' Protection Act of 1986 (FOPA), the provisions created in the passing of the GCA were curtailed. The FOPA permitted out-of-state sales of long guns, eliminated or reduced recordkeeping requirements, limited the power of the ATF, and made it possible for licensure of temporary events (e.g., gun shows) that had an organizational sponsor. Conversely, it did offer some new antigun legislation, including the prohibition of private ownership of machine guns and expansion of the list of ineligible persons (e.g., illegal aliens and dishonorably discharged military personnel). Although this piece of legislation granted a number of firearms rights to owners in the 1980s, the decade also saw a wave of antigun legislation. Mandatory minimums and sentence enhancements were placed on offenders who were in possession of a firearm during the commission of the crime. In addition, armor-piercing bullets and firearms not detectable by metal detectors and/or X-ray devices were banned. In 1990, the Gun Free School Zones Act was passed making it a federal crime to possess a firearm in a school or school zone; however, in *U.S. v. Lopez* (1995), the Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional. Nonetheless, this ruling does not mean that state and local governments cannot pass such ordinances.

In 1993, the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (Brady bill) was signed into law by President Bill Clinton. This legislation required a mandatory criminal background check on anyone applying to purchase a firearm from a federally licensed firearm dealer. Thus anyone purchasing a firearm must wait 5 days before receiving it so that a background check can be completed. The intent of this legislation was to prevent dangerous individuals from being able to obtain a handgun. Since its inception, the Brady bill has prevented over a million dangerous individuals from obtaining a gun. It must be noted that this law does not apply to gun shows due to the restrictions established under FOPA; therefore, anyone wanting to legally purchase a handgun can do so without violating the law.

Soon after the passing of the Brady bill, the Assault Weapons Ban (AWB) was passed. This law prohibited the importation, manufacture, sale, and possession of assault weapons. The law, however, only applied to weapons sold after 1994. In addition, assault weapons were defined not only as semiautomatic rifles but as weapons that possessed two characteristics in established criteria and included but were not limited to bayonet mounts and protruding pistol grips. The AWB also banned large capacity magazine clips that held more than 10 bullets. This legislation had little, if any, impact on gun victimization rates since these types of weapons are rarely used in the commission of crimes. The ban expired in 2004. Another controversial piece of legislation during the 1990s was the Lautenberg Amendment of 1996. This expansion of the Gun Control Act of 1968 extended the ban of gun ownership to anyone ever convicted of a misdemeanor domestic violence charge, including police officers. This federal attempt to curb gun violence in interpersonal relationships prompted states to change their statutes to protect victims from interpersonal violence.

As noted, gun legislation is implemented not only at the federal level but at the state and local levels as well. Although state legislation cannot be contradictory to federal firearms law, states have

different regulations regarding the sale, possession, and licensure of firearms. Similar to the federal system, 44 states have a provision in their state constitutions allowing people the right to bear arms. Most states, however, do not allow municipalities to enact firearm regulations more restrictive than the state's prevailing firearms legislation (e.g., California, Texas, and Vermont); not all states abide by this policy. Although Illinois has extremely restrictive gun policies, it still provides licensure for both long guns and handguns; nevertheless, Chicago prohibits the sale and possession of handguns. Similar to Chicago, the District of Columbia prohibits the sale, manufacture, and possession of firearms; however, in *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008), the Supreme Court struck down its ban on handgun possession in the home, stating that the provision violates the Second Amendment. In essence, this decision by the Supreme Court recognizes that in the United States, individuals' constitutional right to bear arms supersedes their protection from the "criminal class." Nevertheless, gun control legislation continues to be a crucial factor in reducing the number of gun-related victimizations.

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See also Brady Bill; Homicide and Murder; Lautenberg Amendment

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H

HATE AND BIAS CRIME

Over the past several decades, advocacy groups and lawmakers have begun to recognize the form of victimization known as hate crime. Hate crime consists of crimes motivated by bias against an individual's real or perceived race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation, and these crimes are addressed through various forms of state and federal legislation. Although such violence had been perpetrated throughout history, it was not until inroads were made by victim advocacy groups that these crimes began to be known collectively as hate or bias crime.

During the 1980s, various states adopted hate crime legislation, and in 1990 the Hate Crimes Statistics Act (HCSA) was passed by Congress and signed into law. This act mandated the collection and dissemination of hate crime data by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Nearly every state has some form of hate crime legislation, and currently federal legislation is pending in Congress that would expand the status provisions of crimes "motivated by prejudice based on the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin" to include "gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability of the victim." Further, the bill offers additional federal funding for prevention and law enforcement response to hate crimes.

Proponents of hate crime legislation argue that hate crimes cause more harm than non-hate-motivated crimes, and that as a result punishment should be more severe for hate crime

offenders. Scholars have made the argument that hate crimes harm not only the victim, but the victim's entire group, as well as the larger community. On its Web site, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force states that "hate crimes send a message of terror to an entire group and are therefore unlike a random act of violence." An attack or property crime directed toward one individual ultimately impacts all those who identify with the victim. Proponents contend that the implementation of hate crime legislation reinforces society's moral values by promoting tolerance and sending a message that hate-motivated violence is unacceptable.

The extent of hate crime victimization is relatively difficult to gauge because hate crimes are believed to be underreported. According to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, in 2007 there were 7,160 hate crime incidents. However, the UCR Program only includes those incidents that were reported to police. In 2000, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) began incorporating questions regarding hate crime victimizations into its survey. According to a Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) Special Report containing NCVS and UCR Program data collected from mid-2000 through December 2003, hate crime incidents reach an annual average of approximately 191,000. Globally, according to a 2008 report released by the Human Rights First organization, hate crimes have increased in several of the 56 countries it surveys, including France, Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Sweden, the Slovak Republic, and the United States.

According to the UCR Program, hate crimes are most frequently crimes against persons as opposed to property crimes. The most frequent personal offenses include intimidation, harassment, and simple assault. Property offenses frequently include property destruction, damage, and vandalism. According to the BJS, 83.7% of hate crime victimizations were considered violent crimes (i.e., rape/sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault), as opposed to 22.9% of non-hate-motivated crimes.

Research on whether hate crimes result in more severe physical injuries for victims is mixed. Early work described hate crimes as “excessively brutal” and found that hate crime victims were more likely to experience physical injury than non-hate-crime victims. One study using National Incident Based Reporting System data compared bias- and non-bias-motivated assaults found that bias crime victims were about three times more likely to suffer an injury than were other victims. Other research suggests the opposite—that hate crime victims are less likely to experience physical injury and less likely to require or accept medical treatment. In fact, the vast majority of hate crimes are low-level offenses, including harassment/intimidation or simple assault. However, most research finds that victims of hate crimes are likely to experience greater psychological harm than do victims of other types of crimes. For example, a study of the victims of aggravated assault found that hate crime victims were more likely to experience psychological symptoms such as depression or sadness, nervousness, and loss of concentration; less likely to feel safe after the incident; and more likely to have intrusive thoughts than are victims of non-hate-motivated aggravated assault. Such findings suggest that there are unique after effects resulting from hate crimes that extend beyond any specific occurrence of physical injury.

Hate Crimes Motivated by Race/Ethnicity

According to both the UCR Program and NCVS, racially motivated crimes, specifically anti-Black crimes, are consistently among the most commonly occurring hate crimes. Racial minorities have long been victims of oppression in the United States. Historically, institutionalized forms of racism included slavery, slave patrols, the Jim Crow era, and numerous lynchings that were often explicitly

condoned by law enforcement. Though these particular forms of barbaric behavior have been eliminated, violence motivated by racial animus has not. For example, in 1999 three White men were convicted in the murder of James Byrd in Jasper, Texas. The three men, described as attempting to start their own White supremacist group, offered Byrd a ride, beat him, chained him to the back of their truck, and dragged him to his death. Despite the history of violence directed toward racial minorities, there has been little research specifically on Black victims of hate crimes.

Other forms of racially motivated hate crimes include the waves of church arsons primarily directed toward churches with Black parishioners. According to research, a spate of church arsons were documented following the Civil War, during the early 1900s, as a response to the civil rights movement, and during the late 1980s. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), the recent election of Barack Obama as President of the United States has resulted in a “surge” of racially motivated incidents including burning crosses, hanging effigies, and death threats.

In addition to African Americans, other ethnic minorities experience bias-motivated victimizations. Latinos in particular have experienced a substantial increase in hate crimes in the past few years. SPLC points out that much of the growth in hate crimes directed toward Latinos is due to anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States and is concentrated in states with a high immigrant population. According to SPLC, organized hate movements such as the Imperial Klans of America fuel anti-immigrant sentiment and promote violence. Since 2000, the SPLC has documented a 48% growth in hate groups in the United States. Although the majority of hate crimes are not committed by members of organized hate groups, such groups encourage prejudiced attitudes that may result in violence.

Media stereotypes may also contribute to animosity directed toward Latinos. In the media, immigrants, or those perceived to be immigrants, are increasingly being linked to crime. Such linkage, whose logic runs counter to research studies on crime and immigration, ultimately ratchets up fear of “outsiders” and “foreigners.” Further, research suggests that hate crimes directed toward immigrants are underreported. Immigrants may be

unlikely to report hate crime victimizations due to fear of deportation, language barriers, poor police-community relations, and cultural norms.

Post-9/11 Hate Crimes

Hate crimes were of continuing concern in the aftermath of the attacks of September, 11, 2001. Many Americans who were perceived to be Arab or Muslim were the victims of bias-motivated violence. In the weeks following September 11, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee confirmed over 700 violent incidents, including four hate-motivated murders and as many as seven other suspected hate-motivated murders. This violence was directed toward individuals who were Arab, or perceived to be Arab or Muslim. In a survey of Arab American community leaders, several symbols were mentioned as “triggering” bias-motivated crimes. For example, clothing such as a hijab, Arabic signs on storefronts, Arabic names or accents, and skin color have been specified as triggers. Due to the lack of knowledge of some Americans about Arab ethnicity and the Islamic religion, many victims of anti-Arab and anti-Islamic hate crimes were neither Arab nor Islamic.

Estimating the prevalence of hate crimes against Arab Americans, or those perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent, is difficult. The FBI’s UCR Program collects data on ethnicity, but includes only the categories “anti-Hispanic” or “anti-other.” Disaggregated data for anti-Arab hate crimes is not available from the program. The UCR Program does, however, provide data on crime motivated by anti-Islamic religious bias. According to this data, there was a substantial increase in anti-Islamic hate crimes following the terrorist attacks, with persons of Islamic faith becoming the victims of various hate-motivated offenses ranging from vandalism to murder. During 2001, 455 of the 546 anti-Islamic hate crimes occurred after September 11.

Researchers found that anti-Islamic attacks peaked after September 11, and then declined after about a 9-week period. The decline is believed to be due to a number of factors, including efforts by the government to condemn hate crime, law enforcement efforts, and community organizations designed to educate and promote tolerance. Since

2001, according to the FBI, anti-Islamic attacks have averaged about 149 per year.

Hate Crimes Motivated by Religion

According to UCR Program statistics, Jewish persons are consistently among the most frequent targets of religious bias. In 2007, there were 1,010 anti-Jewish offenses, compared to 133 anti-Islamic and 65 anti-Catholic offenses. Historical oppression against persons of the Jewish faith has been widely documented. Jews, and to a lesser extent other minorities, were targeted in one of the most heinous atrocities of the 20th century, the Holocaust, in which over six million Jews were systematically murdered. More recently, conflict in the Middle East has resulted in increased animosity and bias attacks directed toward the Jews worldwide. In 2003, *The New York Times* reported an increase in vandalism and assaults against Jews in Europe “at a frequency not seen since the 1930’s when Fascism was on the rise.”

According to the Anti-Defamation League’s annual *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents*, after an initial increase post-9/11, domestic incidents directed against Jews declined. The *Audit* found that since 1992, anti-Jewish bias-motivated incidents, both criminal and noncriminal, most frequently have consisted of harassment, threats, and assaults. Other research has shown that hate crimes motivated by religion are likely to be property crimes, such as swastikas and other graffiti sprayed on cars, homes, and synagogues, as opposed to personal crimes.

Hate Crimes Motivated by Sexual Orientation

As hate crime legislation developed at the state and federal level, legislators debated which status provisions should be included. Race, ethnicity, and religion were fairly easily integrated as status provisions, while sexual orientation, gender, and disability provisions were met with more resistance by lawmakers. Part of the contention surrounding the inclusion of sexual orientation involved the notion that including it along with race, ethnicity, and religion served to extend “special rights” to gay men and lesbians. Ultimately, sexual orientation was acknowledged in the federal HCSA, and 31 states currently have legislation that includes sexual orientation.

According to advocacy groups, violence committed against gay men and lesbians is widespread. Over the past few years, both the FBI and the Anti-Violence Project, a group dedicated to preventing violence against gay men and lesbians, have reported increases in antigay hate crimes. Further, in a study to gauge the prevalence of hate crime victimization directed toward individuals because of their sexual orientation, researchers found that about 25% of adults identified as sexual minorities experienced a crime or attempted crime, and about 50% were verbally harassed because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation.

Antigay hate crimes, like other hate crimes, are believed to be underreported. Moreover, researchers have documented that up to 90% of antigay hate crimes remain unreported. Gay men and lesbians may be unlikely to report their victimizations for various reasons, including fear of being outed, mistrust of the police, and fear of a hostile reaction to their victimization. In fact, in a study examining public support for hate crime victims, researchers found that victims of antigay hate crimes are less likely than victims of other types of hate crimes to receive sympathy from the public.

A study examining antigay hate crimes in Los Angeles County found that victims of antigay hate crimes experienced more severe forms of aggression than did victims of other types of bias crimes. Further, the study found that individuals who were members of multiple minority groups (e.g., race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) were at higher risk for hate crime victimization and greater severity of hate crime victimization. Research indicates that victims of antigay hate crimes are likely to suffer greater psychological effects than are victims of other types of hate crimes, including higher levels of depression, anxiety, anger, and symptoms related to posttraumatic stress disorder.

Antigay hate crimes are often among the most violent, and antigay murders have been described as extremely brutal. One of the most publicized antigay hate crimes was the 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming. Shepard was bludgeoned, tied to a fence, and left unconscious. He never regained consciousness, and he later died. During the trial, one of the defendants unsuccessfully argued a “gay panic” defense, alleging that a sexual advance by Shepard triggered the murderous attack. Though Wyoming has no hate crime

legislation, two defendants were convicted of the murder and received life sentences.

One of the most overlooked areas of victimization is that of violence motivated by bias against transgender people. The extent of this type of hate crime is unknown because most states, along with the FBI, do not collect data on these crimes. Acts of violence against transgender people generally go unrecognized as hate crimes. In fact, the SPLC has documented numerous murders believed to be motivated by transgender bias. These murders almost always involved extreme violence. According to the National Center for Transgender Equality, only seven states and Washington, D.C., have legislation that includes protection based on gender identity or expression. Thus, most of these transgender murders go legally unrecognized as hate crimes.

Hate Crimes Motivated by Gender and Disability

The extent of gender-based hate crimes is unknown, since neither the FBI nor the NCVS collects data on hate crimes motivated by gender. Research documenting the development of hate crime legislation found that adding gender as a status provision in hate crime legislation at both the federal and state level was met with some resistance. Scholars have documented a variety of reasons for the difficulty of “fitting” gender into the hate crime paradigm. For example, should all crimes against women, including rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence, be classified as hate crimes? Since there are already laws protecting women against violence, is hate crime legislation in this area redundant? Despite the lack of agreement surrounding gender, according to the Anti-Defamation League, 27 states have legislation inclusive of gender bias. Due to the relatively small number of hate crimes motivated by gender that are documented in official data, there is a lack of research examining gender-specific hate crime victimization.

Currently, 31 states have legislation that includes hate crimes motivated by disability. Official data are collected on hate crimes motivated by disability, and according to NIBRS data that measure crimes reported to law enforcement, less than 1% of hate crime offenses are motivated by bias against disability. Of those, victims with physical disability were more frequently targeted than those

with mental disability. According to a BJS Special Report examining hate crimes from mid-2000 through 2003, disability may comprise as much as 10% of the total hate crime victimizations. Researchers suggest that the disabled may be among the most vulnerable to victimization, because they are often reliant on others for assistance and care. Unfortunately, caregivers, family members, acquaintances, and neighbors—those that disabled individuals may rely on for assistance—are frequently the perpetrators of hate crimes against the disabled.

Hate Crime Prevention Programs

Many programs exist to address hate crimes. These programs include training curriculum for law enforcement and guidelines for prosecutors; however, since many hate crimes are unreported—and of those reported, not all result in hate crime prosecutions—reliance on law enforcement efforts alone to combat hate crimes is insufficient. Other programs focus more specifically on prevention and rehabilitation of hate crime offenders. Unfortunately, few evaluations have been conducted, therefore the efficacy of these programs is unknown.

One particularly unique approach to assist current victims and prevent future hate crimes is that undertaken by attorneys seeking legal remedies through civil lawsuits. For example, the SPLC, led by Morris Dees, has been successful in suing several leaders of hate groups, including Tom Metzger, the leader of the White Aryan Resistance. Such lawsuits are designed to disrupt the leadership of the hate group by seizing their assets and rendering them incapable of functioning. Recently, the SPLC successfully won a \$2.5 million lawsuit against the Imperial Klans of America for inciting violence leading to the severe beating of a Kentucky resident Klan member believed was an illegal immigrant.

Other alternatives include programs that incorporate components of restorative justice programs designed to integrate the victim into the justice process. Scholars have documented that the use of community forums and victim-offender mediation in response to hate crimes has had encouraging results. For example, one study explored how mediators worked with family members and held community conferences with students and citizens

to encourage dialogue in response to racial conflict in a high school. Ultimately, the use of peer mediation was recommended to deal with future incidents. Though many programs show encouraging results, more research is needed to fully evaluate hate crime prevention and offender-based programs.

Nickie Phillips

See also Disabilities, Victimization of Individuals With; Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals, Victimization of; Hate and Bias Crime, Statutory Responses; Immigration and Victimization; Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Sex and Victimization; Sexual Orientation and Victimization; Victimology; Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States

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Web Sites

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: <http://www.thetaskforce.org>

HATE AND BIAS CRIME, STATUTORY RESPONSES

Violence motivated by hate and personal prejudice has existed for centuries; however, explicit statutory responses to crime resulting from these biases have not. Statutory responses differ distinctly from both judicial case law and governmental agency regulations. A statutory response consists of the enactment or passing of a law by the legislative branch of the government, not the judicial or executive branches of the government. Thus, a statutory response to hate and bias crime is any legislation that has or will be put into law by the U.S. Congress or by a state legislature in an effort to prevent hate- and bias-motivated violence.

Propelled by civil rights movements during the last few decades of the 20th century—such as the women's rights movement, the civil rights movement, the disabilities movement, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer rights movement—members of the U.S. Congress and members of some state legislatures began advocating for legislation to combat the issue of hate- and bias-motivated violence. Although legislation at the federal level has a national impact, state-level statutory responses vary extensively by type of legislation and the types of biases covered. The following provides an overview of legislation at both levels of government.

Federal-Level Statutory Responses

Even though hate crime legislation did not explicitly appear until the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, other antidiscriminatory legislation existed prior to

1990 that has subsequently become part of hate and bias crime legislation. The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlaws the denial of rights based on race. U.S. Code (U.S.C.) Title 18, Section 241, bans conspiracies to deprive individual rights given by the U.S. Constitution, and Title 18, Section 242, makes it a crime to deprive individual rights given by the Constitution in regard to race or color. In addition, the civil rights acts expanded access and barred discriminatory practices in areas such as, but not limited to, employment, housing, access to public goods and services, and equal application of voting regulations.

Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990

The Hate Crime Statistics Act was established in 1990 as part of 28 U.S.C. 534. The Hate Crime Statistics section of the legislation required the U.S. attorney general to collect data on crimes that were committed based on prejudices, including race, religion, sexual orientation, and ethnicity. Later, reporting requirements were expanded by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (VCCLEA) of 1994 to include crimes committed based on discrimination due to disability.

Violence Against Women Act of 1994

In an effort to combat gender discrimination, the Violence Against Women Act was also enacted in 1994. According to U.S. Code Title 42, Section 13981, it seeks to provide (1) protection to individuals who are victims of gender-motivated crime and (2) legislation explicitly stating that all individuals have the “right to be free from crimes of violence motivated by gender.” In addition, the crime must be both motivated by gender and a felony in order to be classified as a *crime of violence motivated by gender*.

Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act of 1995

Along with the expansion of reporting requirements, the VCCLEA instituted the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act. This act requires the sentence for a hate-motivated crime to be enhanced to at least three offense levels above the standard sentence for the offense that was committed. According to section 280003 of the VCCLEA, this act provides enhancements for

prejudiced crimes committed intentionally based on the “actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation” of the victim.

Church Arsons Prevention Act of 1996

This act focuses directly on religion-based hate and bias crimes and indirectly on race-motivated crime. It functions as an amendment to a prior statute that gave jurisdiction to federal law enforcement in cases where vandalism of a religious institution was over \$10,000. The 1996 amendment expanded federal jurisdiction beyond the commerce restriction for religious-based crimes against religious institutions, provided for enhanced penalties, and increased resources available to both the victims and the investigation teams. Indirectly, this act focuses on race-motivated crime, because African American churches were the most prevalent victims of arson prior to its enactment.

Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act

Beginning in 1997, members of Congress sought to pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. Various versions of this act have been drafted since that time. The most recent version is the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009, which extends the existing federal jurisdiction for bias-based incidents. Without an extension, federal jurisdiction exists only in incidents involving activities protected by federal law that involve bias based on race, color, religion, and ethnicity. Furthermore, this legislation has also sought to broaden federal jurisdiction to include cases involving bias motivation based on sexual orientation, gender, and disability.

State-Level Statutory Responses

State-level statutory responses vary, but most cover a form of bias motivation. According to the Anti-Defamation League, as of August 2008, 45 of 50 states had enacted legislation providing a criminal sanction for bias-motivated violence or intimidation. The five states that do not provide state-level statutory responses are Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Wyoming; however, all but one

of the five provide criminal penalties for institutional vandalism, and two allow for civil action.

Among the 45 states with bias-motivation statutes, provisional coverage differs. Of the 45, 30 allow for civil action. All but one provide coverage for crimes motivated by race/ethnicity and/or religion. The statutes of 31 states include sexual orientation, and 27 states have provisions for gender-motivated crimes. There is legislation covering disability-based biases in 31 states, and 20 states include protection for at least one of the following bias-motivations: political affiliation, age, and transgender/gender identity. In addition, 38 of the 45 protect against institutional vandalism. Furthermore, 28 states require data collection on hate-motivated crimes; however, only 14 states provide hate- and bias-motivated crime training for law enforcement officials.

Jessica R. Dunham

See also Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals, Victimization of; Hate and Bias Crime; Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence; Sex and Victimization; Sexual Orientation and Victimization; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions; Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

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Web Sites

- Anti-Defamation League: <http://www.adl.org>
- Southern Poverty Law Center: <http://www.splcenter.org>
- United States Code: <http://www.uscode.house.gov>

HEALTH CARE FRAUD

Health care fraud is a major issue that has attracted the attention of physicians, hospitals,

patients, insurers, policy makers, government agencies, and academics. This entry defines health care fraud and health care abuse, describes the prevalence of health care fraud in the United States, discusses the common fraud victims and perpetrators, and reviews efforts to combat the problem. While fraud occurs throughout the health care system, fraud involving publicly funded federal health care programs has attracted the most attention because of its enormous cost. Expenditures for Medicare, the federal health care program for the aged, reached \$431.5 billion in 2007; total outlays for Medicaid, the joint federal and state health care program for the poor, were \$335.8 billion.

Definitions

There is no concise definition of *health care fraud*; it is a broad phrase encompassing a spectrum of activities in which money that is intended to pay for health care services is in some way diverted to private use. *Fraud* is a legal term that refers to actions taken with the intent to deceive, such as intentional misrepresentation of information that insurers and government programs rely on in making payment decisions. A physician who intentionally submits a bill for services that were never performed, for example, deceives the payer into making an improper payment.

Health care abuse lacks this intent, and often involves taking advantage of ambiguity in payment rules to bill in ways that are not technically illegal, yet may violate the spirit of the law. A physician who performs two separate medical procedures (and receives two payments) when both could have been performed safely and more economically at the same time, for example, will profit at the expense of the health care system, which will then have fewer resources to expend on services for others.

Estimates

The federal government has estimated that 10% of the federal health care budget is lost to fraud. Although useful for conveying the magnitude of the problem, this figure appears to have been derived more from anecdotal than from empirical evidence. Because successful schemes remain hidden, it is difficult to determine the full extent of fraudulent activities.

Audits can be used to estimate a program's "error rate." In 1996, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office of the Inspector General (OIG) found that Medicare had improperly paid out more than \$23 billion that year. Since that time, the error rate has dropped each year. The Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS), which took over the audits in 2003, found \$10.8 billion in improper payments in 2007. However, erroneous payments do not equate to fraud. The audits also found errors in claims processing, inaccurate billing, and simple mistakes by health care providers. In short, these audits are not designed to measure health care fraud, and cannot be taken as an accurate indicator of the scope of the problem.

Victims and Perpetrators of Health Care Fraud

Most health care fraud involves relationships among four groups: (1) patients with some form of health insurance coverage (public or private); (2) entities that sponsor health care benefit programs, particularly employers and government programs; (3) institutions and professionals who provide medical services; and (4) insurance entities that administer benefits and process claims.

The potential for fraud exists whenever these groups interact. For example, patients may defraud government programs by falsely claiming to be entitled to benefits, such as by falsifying enrollment information. An employer who offers health care benefits to its employees may fail to deliver the benefits as promised. An insurer may misrepresent its products to potential purchasers, or fail to process and pay claims promptly. And a health care professional or institution may falsify bills in order to obtain payment for services that were not performed. While the methods may vary, experience demonstrates that there is both motive and opportunity for fraud in virtually any health care arrangement.

Health care fraud is characterized as a white-collar crime, a predominantly nonviolent crime undertaken primarily for financial gain. In the federal health care programs, fraud is subject to a broad array of civil, criminal, and administrative laws, virtually all of which consider the federal government to be the ultimate victim. While it is logical to focus on the government as a defrauded payer, however, it is important nonetheless to

remember that health care fraud also causes injury to patients.

Financial injury is the most straightforward type of harm to patients, and often is attributable to cost-sharing obligations. Under Medicare Part B, for example, beneficiaries are responsible for paying 20% of the charge for outpatient services such as physician visits. A fraudulently inflated charge results in additional expense to both Medicare and the patient—a problem particularly for individuals with limited incomes. Fraud also may cause physical injury, such as when unnecessary medical procedures are performed on patients solely for the purposes of obtaining additional payments. Patients also may be injured in less tangible ways, such as when private medical information is misappropriated and used to bill for nonexistent services. Ideally, efforts to prevent and prosecute health care fraud will seek to compensate injured patients as well as recover government funds.

Strategies to Prevent, Detect, and Remedy Health Care Fraud

Congress has responded to the problem of health care fraud both by strengthening federal laws and by appropriating more funds to federal agencies, particularly OIG and the Department of Justice (DOJ). In particular, the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) increased funding, established new antifraud laws, and created the Fraud and Abuse Control Program, which was designed to coordinate federal, state, and local enforcement efforts. Subsequent legislation, such as the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (BBA), the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003 (MMA), and the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (DRA), provided additional opportunities and incentives for prosecutors to bring fraud actions.

The federal government has taken a multi-pronged approach to addressing health care fraud. First, the government seeks to prevent fraudulent activities, such as by educating health care providers on proper billing rules and clarifying ambiguous provisions that may invite abuse. For example, the MMA changed the way Medicare Part B pays for drugs, from a system based on ill-defined manufacturer-reported “average wholesale prices” to one that better tracks actual sales prices.

Second, the government has stepped up efforts to audit claims, both to identify common fraud

schemes and to catch improper claims before they are paid. These audits are undertaken by a number of different entities within the federal health care programs, including the OIG and private contractors. Audits range from routine claims reviews to investigations based on specific complaints. In addition to investigating specific providers, the government has undertaken national and regional initiatives targeting certain sectors of the health care industry. The prototype was Operation Restore Trust, a joint federal and state effort in the mid-1990s that focused on fraud by home health agencies, nursing homes, hospices, and durable medical equipment suppliers in states with large Medicare populations.

Third, the federal government has been proactive in enforcing the myriad federal and state laws prohibiting health care fraud. Some of these laws target improper health care activities, most notably the Medicare and Medicaid Anti-Kickback Statute (designed to prevent the exchange of kickbacks and other financial benefits for the referral of patients or other business) and the Ethics in Patient Referrals Act of 1989 (or the Stark Law, designed to prevent physicians from profiting by referring patients to health care entities with which they have financial dealings). Other laws, most notably the Civil False Claims Act (FCA), apply more broadly to all entities that do business with the federal government. Health care fraud also may be pursued under general criminal laws such as mail fraud, wire fraud, and conspiracy, and HIPAA created a new Health Care Fraud crime applicable to both private and public health benefit programs. Additional administrative remedies are available, including complete exclusion of the provider from federal health care programs.

The financial nature of health care fraud makes civil sanctions an attractive option. The most powerful civil weapon is the FCA, under which a violator can be required to pay a civil penalty of \$5,500 to \$11,000 for each false claim, plus three times the government’s damages. For providers such as physicians, who tend to submit thousands of relatively small claims per year, the result can be devastating. In one notable case, a psychiatrist was accused of submitting 8,000 false claims, each inflated by approximately \$30, for a total of \$245,000 in damages; when the per-claim penalties were calculated, however, the total amounted

to \$81 million. The FCA also contains a unique *qui tam* provision that permits a private person who is aware of fraudulent conduct to file suit, on the government's behalf, in return for a percentage of the proceeds if the suit is successful. Since amendments in 1986 modernized the FCA and made it more lucrative to pursue such private suits, the number of health-related FCA suits has grown; by the late 1990s, nearly two thirds of *qui tam* suits involved allegations of health care fraud.

Not surprisingly, most providers who are threatened with such litigation seek to negotiate. As a result, most health care fraud investigations are resolved through settlements in which the defendant, while not admitting liability, nevertheless agrees to repay the government and institute oversight procedures for the future. Provider groups have objected to this trend, alleging that the government engages in a form of "extortion" by threatening to sue for such astronomical amounts that defendants have no choice but to settle. These objections have had moderate success with regard to specific enforcement initiatives.

Fraudulent health care activities also are actionable at the state level. Many state laws mirror the Anti-Kickback and Stark statutes, some pertain only to Medicaid fraud, while others apply broadly to all health care payers. Moreover, the DRA offered incentives for states to enact their own Medicaid false claims provisions. State attorneys general have become adept at using consumer fraud statutes to pursue health-related activities, particularly in the pharmaceutical context. It is increasingly common for health care fraud allegations to result in global settlements that resolve the allegations against not only the federally funded health care programs but also the 50-plus state Medicaid programs, sometimes accompanied by a multistate consumer protection agreement.

Progress and Future Directions

In fiscal year 2007, the federal government won or negotiated approximately \$1.8 billion in health care fraud cases. Federal prosecutors convicted 560 defendants for health care-related crimes, and opened 878 new criminal and 776 new civil health care fraud investigations. Under HIPAA, a portion of the recovered money is available for transfer to the Health Care Fraud and Abuse Control Account,

where it can be used to fund future antifraud efforts. In 2007, \$249.459 million was appropriated to the account, of which \$197.666 million was allotted to HHS and \$51.793 million to DOJ. Although such recoveries pale in comparison to the overall estimates of health care fraud, there is little question that the efforts are considered successful and will continue. While schemes may vary, fraud unfortunately has proven to be a constant in the health care system.

Joan H. Krause

See also Civil Litigation; Corporate Crime; Punitive and Compensatory Damages; Victimless Crimes; White-Collar Crime

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- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Inspector General: <http://www.oig.hhs.gov>

HOMELESS, VIOLENCE AGAINST

During the past decade, advocates and homeless shelter workers from around the country have

seen an increase in reports of homeless men, women, and even children being killed, beaten, and harassed. Over the 6-year period from 1999 to 2004, the National Coalition for the Homeless documented 156 murders and 386 violent acts against homeless individuals. The violent attacks occurred in 140 cities in 39 states in the United States. Obviously, violence against homeless people is an increasing social problem.

Risk Factors

Research has highlighted factors that increase the risk of violent victimization for the homeless population. Such risks include alcohol and drug abuse, time spent homeless, frequency of homeless periods, mental illness, and criminal history.

Alcohol and drug abuse is a commonly cited risk factor for violent victimization for homeless persons. It has been suggested that this relationship is two-way: substance abuse increases the risks for violent victimization, and the experience of violent victimization increases the use/abuse of alcohol or other substances. The first part of this relationship is likely due to the increased vulnerability of drunk or high persons when they are in public, the second part to the use of substances as coping mechanisms.

The length, conditions, nature, and severity of homelessness vary from person to person, and these variations also represent risk factors for violence. Some homeless persons have only recently become homeless, while others have been homeless for decades; some experience many episodes of homelessness, while others are homeless rarely. The obvious relationship here is that the more time on the street, the higher the odds of violent victimization.

Some additional risk factors for violence for the homeless include mental illness and a criminal history. Mentally ill homeless persons are more vulnerable than other homeless persons and therefore suffer more violence. Regarding criminal history, about a quarter of homeless people have prior felony convictions. It is likely that those with criminal histories are at higher risk for experiencing violent victimizations, since that is the case in the general population and there is no reason to think it would be different for the homeless population.

Most of the literature seems consistent with what are known as the routine activities theory and lifestyle theory of criminal victimization. According to the perspective taken by these theories, risk for victimization results from the daily routines of individuals. These routines influence exposure to potential offenders, the victim's value or vulnerability as a target, and the presence or absence of capable guardians to afford protection. The key insight of these theories is that social context is central in predicting victimization. It is hard to imagine a social context more conducive to victimization than homelessness. Homeless people often spend their days in run-down areas of cities, areas where potential offenders are numerous and where exposure to the risk of violence is an everyday commonplace. High rates of substance abuse and psychiatric impairment and long stretches of homelessness increase their vulnerability and impair guardianship. Various survival strategies (trading sex, panhandling, drug dealing, etc.) increase their exposure to risk.

Violence Against Homeless Women

While most homeless victims of violence are men, the violence that homeless women experience is tremendous. Researchers have reported that homeless women are over 100 times more likely to be raped, nearly 50% more likely to be robbed, and 15 times more likely to be assaulted than similar housed women. Likewise, according to Jana L. Jasinski, Jennifer K. Wesley, Elizabeth Mustaine, and James D. Wright, homeless women tend to report greater amounts of abuse by spouses and more childhood physical and sexual abuse.

One might assume that these higher rates of violent victimization experienced by homeless women are the result of continuous exposure to risk *due to their homeless situation*. However, the housing circumstances through which episodically homeless women cycle are obviously not stable and may not be particularly functional—indeed, research has found that these households are characterized by high levels of domestic violence, which may explain why homeless women abandon them. This raises the notion that the experience of violence is a factor contributing to the cycle of homelessness among women and not just a result of it.

Strategies for Increasing Tolerance of Homeless Persons

Many homeless persons experience an amount of violence in a single year that most housed people might not expect to experience in their entire lifetimes. This makes calls for increased compassion for homeless persons as well as a resolution and reduction in the amount of homelessness urgent.

One of the most common recommendations for increasing understanding of homeless people is an educational curriculum that begins teaching tolerance in pre-K and continues through high school. These kinds of long-term educational efforts can have a significant impact on society's views of homeless persons. Calls for increased affordable housing, increased employment opportunities, and cooperation between homeless and domestic violence shelters are also high on the list of strategies. Given that many homeless people are episodically homeless, greater access to employment and affordable housing may reduce the number of separate incidents of homelessness homeless people go through, thereby reducing the amount of violence they experience as well.

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See also Mental Illness and Victimization; Sex and Victimization; Substance Use and Victimization

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HOMICIDE, CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Youth homicide in the United States has been the focus of considerable public attention over the past several decades for two reasons: increases in the overall youth homicides, in particular significant increases in the homicides by older youth, and homicide being recognized as a leading cause of death among children and youth all over the country. According to official reports, U.S. youth homicide can be distributed by age. For instance, U.S. youth in the older age group (12 to 17 years old) are more often involved in homicides as offenders than are youth in other age groups, whereas U.S. youth across all age groups are at great risk of homicide by their family, friends, acquaintances, or even strangers. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to see the principles and dynamics of how and why with age youth may become either homicide victims or homicide offenders.

This entry begins by illustrating the general trends in youth homicides in the United States. As understanding age is important in studying youth homicides, youth are broken down by age into three groups: young children, children in middle childhood, and teenagers. Then, the factors contributing to homicides by youth and homicides of youth and theoretical explanations of these homicides are described. Finally, preventive programs and policies to fight against youth homicides are suggested.

Patterns

According to the Uniform Crime Reporting Program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the U.S. youth homicide rate drastically increased in the early 1990s and since then has remained relatively stable. This rate is much higher than that in most other developed countries, and further investigation is needed to explain why and how U.S. youth became involved in homicides.

Youth 12 to 17 years old have the highest rate of homicide offending among all age groups. At the same time, this age group is the most victimized

by homicide of all U.S. youth, and the rate of homicide victimization for those in this age group has increased significantly over the last two decades. Those 11 years old or younger have been shown to have the lowest proportion of victimization of the youth population in the United States. Although the rate of homicide victimization for children in this age group has remained unchanged, homicide still is reported to be the number one cause of death for these children.

Thus children 12 to 17 years old appear to be at comparatively increased risk of experiencing both homicide offending and victimization, and children 11 years old or younger seem to be at maximum risk of homicide victimization only. These general trends in U.S. youth homicide suggest that consideration of the age distribution of youth homicides is central to understanding why and how the U.S. children are involved in homicide, and in creating effective programs and policies to prevent and reduce the increased youth homicide.

Categorization of Youth by Age

As mentioned above, categorization of children by age is important for a solid understanding of youth homicide, and thus the youth homicide population has been broken down by age into three subgroups: young children, children in middle childhood, and teenagers. The term *young children* is defined as youth 5 years old and younger, *children in middle childhood* refers to youth who are 6 to 11 years old, and *teenagers* refers to youth 12 to 17 years old.

Each age group tends to have unique physical, social, and emotional characteristics. Children 5 years old or younger generally are under the close care and supervision of parents, relatives, and other family members. These children are physically, socially, and emotionally dependent and are less mobile than are children in other age groups.

Children in middle childhood begin to move toward adolescence—sometimes as early as age 9. Many physical and bodily changes occur during this time. Females tend to begin their sexual maturity before males. Emotionally, the children in this age group feel self-centered, need to feel part of something important, and begin to question authority. Thus, they want less parental control and supervision, while still having guidance.

Socially, these children might initiate intimate relationships with persons outside the family, and may have many friends.

Children 12 to 17 years old go through a variety of developmental changes. Physically, there are many changes as their bodies mature. Socially, these children like to have more time with friends than with parents, tend to search for adult role models, are more likely to have adult leadership roles, and are apt to reject solutions from adults or others in favor of their own decisions. Emotionally, teenagers strive to be autonomous and independent from parents and abandon the view that their parents are all powerful; they tend to have unsettled emotions, accept their own uniqueness but still seek approval from peers, and like to initiate and carry out tasks without supervision.

Factors

In relation to homicide, young children are predominantly victims rather than offenders. In homicides of young children, family members are found to be the most frequent offenders. This is likely because young children depend extensively on their parents and family members for their survival and for protection. Homicide can occur when an adult family member misunderstands a child's behavior and overacts to it with abuse, whether or not the adult intended to abuse the child. Even lack of social support can be a contributing factor, causing a family member to experience stress that can lead to such behavior. Homicides of young children can take many forms, including battering, strangulation, and suffocation.

While children in middle childhood are, like young children, at risk of homicide from family members, they also can become victims of homicide perpetrated by adults outside the family. Because of the decreased familial supervision that occurs at this age, and children's greater interaction with nonfamily members, these children tend to be victimized by adults outside the family. The majority of homicides of children in middle childhood are committed by sexual offenders outside of the family. In addition, a significant number of homicides of children ages 6 to 11 are negligent gun homicides. Homicides of children in middle childhood that occur in the course of a crime, such as a robbery or a carjacking, in which the children

were unintended victims; in the course of arson attacks; or in whole-family suicide–homicides also have been reported.

Among all children and youth, teenagers have the highest rates of homicide victimization and homicide offending. Usually, teenager homicides are “male-on-male homicides” committed by individuals outside the family, such as a male victim killed by a male offender, using a firearm, a knife, or other object. In most cases, when youth kill youth, victims and offenders are rival acquaintances such as peers or older males. Individual and societal factors have been considered to explain teenager homicides. For instance, drugs and alcohol abuse, drug trafficking, and the availability of guns have been shown to significantly lead youth into both offending and victimization. Also, if teenagers are exposed to violence in their homes, schools, and neighborhoods, to alcohol and drug use/abuse, and to guns in order to defend themselves from danger, they are more likely to experience homicides.

Theoretical Explanations

Many theories have been offered to explain youth homicides: shaken baby syndrome, dissociative disorders, psychoanalytic interpretation, culture of violence, social disorganization theory, social learning, and strain theory. Shaken baby syndrome and dissociative disorders are attributions often made to explain young children homicides. When a baby is shaken hard or handled roughly, the baby’s brain might be seriously damaged, which can result in death. In fact, more than half of children who experience shaken baby syndrome die. This syndrome is considered child abuse when the baby lives, and homicide when the baby dies, and many parents have been convicted of homicide in such instances. Dissociative disorder, an inability to recall important memories, perceive an object, and/or develop a conscious awareness, of adults experiencing mood disorder, depression, and anxiety also has been used to explain youth homicides. For example, a young single mother who is depressed because of financial difficulties may experience a resultant dissociative disorder that might lead to murder. Likewise, a pregnant teenager who is stressed out by the reactions of her parents and others, who is experiencing guilty and shameful feelings, and who fears for her future

after delivering a newborn child might suffer from a dissociative disorder that leads to murder.

For children in middle childhood, as for young children, dissociative disorder is offered as an explanation for homicide. Psychoanalytic theory has also been employed to explain the motivation of offenders who commit rape and sexual homicides of children of this age group: They are driven by immediate gratification and uncontrolled inhibition of personal impulses. In addition, some have posited that sex offenders may kill to hide their illegal sexually abusive behaviors.

Most theories explaining teenager homicides—such as subculture of violence theory, social disorganization theory, social learning theory, and strain theory—focus on delinquency and crime among youth. These theories argue that juveniles might be involved in delinquency and crime by being a part of gangs or by using firearms after having been exposed in their daily life to violence as a solution to problems, or when social controls by parents, schools, and communities are lessened due to rapid change in economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility in a city.

Policy Implications

The purpose of programs and policies must be to prevent children and youth from being exposed to life-threatening danger. Thus, a variety of preventive programs and policies should be established to aid all individuals in the family, school, and community who are or might be involved, either directly or indirectly, in youth homicides.

For individuals within the family setting, educative information can be provided about family life, family life planning, and child rearing. These programs should target parents because they play an important role within the family. Throughout educative programs, necessary information should be provided to help parents establish good child-rearing practices with young children and to obtain available knowledgeable information about their children’s acquaintances.

For individuals within school settings, the main focus of programs and policies should be on creating safe, gun-free, and drug-free schools. These programs and policies must aid schools in removing deadly weapons from the hands of children, preventing children from using/abusing substances,

and removing violent offenders from the school community. School-related programs such as well-supervised, after-school sports, art, music, and science programs, counseling programs, and anger management programs can help students to avoid violent situations and thus prevent homicides in the long run.

For individuals within the community, the main goal of programs and policies should be to create a safe and protective environment. For this to be accomplished, a variety of programs and policies targeting the community can be established, such as community programs that are effective in decreasing the cultural acceptance of violence; programs in medical agencies that are designed to identify, treat, educate, and support abuse victims; improving police and community response; and providing nurse home visitation. In addition, neighborhood safe houses, bus stop adoption programs, school safety routes, and community policing are also worthwhile to consider.

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See also Child Death Review Team; Family Violence; Missing, Exploited, and Murdered Children; Shaken Baby Syndrome

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HOMICIDE, VICTIM ADVOCACY GROUPS

Homicide victim advocacy groups support the victims' friends and family, as they have been victimized by the homicide of someone close to them. Advocates offer them support during the immediate crisis following discovery of the homicide, as well as over the course of justice processes and the recovery from trauma. Advocacy groups also address the larger community impact of homicide and seek legislative and justice policy reform to improve the rights of crime victims. In this overview of victim advocacy groups, some of the terms associated with homicide victim advocacy are described, followed by a brief history of such advocacy in the United States. Numerous homicide victim advocacy groups and their activities are detailed.

Definitions

Various research studies on the aftermath of homicide suggest that friends and family of homicide victims experience vicarious trauma related to the murder. *Vicarious trauma* refers to the stress reaction experienced by those exposed to the extreme and sudden emotional nature of traumatic events, in which the person experiences enduring cognitive shifts in the manner in which they view self, others, and the world. The term *homicide victim* refers to the person killed, yet the "victims" of homicide include the many others left behind, such as the family and friends of the victim. These individuals typically experience trauma without warning and experience a range of physical, emotional, and

financial harms and are left to “survive” the violence. The terms *homicide survivor* and *co-victim* identify the friends and family members most directly suffering from the traumatic event.

Homicide *victim assistance* or *victim advocacy* refers to the range of responses to support homicide co-victims and survivors, including initial death notification, social service referrals, and direct advocacy and implementation of victims’ rights related to criminal investigation and court proceedings. Legal advocacy for homicide survivors typically includes supporting survivor participation related to the status of the offender with victim impact statements, notification of justice proceedings, and protesting parole or release from prison or mental health facilities. Homicide co-victims may be left with medical bills and funeral expenses, and advocates assist with securing state victim compensation funds, which reimburse such expenses.

Research reports the dissatisfaction resulting from the lack of advocacy in the experiences of homicide survivors. Thus, homicide victim advocacy often entails political action for changes in justice practices, improved service delivery and assistance for crime victims, and legislative or constitutional reform to expand victims’ rights. Homicide victim advocates recently have focused attention on legislation to support investigation into cold cases to address unresolved cases of homicide or missing persons. Victim advocacy groups have worked on legislative efforts related to truth in sentencing, restorative justice (which provides for a more meaningful role for victims and communities), and juvenile justice reform.

Historical Perspective

In the United States, homicide victim advocacy groups emerged in the late 1970s as the victims’ rights movement gained momentum. During this period, laws began to change in support of victims’ rights at both the state and federal level, grassroots organizations continued to advocate for change in policy and practice, and private self-help organizations emerged in direct response to the real lack of services for victims of violence. One such private advocacy group for homicide survivors is Parents of Murdered Children (POMC), which was founded in 1978. Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), founded in 1980, also

became an important advocacy group for homicide victims as the organization successfully redefined the drunk driving “accident” as a crime of violence. In 1981, the abduction and murder of 6-year-old Adam Walsh resulted in widespread public attention to the plight of child victims. American Citizens for Justice, based in Michigan, began in 1983 in response to the probation sentences given to the killers of Chinese American Vincent Chin, who was beaten to death.

Howard and Connie Clery, whose daughter Jeanne was raped and murdered at Lehigh University, formed Security on Campus (SOC) in 1987 to advocate for awareness and policy in support of crime victims on campuses. In 1990, federal legislation established the requirement that higher education institutions report publicly the incidences and prevalence of violent crimes on campuses. Throughout the 1990s, victim advocacy groups effectively lobbied for the implementation of state constitutional provisions typically called the Victims’ Bill of Rights. While still advocating for amending the Constitution to include victims’ rights, homicide victim advocacy groups contributed to the passage of federal legislation for crime victims with the Crime Victims’ Rights Act of 2004, which defines the rights of victims to be heard, notified, and to be treated with dignity and respect for privacy.

Homicide Victim Advocacy

Because homicide victims tend to be young men, co-victims of homicide are often their parents, young wives or girlfriends, children, siblings, and friends. Advocacy groups have furthered understanding of the experiences of each of these types of individuals. A co-victim can be devastated and her or his identity permanently altered, as it is when a mother loses her child or a woman loses her husband. The daily disruption to being a “mother” or “wife” serves as a constant reminder to victims of the violence that killed their loved one. Victim advocacy may involve the legal side of those identity changes, such as custody of the surviving children or property. Advocacy for parents of a murdered child might mean supporting parents who first learn of their son’s homosexuality due to his death from a hate crime, or who realize the depth of their daughter’s abuse when she is killed by her intimate partner.

Homicide Victim Advocacy Groups

Typical of most homicide victim advocacy groups is the practice of telling the story of the victim's life, both to give voice to the crime victim and those impacted by the crime and to provide a positive memorial that emphasizes the victim's life rather than the violent moment of their death. Most homicide victim advocacy groups have Web sites with local resources, and these Web sites serve as a gathering place of sorts as people share stories and post photos and videos of their loved ones.

One of the earliest homicide victim advocacy groups was Parents of Murdered Children (POMC), founded in 1978 in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Charlotte and Robert Hullinger after the murder of their daughter, Lisa. There are now more than 300 local chapters throughout the United States, each offering emotional support and referrals as well as a network of others who can share experiences and ideas for healing. POMC offers immediate crisis response and advocates during criminal justice proceedings. In addition, POMC trains various professionals to be responsive to the homicide events and the after effects experienced by survivors and co-victims. POMC details guidelines for victim impact statements and other court advocacy; holds a national conference; identifies the different forms of grief experienced by siblings, parents, spouses, and children; and highlights current legislative efforts in need of support. Recent examples of legislative advocacy by POMC include supporting bills calling for continuing tax exemption claims for murdered children and procuring victims time off from work so that they can attend court proceedings. When children are the survivors of homicide, help can be found in an organization such as California's Children of Murdered Parents, which offers support groups for children who have lost their parents to murder.

Some homicide victim advocacy groups are housed in hospitals, such as the Family Advocacy Program at the Washington Hospital Center in Washington, D.C. This program, which is staffed with retired homicide detectives, is a coordinated response to gun violence and offers an important first response to co-victims, often in the very place where the death occurs. This group helps survivors to deal with many immediate issues, such as organ transplant decisions, police investigations, media

coverage, and referrals for counseling and spiritual support.

Another group that demonstrates a successful working relationship across agencies is the Grief Assistance Program (GAP) in Philadelphia at the Office of the Medical Examiner. Through a program called Jumpstart, GAP works with various funeral homes to create support groups for family members experiencing trauma as a result of the murder.

Families & Friends of Violent Crime Victims, one of the oldest victim advocacy groups in the United States, was founded in 1975 in Washington. Lola Linstad and Linda Barker created this organization after the abduction and murder of Vonnie Stuth, Linstad's 19-year-old daughter. This typical homicide survivor organization offers legal advocacy, an online memorial of victims, and advice about how to manage holidays and anniversaries that may trigger strong emotional reactions and memories of the loved one.

Homicide Survivors, Inc. is an advocacy group located in Tucson, Arizona. It was founded by Gail Leland, whose 14-year-old son, Richard, was murdered in 1981. Leland recognized the need for support for parents of murdered children. Because crime victim rights advocacy and assistance were not allowed under the POMC charter, members created the separate Homicide Survivors, Inc. to provide services and lobby for legislative reform. This group's efforts contributed to important legal changes in Arizona, including a "guilty except insane" law and the victims' right not to receive inmate mail law.

Memorial projects, such as the Texans for Equal Justice Victim Memorial Wall in Conroe, are public displays that honor the life of homicide victims. The Mothers of Murdered Sons/Daughters (M.O.M.S.) Web site includes a "memory board" with pictures and biographies of murdered children, and a message board for mothers to support each other and share victim impact statements.

Advocacy for Victims of Mass Homicide

Victim advocacy groups highlight the need for quality crisis response, in the form of coordinated community teams, to the victims and co-victims of mass homicides and disasters, including terrorist attacks, workplace violence, school and campus shootings, and international violence such as war crimes. The 2007 Virginia Tech shootings caused

countless co-victims and renewed national attention to coordinate community response to such events. Advocacy groups have led efforts for new protocols and policies on college campuses to address issues such as weapons on campus, intervention and mental health, privacy rights, and public safety. Some examples of changes made on campuses include new text alert systems, enhanced mental health screening and support groups, and the creation of coordinated crisis response teams and trainings of campus and community law enforcement personnel, medical and mental health professionals, campus student affairs officers, and victim advocates.

Homicide Victim Advocacy Groups for Alternative Justice Responses

Some homicide victim advocacy groups challenge the conventional policy response to violence in our society by desiring alternative sentencing. Murder Victims' Families for Reconciliation was founded in 1976 to represent murder victims' families who oppose the death penalty. Its members detail examples of how they face additional barriers because of their advocacy for alternative sentencing. In one example, two family members who oppose the death penalty were barred from speaking at a pardon hearing in Nebraska, while the victim's sister who supports the death penalty was allowed to speak (crime victims' right to speak is guaranteed in the state constitution). Murder Victims' Families for Human Rights is an organization with an international human rights focus against the death penalty, comprised of family members of murder victims and those killed in state killings, terrorist killings, and "disappearances." These two organizations often discuss the discrimination they face due to their politically unpopular view of capital punishment and direct challenge to the state. The National Organization of Victims of "Juvenile Lifers" advocates for the rights of co-victims in cases of murderers under age 18 and to oppose legislative efforts to end the juvenile life without parole sentence.

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See also Death Notification; Homicide, Children and Youth; Homicide and Murder; Secondary Victims of Homicide; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Support Groups

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HOMICIDE, VICTIM-PRECIPITATED

According to the common law, murder is the intentional taking of another human life with premeditation or with extreme malice (i.e., in “cold blood”). This is the basis for the scenarios—either real or imagined—that come to mind when people are asked to describe the crime of murder. However, both criminologists and homicide investigators know that this type of murder is only one type of criminal homicide, and is one of the least common at that. In his seminal study of criminal homicide, criminologist Marvin Wolfgang pored over hundreds of Philadelphia homicide cases circa 1950 with the purpose of describing the extent, nature, and correlates of lethal violence. Wolfgang's research was—and remains—influential to how violence and victimization are perceived. Contrary to taking a one-sided view of a predatory offender and an innocent victim, Wolfgang argued that we can neither understand nor ultimately prevent homicide without understanding the relationship

between the victim and the offender. Wolfgang was instrumental in bringing the inquiry into “heated” personal interaction to the forefront of theorizing about homicide and leaving in the background the inquiry into much less common “cold-blooded” killings. He found that although in some cases a homicide involved a predatory offender and a victim who, if not “innocent,” was powerless, in other cases it would not have been clear at the time who would ultimately be the offender and who the victim. In some incidents the individual parties were involved in an altercation that was in fact initiated by the victim, but ended up with his or her demise at the hands of the person initially attacked. The victim therefore played a direct role in his or her own death. Wolfgang coined the term *victim precipitated* for these types of homicides, and it is a term that remains analyzed and debated today. This entry outlines how victim-precipitated homicide has been defined and classified (along with classification problems), research findings on victim-precipitated homicide, and the special case of “suicide by cop.”

Definition and Examples

Victim-precipitated homicides refer to criminal homicides—both murders and manslaughters—involving at least one victim and one offender, but are limited to cases of interpersonal violence. Mass and serial murders would therefore be omitted from this category, as would noncriminal homicides (e.g., homicides that are justifiable, as in cases of self-defense). Some have argued that a homicide is merely an assault (i.e., fight, brawl, attack) in which a death occurs. A victim-precipitated homicide is therefore a case where an assault was initiated by the eventual victim. According to Wolfgang’s definition, harsh words or insults hurled by the victim are not enough; in order for the homicide to be classified as victim precipitated, the victim must have physically attacked the offender and therefore initiated the conflict that resulted in his or her death. Based on his classification, Wolfgang defined 150, or 26%, of the 588 homicides he analyzed as victim precipitated. Some of the many examples from the Philadelphia case files provided by Wolfgang include (1) an argument over money in which the victim shot first, and was then fatally wounded when the other

party returned fire; (2) someone started a fight, landing several blows on his victim, but then became the victim when the initial victim landed the fatal blow; and (3) a husband argued with and then began beating his wife, but his wife reached for a knife in the kitchen and fatally stabbed her husband. Since Wolfgang’s initial study the essential definition of victim-precipitated homicide has not changed. However, some analysts have argued for a less rigid definition that includes nonphysical precipitates (e.g., insults, dirty looks), and others have argued that such modifications make case classification more difficult.

Classification and Critique

As noted above, based on his own definition of the concept, Wolfgang classified 26% of homicides as victim precipitated. Subsequent studies employing this definition have found prevalence rates between 13% and 38%. Although the concept is relatively straightforward, some of the variation in the prevalence of victim-precipitated homicides no doubt belies the difficulty in measuring the concept (i.e., classification based on actual homicide data). Accurate classification relies on an accurate account of how the homicide transpired. Accurate accounting may be difficult for a number of reasons. First, the analyst seeking to classify homicides in this manner must assume that the narratives associated with homicide cases, which are usually provided by police investigators and rely on confessional and eyewitness accounts (if available), are accurate and reliable. Reliability, or the consistency with which a concept is measured, may be particularly problematic, as it is well known that not all homicide investigations are as rigorous as popular accounts often portray them to be. As such, there may be scant information on the circumstances involved in a homicide, and not enough to determine with confidence whether or not it involved victim precipitation. While it may be known that, for example, a homicide resulted from a fight outside a tavern, the circumstances leading up to the fight may be unknown. Thus, an analyst seeking to determine whether or not the victim was the one who threw the first punch would be stymied by cases such as these. Classification in homicide incidents involving firearms may prove even more difficult, given (1) the brutal efficiency of this weapon

in comparison to others and (2) the strong tendency for individuals to leave the scene at the sound of gunfire. Deaths from shootings were not the norm in Wolfgang's data, but firearms are the most common implement in cases of lethal violence today. Second, since by definition the victim-precipitated homicide—or any homicide, for that matter—rules out gathering an accounting of the incident from the victim him- or herself, the accounts that are recorded may be subject to what Australian criminologist Kenneth Polk colorfully described as the “Rashomon effect.” The “Rashomon effect” refers to the Japanese film *Rashomon*, in which the central event in the film—a rape-murder—is recounted by several different parties, and as the film proceeds it becomes clear that each account is biased in favor of the person doing the recounting. The determination of whether or not a homicide was victim precipitated may rely solely on the account given by the offender, who implicates the victim in the interest of self-preservation. If narratives about an incident differ and are biased either in favor of or against the offender, whether or not the victim “started” the altercation that led to his or her demise may or may not be sorted out in the case description. Third, although Wolfgang ruled out verbal or gestural actions as sufficient precipitates, some homicide researchers have argued that this excludes too many cases in which the offending action—despite being nonphysical—could be deemed to be just as offensive and provocative as a first blow.

Research

Beyond the initial classification of victim-precipitated homicides, Wolfgang sought in his study to identify correlates, or factors that might differentiate such homicides from those where the precipitation was not an issue. As a social scientist, Wolfgang's purpose was to test statistical hypotheses that might allow for improved understanding and theorizing about the circumstances surrounding the perpetration of criminal homicides. However, he also stressed the possible practical implications of his research for investigators in the business of solving homicides. Given the access he obtained to the Philadelphia homicide files, Wolfgang had at his disposal a wealth of information about the individuals involved in these crimes,

including their age, race/ethnicity, and gender, along with information on the circumstances of the homicide, including the method by which the offender dispatched the victim, the motive for the homicide, the nature of the relationship between the victim and offender, the victim's previous arrest record, and the use of alcohol or drugs by either offender or victim at the time the homicide occurred.

In a comparison of victim-precipitated with non-victim-precipitated homicides, Wolfgang found that significantly more victim-precipitated cases involved victims who were African Americans. Men were more likely to be the victims in victim-precipitated homicides (94% of the victims in victim-precipitated cases vs. 72% of the victims in remaining cases), and women were twice as likely to be offenders in victim-precipitated cases. Wolfgang also found that more victim-precipitated homicides took place at home, and involved domestic violence between intimate partners (e.g., spouses). He found no differences in the two types of cases with regard to age of the victim. Stabbings appeared more frequently in victim-precipitated homicides (probably partially due to the higher proportion of female offenders), but motive did not vary significantly by type of homicide. Finally, Wolfgang found that victims in victim-precipitated cases were more likely to have used alcohol at the time of the homicide, and were more likely to have a prior arrest record, than victims in other types of homicide cases. These results led Wolfgang to conclude that the victim, rather than being a helpless or weak individual, in these cases may have been as much a threat as the offender. The victim could have easily ended up the killer in many of these cases.

Since Wolfgang's initial analysis several studies, using data from other cities, have for the most part replicated the findings regarding correlates of victim-precipitated homicides.

Suicide by Cop

An interesting line of research on victim-precipitated homicides has involved a phenomenon known as “suicide by cop.” Essentially, this is a special case of victim precipitation in which the victim has suicidal intent, and brings about his or her own demise, albeit at the hands of another. Although Wolfgang noted that some victims in victim-precipitated homicides are set on dying in

the event, the “offender” in this case is a police officer, and one whose actions may be deemed justified and reasonable. This is so because the victim presents him- or herself as a deadly threat, usually by brandishing or perhaps even shooting a firearm at or in the vicinity of a police officer. Therefore, unlike the majority of cases analyzed by Wolfgang, suicide by cop is a type of victim-precipitated homicide that is not a criminal homicide. Since the landmark case of *Tennessee v. Garner* decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1985, the prevailing legal rule across the United States is that a police officer is justified in using deadly force against a person if the officer *perceives* that person to pose an immediate, deadly threat to the officer or others nearby. A case where an individual is shot because he or she pointed a fake gun at a police officer, but the officer perceived the gun to be real and therefore a deadly threat, is considered a justifiable homicide. It is a victim-precipitated homicide because the victim initiated the homicide by pointing the fake gun at the police officer, and would be considered suicide by cop if the victim was seeking to end his or her own life through this action. Why suicide by cop? Researchers have argued that many individuals with suicidal intent do not have the fortitude to take their own lives, and thus pursue another avenue (sometimes by calling the police to their homes) to have the police do it for them. Finally, some suicides by cop are the outcome of a horrific ordeal, such as the taking of hostages and/or the murder of one or more individuals by the eventual victim (so-called suicide-homicides).

Michael O. Maume

See also Homicide and Murder; Offending and Victimization; Public Perceptions of Victims; Rape, Victim Precipitated; Victim Precipitation

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HOMICIDE AND MURDER

Homicide and murder are the most egregious and feared violent crimes. This entry begins by defining the various types of homicide and murder. The prevalence, victim and offender characteristics, and risk factors are also explored. Murders with multiple victims, such as serial, mass, and spree murder are discussed, as well as some of the various criminological explanations for these crimes. The entry includes a section on indirect victims that examines the impact of homicide and murder on the family, friends, and community of the victims. It concludes with discussions of potential homicide and murder prevention strategies, as well as various punishment options.

Definition

Homicide includes a group of actions that result in the death of a human being. Not all acts of homicide are criminal. For example, some forms of noncriminal homicide include acting in the line of duty (as does a police officer), a citizen acting in self-defense, and the state executing an offender who has been found guilty of capital murder.

Murder is the unlawful killing of another person, marked by no legal justification. Murder is further divided into first and second degree murder. First degree murder involves intention and is marked by malice aforethought, which includes the intent to kill or inflict serious bodily harm, as well as a reckless indifference to human life. Second degree murder is separate from first degree murder in that it does not involve any premeditation. Murder also includes the felony-murder doctrine, which transfers the intent of an individual committing a felony (such as robbery or kidnapping) to the murder. The two elements that are

generally present to classify a homicide to a murder are the *actus reus* (guilty act) and the *mens rea* (guilty mind).

Killings that are not justifiable but which are accidental are generally classified as manslaughter. Some states have statutes that further classify manslaughter as either vehicular or nonvehicular manslaughter, depending on whether or not an automobile is involved. Manslaughter is viewed as a much less severe form of homicide that may or may not involve a criminal sanction.

Prevalence

Homicide rates vary greatly by geographic location. The United States ranks among the nations with the highest rates in the world for all types of homicide. As with all crimes, cross-national comparisons are often difficult, as different countries use different data-gathering and reporting sources. Despite the difficulty in these comparisons, homicide is the crime most commonly used to compare violent crime rates across countries.

The primary source of homicide data in the United States is the report of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program. This report includes data as collected by local law enforcement agencies and compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Criminal homicides are categorized and counted as (1) murder, (2) nonnegligent manslaughter, or (3) manslaughter by negligence.

Although the United States has higher murder rates than most other countries, murder is still a relatively infrequent occurrence in the nation, representing only a fraction (about .02%) of all violent crimes committed. The 1960s and 1970s experienced a sharp increase in the homicide rate. The rate increased in 1980, and then from the 1980s and early 1990s showed a series of peaks and valleys. However, from 1992 until 2000, the rate began to decrease dramatically, and then it began to level off after 2000.

Violent crime in general has been declining over the past several years. There have been several potential reasons posited for the decline in the homicide rate in particular. In 1998, Alfred Blumstein and Richard Rosenfeld noted that improved economic conditions had led to an increase in the number of legitimate employment opportunities, decreasing the likelihood that people

would engage in the criminal activities that might lead to homicide. In conjunction with this, drug markets began to stabilize, leading to less involvement in the illegal substance market. It may also be that the decline is due to the decrease in the age group most likely to perpetrate a homicide, those between the ages of 15 and 24. Increases in gun control, such as with the passage of the Brady bill, have also been credited for the decline in the homicide rate. Finally, an increase in the incarcerated population may have led to some of the decline. From the 1980s into the new millennium, a “get tough” on crime approach, realized through mandatory minimum sentences, three-strikes laws, and truth-in-sentencing laws, has placed more individuals behind bars for longer periods of time, resulting in fewer potential offenders on the streets.

Victim and Offender Characteristics

To understand the dynamics of homicide, it is important to understand the relationship between the victim and the offender. In slightly more than one third of incidents, the relationship between the victim and the offender is undetermined; however, approximately one third of homicides occur among acquaintances, and about 15% involve family members. Slightly less than 14% of homicides occur among strangers.

The age distribution of victims and offenders is also worth noting. Those age 18 to 24 are the most likely to be a perpetrator or a victim. Those who are the least likely to be involved in a homicide as either a victim or an offender are those age 14 and younger.

Gender and race differences have also peaked interest with respect to homicide. Males are disproportionately represented as both victims and offenders. They are four times more likely than females to be a victim, and ten times more likely to perpetrate a homicide. Females are more often the victim of homicide than the offender, and are likely to be victimized by an intimate partner. The methods used also vary according to gender, with males being more likely to use a firearm, and females being more likely to use either poison or arson against their victims.

Homicide ranks as a leading cause of death among Blacks, who are six times more likely to be victimized than are Whites. In terms of offending, Blacks are seven times more likely to perpetrate a

homicide than are Whites. Homicide also tends to be an intraracial crime, with White offenders generally killing White victims, and Black offenders generally killing Black victims.

Risk Factors

In addition to the issues described above, other factors may be considered to determine whether an individual will be involved in a homicide, either as a victim or as an offender: drugs and alcohol, geographic location, availability of weapons, and socioeconomic status. Thus drugs and alcohol may play a vital role in whether a homicide will occur; however, the link between substances and the causal order between the substance and the offense are difficult to determine. Nevertheless, it has been found that many violent offenders do use illegal drugs and/or alcohol, and that many offenses are precipitated by the existence of either illegal substances or alcohol consumption.

Homicide rates and risk also vary according to region within the United States. The South and the West have substantially higher homicide rates than the Midwest and the Northeast. Many explanations have been posited for this. The correlation between warm weather and homicide is one explanation, as portions of both the Western and Southern regions enjoy year round warmer climates, leading to more interpersonal interaction and potentially creating more opportunities for homicide. With respect to the South, there may be a subcultural issue where violence is an acceptable means of dispute resolution. The history of strained race relations and the availability of firearms may contribute to some of the high homicide rates in the Southern states.

In the United States, handguns are involved in approximately half of all homicides committed, and some type of firearm is used in approximately 65% of homicides. Other weapons used in homicides include knives, blunt objects, and poison.

Social class also may have an impact on homicide rates. People who live in the households with the lowest incomes typically experience the highest rates of violent crime. This may be due to the effects of living in lower socioeconomic status neighborhoods. Thus individuals who reside in areas where there is high crime, high unemployment, lower education levels, and lower income brackets are more

likely to experience violent victimization in part because of their proximity to or involvement in illegal drug and gun markets and gang activities.

Murder With Multiple Victims

Serial Murders

Although many people fear being the victim of a serial killer, serial murders are rare events, representing less than 1% of all homicides. The term *serial murderer* was coined in the 1980s, though murderers whose crimes conform to the definition of a serial killing have always existed. The generally accepted definition of a serial murderer is someone who has committed a murder on at least three separate occasions.

Because serial murders are an extremely rare event, they are difficult to study. Most researchers who study serial murderers state that they are generally ordinary in appearance, blending easily into society, maintaining stable relationships, and holding regular employment. Although most serial killers are White males, there have been several cases in which the killer was female or Black.

Mass and Spree Murders

Mass murder is generally defined as the murder of four or more victims in one place as part of the same incident. This type of murder most frequently occurs in the home, in the workplace, or at schools, likely because these are the locations where people spend the most time and because these locations often have several people congregated in one area. Many mass murders are preceded by the expression of some sort of prior grievance, threat, or warning. After commission of the crime, mass murderers often commit suicide.

It should be understood that mass and serial murder are distinctly different from spree murder. A spree murder is defined as a murder that occurs at two or more separate locations, with no “cooling off” period between the murders. The concept of a “cooling off” period proves to be a difficult one, as the term is defined differently by various people; however, it is an important concept to consider, as it may be used in determining the amount of premeditation involved in the murders, which ultimately affects the punishments that are meted out.

Explanations

Various criminological theories may be used to explain murder and homicide, depending on the circumstances of the crime. Because many murders are situational and involve little to no planning or premeditation, symbolic interaction theories (such as those which state that individuals become criminal once society has labeled them as criminals) may explain many of these incidents. It is particularly noteworthy that many murders begin as some type of confrontation or assault, often in the typical course of daily interactions.

Almost any type of conflict may result in an assault and eventual homicide. In some situations, individuals may feel compelled to retaliate against an insult, accidental physical encounter, or intentional confrontation. In this way, homicides and murders are often situational, with neither the victim nor the offender intending to kill the other. Rather, a situation may escalate as a result of each party's attempting to "save face."

Subcultural theory may also provide some explanations for murder. According to this theory, individuals form their values, norms, beliefs, and expectations based on their surroundings. Ultimately, those who reside in crime-ridden neighborhoods are likely to believe that violence is an acceptable means of problem solving and conflict resolution. This theory is also useful in explaining homicides that are ignited by conflict.

Other criminological explanations are tied to psychological or biological theories. Some of these theories posit that those who commit murder are fundamentally different from those who do not. For example, it has been hypothesized that males may be more likely to commit homicide than females because they have more testosterone than females. Other theories suggest that males who are predisposed to violent behavior may have an extra Y chromosome; rather than having one X and one Y chromosome, these males would have one X and two Y chromosomes. Still others claim that some individuals who commit murder suffer from some type of psychological dysfunction, leading them to not be able to recognize that their actions are wrong, or to not care about the consequences of their violent behavior.

Many theories can be used to explain homicide. Some of these theories focus on the individual offender, while others are more concerned with

the environment of the particular offender at the time of the offense. It is important to remember that because a variety of factors are used to explain homicide, multiple theories may be valid explanations, depending on the individual criminal act.

Indirect Victims

The deceased individual is obviously the direct victim of a homicide or murder; however, there are other individuals who are impacted by the offense, such as the family or friends of the offender. Because their loved ones may have died unexpectedly or in a particularly tragic manner, the victims' family and friends often suffer from trauma, stress, anger, and anxiety at the loss of a loved one. Survivors of victims have been called co-victims. Not only do co-victims have to deal with the crime, but they must also contend with legal issues and the criminal justice system after the death of their loved ones.

The death notification process can be especially problematic for co-victims. This notification often comes directly to the surviving family members from homicide detectives or police officers. The U.S. Department of Justice and the Office for Victims of Crime specifically outline the procedures that are to be taken by law enforcement personnel when notifying the family of the victims.

Many states allow certain rights to the surviving family members of a homicide victim, in part as a result of the efforts of victims' rights organizations. These rights are called the Victims' Bill of Rights and often include stipulations such as return of the victim's personal property, the right to attend all court proceedings, potential compensation, and input during the various stages of the trial.

The community also often suffers as a result of a homicide or murder. This can be especially true if there are multiple victims, such as with a serial, mass, or spree murder. Because these incidents are often high profile, the communities in which they occur may be devastated, leaving residents feeling helpless, fearful, and/or angry as a result of the crimes occurring in their community.

Prevention

Because there are numerous factors that can contribute to the commission of a murder, attempting to

intervene or prevent murders can be difficult. If the recent decline in the murder rate can be attributed to increases in the prison population, incarcerating violent offenders may provide a potential solution. However, research suggests that most offenders who commit a murder are highly unlikely to recidivate.

In order to address issues with intimate partner homicides, social policies have been passed to address the specific issues surrounding intimate partner violence. An increase in attention to this topic has led to an increase in the number of shelters and services for battered individuals. Also, though the efficacy of mandatory arrest laws in preventing escalating abuse is controversial, these laws require that law enforcement remove one party from the scene of a domestic violence call.

Other prevention methods may involve increased security or surveillance in areas where violent crime is likely to occur. Increased police patrols and security cameras may be used to prevent violent crime in general from occurring, which may also prevent a crime from escalating into a murder.

These are only a few of the potential prevention strategies. Because murders are committed for a range of reasons and under a variety of circumstances, prevention methods vary according to the motivations of the offender, the relationship between the victim and the offender, and the circumstances surrounding the crime.

Punishment

Punishments for homicides and murders vary depending on several factors. The higher the level of the offense classification, the more likely the offender will receive a harsh sentence. For example, manslaughter is generally punished less severely than second degree murder, and first degree murder more severely than second degree murder. Sentences also vary according to state and federal legislation, with each state within the United States setting its own sanction ranges for specific forms of homicide.

One controversial form of punishment allocated for murder is capital punishment. States using this as a form of punishment reserve this sanction for the forms of murder that are deemed the most severe, termed *capital murder*. Currently, 38 states and the federal government have statutes that allow for the death penalty to be carried out

against those found guilty of capital murder, but many of these states do not commonly hand down death sentences. Some common specific statutes for a murder to qualify for capital punishment may include the murder of more than one individual, a young child, during the commission of a felony, or against a police officer acting in the line of duty.

Most forms of murder and homicide rely on prison sentences as the primary sanction. These sentences vary according to the state and the severity of the individual offense. States generally reserve life in prison sentences for the murders that they deem the most severe. Some states retain the life in prison without the possibility of parole; however, life sentences can also equate to approximately 20 years behind bars, with parole possibilities introduced after the offender has served a specified amount of time.

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See also Guns and Victimization; Homicide, Victim-Precipitated; Serial Murder; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Violence, Theories of

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HOT SPOTS

Hot spots of crime are defined in various terms, but are usually understood to be areas containing

substantially higher than average levels of crime. The observation that crime is concentrated in particular places is not a new one; it is arguably the oldest in criminology, dating to Adolphe Quetelet and Andre-Michel Guerry in the early 19th century. The significance of hot spots of crime lies in the hope that because a disproportionate amount of crime is located in relatively small areas, effective management of public places can lead to lower levels of crime.

Conventional Explanations

There are two primary theoretical explanations for why crime hot spots form and exist. The first of these can be characterized as *demographic* by virtue of a focus on the underlying social and economic conditions of an area. The most well known of these approaches is social disorganization theory, which predicts that areas with low socioeconomic status (high levels of unemployment, housing density, ethnicity, single-parent households, public housing, household turnover, and low educational attainment) will be associated with high levels of crime. The residents of these types of areas are said to be ill equipped to provide effective social control over potential criminals.

The main criticism of demographic explanations of hot spots is that they are, at best, meso-level explanations and do not provide sufficient explanatory granularity to predict hot spots. There is burgeoning empirical evidence that crime events are highly spatially concentrated; thus even in high crime areas, most locations are crime free. For instance, one of the first hot spot studies showed that 50% of police calls for service originated from a mere 3% of locations (and this distribution has been found in many cities worldwide). As almost all demographic explanatory factors are measured at the neighborhood or community level, it is difficult to see how they are able to account for patterns at the micro level. They cannot explain, for example, why 80% of a suburb's crime might occur at one intersection and the adjoining street segments.

The second major theory of crime hot spots can be found in environmental criminology and is heavily reliant on explanations involving routine activities of both offenders and victims and the factors that facilitate these individuals intersecting in space and time. The specific theories that help

explain crime hot spots at a micro level are *routine activity theory* (also called *routine activities theory*) and *crime pattern theory*. Routine activity theory posits that a criminal incident is only possible when a motivated offender comes into contact with a suitable victim in the absence of a capable guardian. Much of the recent development and refinement of this theory has been on how effective *place managers* regulate places that would otherwise be settings for crime events. For instance, while some studies find that the presence of bars greatly increases the chance of crime occurring, there are a number of other studies that show that only a fraction of licensed venues account for the disproportionate volume of police calls for service. At its most abstract, routine activity theory suggests that much of opportunity structures for crime are determined by the routine activities of society and that the majority of offenders' time is spent conducting routine activities such as work or travel.

Crime pattern theory attempts to explain the spatial and temporal configuration of crime events. This is achieved by positing that individuals spend the vast majority of their time at one of several *nodes* (places of particular activities are carried out such of work, study, entertainment, home) or traveling on specific *paths* between them. Combining an individual's nodes and paths produces an *awareness space*. It follows then that the spatial configuration of crime events by a single perpetrator will be strongly determined by the extent of that individual's awareness space. Given that certain nodes feature in many people's awareness space (shopping precincts or public transport interchanges), crime hot spots are the result of overlapping awareness spaces.

Theoretical Model of Hot Spot Generation

The clearest and most complete theoretical description of hot spots has been provided by Patricia and Paul Brantingham in their model of crime hot spot generation. They argued that the generating process relies on three distinct elements, each of which is evidenced by associated theories. First, *criminal residence concentration*, the distribution of likely individuals to commit crime, forms the baseline potential for hot spots. As noted in the social disorganization literature, the types of environments that are associated with high levels of delinquency

are those that are characterized by indicators synonymous with deprivation. There are two established literatures that explain why criminal residences may cluster. Ecological theories, the best known being Ernest Burgess's concentric zonal model, predict clusters of criminal residences developing in transitional areas at the periphery of economic centers within a city, be they central or outlying. The rival explanation comes from theories about the relationship between public housing policies and crime and provides more powerful explanations in cities where governments are active in the housing market. The work of Sir Anthony Bottoms has been influential in this area, showing that housing allocation determines, in a nontrivial manner, the distribution of criminal residences.

The second element Brantingham and Brantingham identified is *target concentration*, reflecting the observation that many types of targets are concentrated in space and time. Thus a car thief will seek out car parks attached to public transport services in commuter belt suburbs to locate a wide variety of vehicles easy to steal. Pickpockets, however, seek out places where close personal contact is unavoidable (crowded public transport or nightclubs). These locations are advantageous for those crime opportunities because they provide many targets in a finite location and time with minimal protection from their owners. Predictions of target concentration are provided by routine activities theory and land use theories. The latter describes how the distribution of land uses within a city determines the distribution of crime opportunities, with the greatest number of opportunities concentrated in certain locations and few opportunities in other, larger areas. An elegant example of this was given by George Rengert in his analysis of car theft opportunities in Philadelphia. He showed that distinct hot spots emerge at different times of the day, and he was able to link these to different routine activities and land uses.

The final element identified as critical to hot spot generation is *movement patterns*. This simply reflects the fact that offenders need to locate and travel to crime opportunities if they wish to exploit them. In their theoretical model, Brantingham and Brantingham specify that movement patterns are strongly determined by two interdependent but separate factors: the permeability of the road network and the modes, rhythms, and volume of

transport. For example, open air drug markets require that buyers have fast access and egress routes into and out of the market, whereas this is not the case for closed drug markets. On the crime-generating influence of road networks, Daniel Beavon and Brantingham and Brantingham provide compelling evidence that street accessibility and crime are positively associated (cul de sacs host the least crime), as is the relationship between traffic volume and crime (busy roads have more crime). The Brantingham and Brantingham model provides a powerful explanation of the process of hot spot generation by subsuming the demographic explanation within it.

Types

In separate work, Brantingham and Brantingham distinguish two types of hot spots: *crime generators* and *crime attractors*. Crime generators are those places where large numbers of people gravitate to for legitimate purposes (shopping, entertainment, work, etc.). Among these will be potential offenders, who may be traveling without a purposive intent to commit a crime, but nevertheless decide to do so when confronted by the abundance of opportunities. For instance, an offender parking in a large multistory car park may notice a nearby parked car with a purse on the back seat. While there may have been no prior intention of stealing, when confronted with an opportunity, accompanied by suitable accompanying circumstances, the offender may decide to exploit it. It follows that the larger the car park, the more likely the offender will be to come across an opportunity to steal, all things being equal.

Crime attractors are locations that motivated offenders travel to with the intent to commit a certain form of crime, and they choose these locations because of the reputation of the area and the opportunities associated with it. Examples of crime attractors are large transport nodes, night time entertainment areas, large shopping malls, and major tourist locations. It is possible that a single location could be a crime generator and attractor simultaneously.

Thus, what makes hot spots different from other places is the abundance of opportunities they present for committing crime. Hot spots differ among themselves with respect to the reason

potential offenders are drawn to each location; offenders travel to crime attractors *because of* the opportunity to commit crime, but travel to crime generators *irrespective of* the supply of opportunities.

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See also Crime Mapping; Crime Pattern Theory; Prospective Crime Mapping; Repeat Victimization; Routine Activities Theory

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a particular area where a high level of fear of crime is concentrated. A hot spot of fear is defined as a place where users of the space (e.g., those who walk around or through, sit in, play in the space) report high levels of fear due to three distinct site features: prospect, refuge, and escape. Each site feature varies in effect for the would-be offender and the potential victim. When users characterize site features in a specific area as lacking prospects to see a would-be offender, providing few avenues for escape from a would-be offender, and presenting refuge for a would-be offender, they interpret these areas as potentially threatening or dangerous to their personal safety. Users are fearful of being victimized in such areas. Bonnie S. Fisher and Jack L. Nasar labeled an area characterized by low prospect, high refuge, and low escape for a potential victim as a hot spot of fear or a fear spot.

Mental Maps

Physical environmental characteristics aid in the development of mental templates that shape individuals' cognitive assessment and emotions. Individuals develop mental or cognitive maps of their environments based on physical site features and informed by direct experience with their surroundings, as well as indirect experience (e.g., media reports, rumors). Utilizing these mental maps, it is possible to assess one's surroundings, perceive danger, and consider future consequences and courses of action based on physical site features of the proximate physical environment. The presence or absence of these cues serves as a warning to individuals about the dangerousness of places or situations. In terms of victimization, individuals build cognitive maps through observing proximate physical cues in their present environment. Cognitive maps shape individuals' perceived risk for victimization, and provide a basis for determining levels of fear of crime in specific environments that individuals currently inhabit.

Theory of Fear Spots

Jay Appleton's prospect-refuge theory describes why prospect, refuge, and escape are useful in explaining fear of crime in relation to the proximate physical environment. According to this theory, prospect and refuge are evolutionary

HOT SPOTS OF FEAR

Hot spots are specific places where a large proportion of crimes are committed, or specific sites within

throwbacks related to survival. Environments offering an open view (prospect) and places to hide (refuge) were those most suited for survival. Individuals could both see what dangers were on the horizon and take shelter for defense or protection if necessary.

Erving Goffman suggested that the people scan the environment for signs of danger. Once individuals see or detect danger, they avoid, if at all possible, the specific place they perceive as dangerous. Researchers have reasoned that certain site features of the proximate physical environment communicate to individuals signs of safety or threat and, as a result, heighten their fear of crime.

Prospect, Refuge, and Escape

Work by both Appleton and Goffman suggests that three site features provide cues to users of an area about the relative safety or danger of the site. *Prospect* is characterized by openness, as in an open view of one's surroundings. An area or site that offers potential victims high levels of prospect would theoretically result in a feeling of safety and security, all else being equal. *Refuge*, on the other hand, implies a place to hide. A site lacking potential places of refuge (e.g., blind alleys) for offenders would be more likely to elicit perceptions of safety. Finally, *escape* refers to one's ability to avoid pursuit or get away from peril. Less confining areas offering many avenues of escape for potential victims would feel the safest.

Different scenarios involving varying levels of prospect, refuge, and escape offer an ideal opportunity for potential offenders to successfully commit a crime against their target. This same ideal set of circumstances is also the most likely to induce fear of crime among other site users. A site characterized by low or blocked prospect would be most likely to instill in site users a feeling of uncertainty and fear of crime. If the line of sight is restricted (e.g., by narrow corridors, many trees, or shrubs obscuring the view), area users are more likely to experience fear. Similarly, areas offering refuge or concealment for potential offenders (e.g., brick walls or large planters to hide behind) would be more likely to elicit a sense of fear in site users. Finally, sites lacking opportunities or avenues for victims to escape (e.g., dead ends) would be most likely to bring out feelings of fear among site users.

The combination of low prospect for the victim, high refuge for the potential offender, and few avenues of escape for the victim are those most likely to elicit fear and result in concentrations of fear at the proximate level.

Levels of Fear Spots

Fear spots exist at three levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro. The macro-level concentration of fear occurs within nations or cities. For example, a country in a state of war would be perceived as unsafe and a fearful environment in which to find oneself. The meso level represents a narrower scale, such that an entire city may not be perceived as dangerous, but only certain parts or neighborhoods within that city. Finally, micro-level fear spots are site specific. That is, fear is concentrated within a specific site, area within a site, or situation. To date, only micro-level fear spots have been subject to empirical attention, and the research of Fisher and Nasar and others indicates that fear does indeed concentrate at the site level based on elements of prospect, refuge, and escape.

Fisher and Nasar's Hot Spots of Fear Research

Different constellations of aspects of the physical environment are known to generate fear of crime. Fisher and Nasar introduced the idea that fear of crime may be concentrated in sites that are characterized by varying degrees of prospect, refuge, and escape.

Fisher and Nasar designed a study to examine fear of crime in relation to physical site features on a college campus to understand more fully the role of these site features on fear of crime. Based on examinations of site features at and around Ohio State University by graduate students in landscape architecture, planning and design, observations of pedestrian site user (e.g., college student) behaviors, official campus crime data, and self-reported survey responses from site users, the researchers identified specific site features that resulted in concentrations of high levels of fear. The researchers reported that those areas most avoided were characterized by low prospect and high refuge. Areas considered low prospect, but offering only moderate refuge were avoided only after dark. In addition, student surveys indicated that females reported feeling significantly less safe than did males while

traveling at night. Pedestrians traveling in groups were more likely than those traveling alone to enter into the areas judged to be unsafe. The consistent findings related to site behavior based upon physical design are that areas that seem unsafe are avoided after dark, and that the combination of low prospect, lack of escape, and high refuge are most likely to affect behavior through feelings of fear.

Research on Site Characteristics as Predictors of Fear of Crime

Research subsequent to Fisher and Nasar's work has examined different types of environments characterized by varying degrees of prospect, refuge, and escape. Many of these studies have been conducted by showing study participants pictures or videos of different environments and asking them about their fear and perceived risk if they were actually in such an environment. Such studies have generally been supportive of the earlier conclusions that elements of prospect, refuge, and escape are important predictors of fear, hot spots of fear, and perceived risk of attack.

Research has also been conducted that considered the role of physical features in different types of environments (e.g., settings in nature, urban spaces such as alleyways). Findings from these studies indicated that feelings of tranquility are most related to settings in nature, and danger is associated with urban settings. Other examinations of urban settings (e.g., alleyways) have extended the site features of prospect, refuge, and escape identified by Fisher and Nasar to also consider the role of additional features such as entrapment, setting care, mystery, shadow, curvature, length, and the width of alleyways in provoking fear. Aspects of setting care are most related to feelings of preference, and shadow is the strongest predictor of feelings of danger. With respect to measurement, prospect and escape have been combined and measured as one single concept, and refuge has been further refined to include measures of dark spots and hiding places. The studies using refined measures of proximity, refuge, and escape have reported statistically significant relationships between these measures and fear of crime that is similar to those reported in earlier studies.

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See also Crime Mapping; Defensible Space; Fear of Crime; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Hot Spots; Situational Crime Prevention

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking, also known as modern-day slavery or trafficking in persons, is a criminal act

and a violation of basic human rights (e.g., right to freedom, right to dignity, right to equal protection of the law) that affects every country in the world. Human trafficking is one of the few crimes that has been pursued from a victim's perspective, with a focus on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of traffickers. This entry explores the definition of trafficking and related common misunderstandings, and includes an examination of the size, scope, and patterns of trafficking; sample profiles of traffickers and victims; and responses to human trafficking.

Definition

In December of 2000 in Palermo, Italy, the world came together on the issue of trafficking in persons, finalizing the drafting of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, commonly known as the Protocol. The Protocol entered into force in December 2003. It defines the crime of human trafficking using three components: the process of obtaining the victim (e.g., recruiting, transporting, transferring, receiving, harboring), the means (e.g., deceit, coercion, abduction, threat, fraud, deception, abuse of power), and the goal (e.g., violence/sexual abuse, pornography, forced labor, involuntary servitude, debt bondage, prostitution, slavery). It includes human trafficking both for sexual exploitation and for labor.

Since the meeting in Palermo, 117 countries have signed the Protocol, but many of them have not yet modified their legislation to incorporate the crime of human trafficking into their penal code or fully implemented the process. This is not an easy task. It takes time, money, and a political will to change. The Protocol was developed through a process of consensus that then must be modified to operate within the various criminal justice systems throughout the world. For example, the United States legislation mirrors the Protocol, except that the United States does not include trafficking in human organs as a crime of human trafficking. The lack of full implementation within any country poses a problem for prosecution of traffickers within that country, as well as a problem for cooperation between countries that have differing legislation.

While many countries have signed the Protocol, the level of understanding of human trafficking is

limited, resulting in several common misunderstandings. It is widely known that at least 75% of the law enforcement officials around the world are unable to accurately define human trafficking, and the ability to define it is even less common among the general population, who serve as the frontline observers of the phenomenon. Trafficking refers to the act of commerce but is often mistaken to mean the individual must be moved or transported. Because commerce can occur without movement, human trafficking can be domestic as well as transnational.

Another common misunderstanding involves the confusion of human trafficking with illegal migration, smuggling, or labor exploitation. Illegal migration occurs when an individual crosses a national border without the appropriate paperwork or visa. Smuggling is the transportation of willing participants by a third party across a national boundary without the appropriate paperwork. Labor exploitation is the act of obtaining labor without the appropriate remuneration.

The crime of trafficking may begin as smuggling. For example, an individual may pay a smuggler for his or her services to gain entry into a country. Once in the country, the smuggler may request additional money. When the smuggled client cannot pay, the smuggler becomes a trafficker if he coerces the client to do something, such as prostitution, to gain the additional money. In the same way, an employer may exploit an individual, such as by expecting him or her to work for less than the standard minimum wage, but it becomes trafficking when the employer houses the employee and will not let him or her leave.

Size, Scope, and Patterns

The size and scope of the human trafficking problem throughout the world is unknown. Similar to other types of abuse, human trafficking remains hidden, thus underreported, as a result of victims' fear and shame. Estimates of the number of victims have ranged from a few thousand to many millions, but none of the estimates are based on reliable data. For example, 14,500 to 17,500 trafficking victims per year entering the United States has been widely used in estimates for several years. However, only approximately 300 to 500 victims per year have been identified through many sources (e.g., newspapers, court cases).

The solution to these unreliable estimates has been to collect data on actual cases, thus undercounting the problem. Although collecting such data is in its relative infancy, there are several known databases. The International Organization for Migration held a meeting of researchers in 2004 that has resulted in development of the most complete global database, with approximately 7,000 victims of trafficking listed as of 2005.

It is accepted that every country is involved in human trafficking as a country of origin, transit, or destination. However, some countries are more likely to be a country of origin (e.g., extreme poverty, war torn), while others are likely to be a transit country due to geographic location (e.g., Mexico, which borders the United States) or a destination country as a result of its relative wealth (e.g., United States, Italy, United Kingdom). Trafficking patterns vary across time and reports are often based on a few known cases. However, generally, trafficking origins often are found in situations of dire poverty, frequently a result of war or economic devastation. For example, in the aftermath of the economic devastation and the fall of the Soviet Union, many of the Balkan states became countries of origin, supplying desirable women for sex trafficking throughout the Mediterranean and European regions.

Profiles of Traffickers and Victims

While the profile of traffickers includes a wide array of actors and organizational types, much of the literature reports small operations consisting of one or two traffickers, often a male and female team. On the other end of the continuum is organized crime, with its structures varying from loose networks to hierarchical organized crime families. Several typologies have been developed in the literature, but one incorporates both the organizational type and structure with the potential economic gains. This typology describes the continuum as moving from a sole proprietor (e.g., one man prostitutes one female, one household has one domestic servant in debt bondage) to a cottage industry (e.g., one native man sends his “girlfriend” back to her country to recruit one or two more friends or family to be prostituted), to a mall (e.g., several cottage industries in close proximity that often share their trafficked victims when the demand is high to

maximize profits), to the corporation (i.e., a highly structured organization with many victims). Women, as willing and/or unwilling partners, are often used in the recruitment phase, adding credibility to the deception involved in the process.

There is no universal profile of victims because of the wide variation in characteristics. For example, a child may be recruited by family members or community elders with the promise that the child will be given to a rich family and provided with an education and a skilled trade, but instead the child is sold into a life of pornography, sex tourism, or harsh labor. On the other hand, a woman may be recruited for prostitution or domestic service. Identification of victims is most effective using indicator characteristics. Indicators of trafficking include lack of freedom of movement, abuse, lack of personal documents, and an exaggerated fear response. For example, victims may be found living in rooms adjacent to massage parlors or under guard in an apartment or home. They are seldom seen in public and are frequently escorted when outside the work environment. In addition, many victims have untreated health needs.

Responses to Human Trafficking

The complexities involved in this covert crime necessitate that responses to human trafficking take a multidisciplinary approach to ensure their effectiveness. From a supply perspective, strategies that interrupt the “push” factors are likely to be effective. For example, extreme poverty without local employment opportunities and the perceived increase in the standard of living in foreign countries, combined with having children and no husband, have pushed young women to seek employment outside their home country. This desperation leaves the women vulnerable to those who come with promises of employment and a better life. Coupled with the fact that traffickers are often women from the home country, often from the same city, the promises are believable. Public awareness programs targeting these women are likely to assist them in making different choices.

From a demand perspective, strategies that interrupt the “pull” factors are likely to be effective. Demands often take the form of a general desire for cheap labor to decrease the prices and increase the profits on goods and services, as well as the desire

for sex. Public awareness and public shaming about forced labor (e.g., the Prohibition of Acquisition of Products Produced by Forced or Indentured Child Labor has resulted in a list of products produced using forced labor and the related country) are believed to be effective in reducing the use of this type of labor among major corporations. Other examples of demand reduction activities in the United States include prosecution of those who go abroad for sex tourism and “john” schools that educate males on the harm inflicted when they enlist the services of trafficked prostitutes.

Prevention efforts are focused on those who are most vulnerable (e.g., conflict zones) by increasing general awareness. Protection of the victims comes in many forms. Victims are often threatened by their traffickers, and their families are in danger. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) provides funds for victim assistance, including medical and mental health assistance, as well as T-visas that allow a trafficked victim and his or her family to live in the United States if he or she assists in the prosecution of the trafficker. Prosecution of traffickers has been plagued with problems, including insufficient evidence to prove the act of trafficking, difficulty in identifying the victims, and the general lack of awareness of human trafficking in law enforcement, the courts, and the jury pools.

The United States has responded to human trafficking with vigor since 2000. In October 2000, the TVPA became law, and in 2003 and 2005 its mandates were renewed. The 2000 legislation created the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons within the U.S. State Department. The 2003 legislation included a presidential initiative with \$50 million to support the development of multidisciplinary trafficking task forces, external research, and other activities. The 2005 legislation called for a biennial report on the state of human trafficking research.

In 2001, the U.S. State Department began producing the annual *Trafficking in Persons Report*, which ranks each country into three tiers according to compliance with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Self-assessment of the United States is not included in the *Trafficking in Persons Report*, due to the appearance of bias. Instead, the U.S. Department of Justice issues an annual report on the activities of the United States.

Other countries have responded to the call to action housed in the Protocol. For example, Lebanon

has completed its country assessment with the assistance of funding from the United Nations. The findings of the assessment indicate that the current penal code has all of the component laws necessary to prosecute traffickers, but lacks an overarching law labeling the aggregate behavior as human trafficking with the associated severity of penalties.

Cindy J. Smith

See also Child Pornography and Sexual Exploitation; Immigration and Victimization; Innocence Projects; Sex and Victimization; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Blaming

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IDENTITY THEFT

Identity theft—the theft or unauthorized use of personal or credit information—is a relatively new form of crime that can result in its victims having to spend thousands of dollars and years of their lives restoring their good names. Little research has been conducted on this crime, so it is not well understood. This entry discusses the multiple definitions of identity theft, its prevalence and consequences, and legislative responses to it. It also presents findings from the first ongoing data collection of identity theft in the United States, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Findings from 2005, the first full calendar year of data collection using the survey revealed that 5.5% of all U.S. households had experienced this crime.

Definitions

In 1998, Congress passed the Identity Theft and Assumption Deterrence Act (U.S. Public Law 105-318). Prior to this act, the victims of identity theft were seen as the businesses that suffered losses (such as bank and credit card companies) rather than the individuals whose identifying information had been used to commit the theft. Although this legislation aided prosecution of cases involving harm caused to individuals, the legislation is so broad that it did not serve to tighten the definition of identity theft for the research community.

There is no one universally accepted definition of *identity theft*, as the term describes a variety of

illegal acts involving theft or misuse of personal information. Under the Fair Credit Reporting Act, identity theft is defined as the use or attempted use of an account or identifying information without the owner's permission. Using this guiding legislation, the Bureau of Justice Statistics added identity theft to the household portion of the ongoing National Crime Victimization Survey that collects data from over 40,000 households twice a year. For the NCVS, identity theft was defined as including three behaviors: (1) unauthorized use or attempted use of existing credit cards, (2) unauthorized use or attempted use of other existing accounts such as checking accounts, and (3) misuse of personal information to obtain new accounts or loans.

Prevalence

In 2005, 6.4 million U.S. households discovered that at least one member of the household had been the victim of identity theft during the preceding 6 months. This figure represents 1 in 20 households in the United States. Victimization rates vary depending on the type of an identity theft. Thus almost half (46.2%) of victimized households experienced unauthorized use of an existing credit card, whereas a quarter (24.7%) experienced unauthorized use of other existing accounts. Misuse of personal information, or the form that some argue is “true” identity theft, was experienced by about 1.1 million households, representing one in six victimized households.

Not all households in the United States are equally likely to experience identity theft. The

households most likely to experience any form of identity theft are those headed by the youngest members (those 18–24 years old), in urban or suburban areas, in the West, of non-Hispanics, and with the highest incomes (\$75,000 or more). Households headed by persons age 65 or older and by those earning less than \$50,000 have victimization rates that are at least half those of younger or more affluent households.

Of great importance to the public is how identity theft is detected, as Americans' focus is on preventing such theft or mitigating the extent of damage. The most common way households became aware of the identity theft was by missing money or noticing unfamiliar charges on an account (30.8%). One fifth of victimized households discovered the identity theft when someone was contacted about a late or unpaid bill. For 1 in 20 households, the identity theft was detected by noticing an error in a credit report, noticing a missing credit card or checkbook, or having an account blocked by the issuer.

Consequences

Examples of problems that can arise as a result of identity theft include having banking problems, being contacted by a debt collector, or even paying higher interest rates. Overall, in 2005, one in five households experienced some type of problem as a result of the identity theft. Households with theft of existing credit card accounts were the least likely to experience problems associated with the identity theft (9%), while households that experienced misuse of personal information were more likely to experience problems than households with unauthorized use of other existing accounts (33.7% vs. 18.0%).

When examining time spent resolving all problems associated with the episode of identity theft, households report two extremes of time spent. More than a quarter (28.6%) of victimized households were able to resolve all problems within one day or less. Households that experienced unauthorized use of credit card accounts were more likely than households victimized by other types of identity theft to spend a day or less resolving problems (36.5%). At the other end of the spectrum, 17% of victimized households report having to spend one month or more resolving all problems.

More than two thirds of victimized households reported a financial loss of \$1 or more as a result of the identity theft. This figure is limited to only the most recent loss if a household reported discovering more than one episode during the preceding 6 months, and costs or losses to businesses may or may not be included. The remaining households reported not experiencing any loss (18.3%) or did not know the amount of the loss (12.9%). In 40% of the victimized households, the dollar loss was less than \$500. About 5% of the victimized households sustained a loss of \$5,000 or more.

Policy and Legislation

Identity theft has come to the attention of policy makers and the public over the last decade. In 2004, the Identity Theft Penalty Enhancement Act, which carries a mandatory 2-year prison term, was signed into law. In addition, President George W. Bush established the President's Task Force on Identity Theft on May 10, 2006. This interagency task force examined the problem of identity theft and the federal response to it, and released a list of recommendations. The work of the task force has been compiled in the report *Combating Identity Theft: A Strategic Plan*, released in 2007, which provides guidance for federal agencies involved in preventing, responding to, and investigating the problem of identity theft.

One of the recommendations in the strategic plan is for the Federal Trade Commission and the U.S. Department of Justice to work together to better understand the scope of the problem. With funding from both agencies, a supplement to the NCVS was administered for the first 6 months of 2008. The Identity Theft Supplement collected detailed information about the offender, interaction with credit reporting agencies and financial institutions, emotional response of the victim, financial loss, and risk avoidance. Findings from this supplement are expected to be released in 2010 and represent the culmination of coordinated efforts of several federal agencies to bridge knowledge gaps and better understand the problem of identity theft.

Katrina Baum

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IMMIGRATION AND VICTIMIZATION

Understanding the victimization of immigrants was of great importance to pioneer victimologist Hans von Hentig, who listed "the immigrant" as one of thirteen categories in his 1948 typology of victims. As an immigrant himself, he knew how vulnerable immigrants can be. He described the experience as a temporary reduction to an extreme degree of helplessness in human relations. Despite von Hentig's interest, victimologists did not pursue the topic until recently. The new interest in immigrant victimization is usually billed under more politically compelling rubrics like trafficking of human beings, hate crime, or domestic abuse, or it is recast in terms of studies of race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion. These labels are expedient for research purposes, but they do not address the fact that being a foreigner and a minority member makes an individual a more vulnerable target for victimization than does just being a minority member.

Patterns of Victimization

There is considerable evidence that immigrants suffer higher rates of victimization than autochthons for both violent and certain property crime. They also suffer other types of victimization, including theft of wages, fraud, labor and housing violations, economic exploitation, trafficking in humans, and hate crime. In terms of common crimes of violence and property crimes, immigrants are more likely to be victimized by their own people than by autochthons.

This varies, however, depending on the type of crime and the gender of the victim. The patterns of victimization fit well with opportunity and conflict theories. Immigrants are suitable targets who are accessible and often have no guardians—unless they are living in enclaves. The vulnerability of immigrants who are illegal is even greater. The fact that a person is a foreigner and/or has ethnic characteristics that make him or her seem "foreign" incites some people to hate crime. Immigrants living in close proximity to high-crime-risk areas are more likely to be victimized. In general, the same sociodemographic characteristics associated with being a criminal are associated with being a victim of crime.

Immigrants have been found to be at higher risks than autochthons of being the victims of homicide in Australia and in the United States. Australian homicide victimization rates for various immigrant groups, calculated as age–sex standardized mortality ratios (SMRs) using the Australian-born rate as the standard, show that male SMRs ranged from 0.13 for immigrants from Africa and the Americas to 5.83 for Koreans.

California death certificates show that among residents who died of homicide in the 1990s, foreign-born persons were overrepresented. Risk rates varied by ethnicity and across time. Foreign-born Whites, Hispanics, and Asians were at significantly higher risk, while foreign-born Blacks were at a statistically similar risk of homicide compared with their U.S.-born counterparts.

Using 1999 Italian data, Marzio Barbagli distinguished between immigrants from developed and those from developing countries, and he calculated the risk of victimization for these two groupings compared to the risk for Italians (Italian = 1). Immigrants from developing countries had risks that were higher than both Italians and immigrants from rich countries for six crimes (burglary, purse snatching, robbery, aggravated assault, sexual assault, and homicide). They had lower risk than both immigrants from developed countries and Italians for auto theft and shoplifting. They were more than five times more likely than Italians to be pickpocketed, but half as likely to be pickpocketed as were immigrants from wealthy countries. With regard to homicide, they were 3.32 times as likely as Italians and 10.3 times as likely as immigrants from rich countries to be victims.

Victim surveys for 1990 and 1992 in Sweden found that immigrants had higher rates of victimization than native Swedes for three forms of violent

crime (violence causing death, serious violence, and threats of violence), but not for theft and property damage. Certain factors increased victimization rates among both immigrant and indigenous groups—specifically, being young, being single, living in public housing, and living in an urban environment.

Dutch studies from the 1990s showed that ethnic minorities (i.e., immigrants) were twice as likely as the entire city populations to be the victims of threats of violence and one-and-a-half times more likely to be victims of property crimes. Comparing the responses of Turks and Moroccans with those of a “matched” Dutch group who lived in the same neighborhoods, however, the immigrants appeared to be less often the victims of violent and property crime. Another study found no significant differences in general victimization rates of immigrants and natives living in the same neighborhoods.

Many studies have shown that immigrants are more likely to be victimized by their own kind than by autochthons. A simulation estimated that if foreigners were only 3% of those charged with homicide in Italy, the rate of victimization of immigrants would be reduced by 50.8%, while that of Italians would be reduced by only 2.3%. Of immigrant victims of homicide in Australia, 51.3% were killed by their compatriots. This varied from zero for New Zealanders to 100% for immigrants from the Middle East.

The terrorist attacks in the United States and the United Kingdom spawned a surge of retaliatory hate crimes against foreigners. Hate crime against immigrants, however, was commonplace before terrorism. Mary Beth Sheriden has reported that immigrants are regularly cheated by employers and defrauded by labor recruiters.

In major countries of destination, women immigrants from around the world share common characteristics of vulnerability and disproportionately high rates of abuse. Numerous studies document this vulnerability for women in situations involving domestic abuse, “mail order brides,” and human trafficking. In Sweden, for example, women with foreign backgrounds were found to have an 80% greater likelihood of being “victims of violence indoors” (an indirect measure of domestic violence) than are native Swedish females. Ironically, immigration policies often make immigrant women suffer their domestic abuse without protest by giving their spouses the power to have them deported.

The trafficking of human beings for sexual or labor exploitation reappeared on the agenda of the international community in the 1990s. Although the official estimates of the number of cases of trafficking appear to be seriously inflated, there is no doubt that the practice is a large and vicious one. Domestic abuse among mail order brides in the world is believed to be increasing. Filipina “mail order brides” in Australia have been found to be at extraordinarily high risk for violence and murder—almost six times more likely than other women to be victims of homicide.

The victimization of many immigrants begins even before they set forth on their journey. Predators of all kinds lie in wait. Labor recruiters lie to them. Bandits, police, immigration officials, shopkeepers, bus drivers, smugglers, and traffickers extort bribes, inflate prices, beat them, leave them to be cooked to death in locked vehicles abandoned in the desert, and exploit them in numerous ways.

William F. McDonald

See also Correlates of Victimization; Domestic Violence; Hate and Bias Crime; Human Trafficking; Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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IN-CAMERA PROCEEDINGS

A significant characteristic of the criminal justice system in the United States is its openness. There are no “star chambers” that operate out of the public view and behind closed doors. The televised trial of O. J. Simpson for the murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman is an example of the public nature of such proceedings. Not only were the proceedings reported each day in the press, but the trial was carried live on television. There are also numerous books that have been written as a result of the trial. The private lives of Simpson, Brown Simpson, and Goldman were displayed before the world. However, the question remains as to whether every portion of every trial should be played before the public and/or a jury. In-camera proceedings—where a matter (usually a question of law or discretion) is heard in private, in the judge’s chambers—are an alternative approach.

The victims of crimes come to court having already been harmed. The legal system is designed to provide a remedy, not only for the victim, but for the good of society and, it is hoped, the system will not exacerbate an injury or cause another. The remedies available to society are to punish the person who commits the crime, prevent similar crimes from occurring, and attempt to make the victim whole again. Despite these objectives, many victims and their families will forever bear the scars of the crimes that are committed against them.

The issues addressed in in-camera proceedings may be preserved on the record (i.e., recorded as a part of the trial transcript outside of the jury) or off the record, where only the outcome becomes part of the court record. It is important to note that the proceeding is not *ex parte* (i.e., one in which only one side is present), thus counsel for both parties to the dispute are usually present. Matters that are likely to be addressed may involve testimony of a rape victim or child, past sexual activity of the victim, the propriety of crime scene or autopsy photographs, expert testimony, medical information, informant testimony, informant identification, admissibility of evidence, national security information, review of an attorney’s work product, motions to sever the trials of defendants, grand jury minutes, and other similar topics. While this may sound like the star-chamber proceedings that operated behind closed doors of 16th-century English courts, it bears little resemblance to those proceedings.

There have been several recent cases in the news involving in-camera proceedings. The first one involves the use in court of testimony of an alleged rape victim’s past sexual history and the other involves the use of intelligence (national security and/or source) information in a public trial. The first case involved basketball star Kobe Bryant.

Bryant was accused of the sexual assault and rape of a 19-year-old woman who was an employee of the facility where he was recuperating from knee surgery. There were numerous pretrial hearings that the court held in chambers regarding sensitive private information. Among the matters discussed in-camera were evidence concerning a waiver of the victim’s medical and/or mental health privileges and the admissibility of evidence contrary to a Colorado rape shield statute. These hearings were held to determine if otherwise private information regarding the accuser would be released to the defendant and, later, be admissible in court during the trial. The concern here is whether a victim of an alleged sexual assault and rape must suffer additional harm by being opened up to public scrutiny of personal and/or private matters regarding sexual activity and medical treatment. Should the nature of a rape charge automatically result in the waiver of any physician–patient privilege? And how much of the victim’s private life should be open for scrutiny as a result of coming forward to the police about the assault?

However, it should be noted that the concern for the privacy of the accuser needs to be balanced with the Sixth Amendment guarantees to an accused of impartiality and due process. In particular, the concern for a crime victim's privacy must be balanced with the defendant's right "to be confronted with the witnesses against him," as set forth in the Confrontation Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

There were similar issues presented in the case involving three Duke lacrosse players and an exotic dancer who was hired to entertain at a party they attended. In order to provide a full defense, there were motions by the defendants to disclose her past sexual activity and medical information, particularly on the night of the alleged crime. As in most cases involving such sensitive information, courts are inclined to examine facts and rule on such evidence in chambers and outside of public view. In chambers, only the judge makes the initial review of the material that the defense requests.

In some matters concerning national security, the court has also seen it appropriate to examine material in-camera. Litigation in cases involving national security information may be the result of criminal charges regarding terrorism or espionage, or simply a government agency's response to a Freedom of Information Act request. The burden of denying the existence of information based on national security is on the agency. In such a case, the agency will ask the court to review in-camera, in private, a "classified" document or an affidavit as the basis for withholding documents pursuant to the request. In the case of *Vaughn v. Rosen*, 157 U.S. App. D.C. 340, 346, 484 F.2d 820 (1973), the court determined that a public record of the justification for withholding the information "would compromise the secret nature of the information." *Hayden v. National Security Agency* (197 U.S. App. D.C. 224, 608 F.2d 1381 [1979]) noted that the submission of in-camera affidavits and a discussion regarding the request are most likely to occur in matters involving national security.

The court system functions to preserve rights and remedy wrongs, and the techniques it uses prioritize pursuit of this goal. The courts effectively use in-camera proceedings to ensure that liberty and justice are maintained and that the rights of the people under the U.S. Constitution have been preserved.

Keith Gregory Logan

See also Double Victimization; Mental Illness and Victimization; Pedophilia; Rape Law Reform; Rape Shield Laws

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INCEST

In the 1940s psychoanalysts began looking at cases of incest, especially those of father-daughter incest. However, the first in-depth examination of incest did not occur until 1955, when sociologist Kirson S. Weinburg completed his research on the topic. Even after Weinburg's study, however, cases of incest were believed to be uncommon—until a shift from this belief occurred in the 1970s. Currently incest is viewed as more common than reports show and as a prevalent sexual crime against adolescents and young children.

Definitions

The definitions of incest vary. However, incest is often classified as any sexual contact (e.g., touching, fondling, oral sex, verbal seduction or abuse, and/or intercourse) between closely related persons (often within the immediate family) in which an adult coerces a child or adolescent or an older child coerces a younger child. Under this definition, incest includes father-daughter, stepfather-daughter, mother-son, stepmother-son, sibling-sibling, and extended family-child incest. The majority of reported incidents of incest occur between fathers and daughters and stepfathers and daughters (however, it is believed the true rate of sibling incest is underreported). Based on the majority of the information currently available, the most often discussed incidents of incest are those between a paternal figure (e.g., father or stepfather) and a child, thus this entry sometimes refers to the perpetrator of incest as male.

Prevalence

Determining the number of incidents of incest within the United States is a difficult task. This void in information can be attributed to a number of different factors, the most significant of which is that incest remains highly underreported. Victims of incest are extremely reluctant to reveal the abuse occurring against them because of fear, shame, and blame. Nevertheless, incest has still been cited as the most common form of child abuse. In addition to being severely underreported, accurate rates of incest are also difficult to ascertain due to differences in definitions and methods of data collection and sampling. To the detriment of investigations of the prevalence of incest, research often fails to distinguish between familial child abuse and nonfamilial child abuse. Thus, though there is not an accurate prevalence rate for incidents of child incest, it is recognized that this is a significant crime that needs significant attention.

Occurrence of Incest

Incidents of incest occur when someone uses a position of power, emotional manipulation, and threats to achieve the goal of sexual satisfaction. Incidents of incest often do not include physical force or coercion; however, the perpetrator's use of verbal threats is a common strategy used to coerce the child into committing the desired behaviors. Using verbal threats allows the perpetrator to guarantee the silence and compliance of the child victim. This manipulation may include threats of family division or dissolution and/or termination of the relationship between the child and perpetrator, and it often evokes personal shame or blame in the child. In addition, the perpetrator may threaten to harm himself, the child, or other family members if the acts of incest are revealed or discontinued.

There is no particular length of time that incest lasts. The occurrence of incest may be a single act, or it can span decades. Incidents may be occasional, or may be compulsive in nature and occur numerous times a day. While incest is believed to occur more often in families of lower socioeconomic class, in ethnic minorities, and in rural families, those beliefs have not been adequately supported by research. Rather, a more likely premise is that incest occurs in all types of families regardless of

sociodemographic factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, ethnic origin, or geographic location).

Incest remains one of the most underreported and least discussed crimes in the United States. Victims of incest employ a number of coping mechanisms to manage the emotional and psychological consequences of incest (e.g., guilt, shame, and fear). In addition, victims often deny the incidents or dissociate from the incidents in order to minimize or normalize the acts perpetrated against them. These strategies often prevent them from coming forward or reporting the crimes. Finally, victims are often too frightened to report incest. Because the perpetrator is often a person in a position of power over the victim, the coercion and fear tactics used against the victim are often successful (i.e., the victim declines to report the incest, and thus the perpetrator is free to continue his crime).

Effects of Incest

The act of incest leads to a number of short-term and long-term individual and social consequences. For example, girls who experience incest have higher rates of risky behaviors (e.g., running away, suicide attempts, and pregnancy). In addition, anxiety, panic, major depression, and alcohol abuse and dependence are significantly higher in victims of incest than in others. Moreover, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is common in incest victims. Finally, incest also has severe social consequences because it is considered socially taboo. Fearing the social reprisals enforced by society (e.g., social isolation and name-calling), incest victims often suppress and internalize the anger and shame they feel. This often leads to significant personal turmoil; thus, the need for intervention in the lives of victims of incest is often necessary and prevalent.

Response to Incest

Though incest is illegal in most jurisdictions, the definition and legal consequences of committing incest vary by country and, at times, between different states. In the United States, the states and the District of Columbia have individual specifications and statutes, but they all have some form of incest prohibition.

Currently there are few formal services available to victims of incest or their families. Resources for incest victims include books, self-help groups,

therapy programs, and limited legal responses. When cases of incest are reported, treatment often includes individual, family, couple, or group therapy for the offender, the victim, and other family members. All parties also are evaluated for preexisting and coexisting problems such as substance abuse, domestic violence, and psychiatric disorders. This type of intervention is critical because many men who sexually abuse their children often participate in other forms of sexual deviance.

Victims of incest face a long road toward recovery. Regardless of the factors surrounding a case of incest (e.g., the length of time, number of times, relationship between parties involved), the recovery process for the victim is extensive. It is evident that a greater number of services are needed for victims and their families. With increasing awareness of the issues of incest, including the related emotional, psychological, and physical consequences, it is imperative that greater resources be allocated for victims of incest.

Devon G. Thacker

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Family Violence; Pedophilia; Psychological/Emotional Abuse; Sex and Victimization; Sexual Victimization

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INCIVILITIES/SOCIAL DISORDER

In the late 1970s, many researchers and policy makers interested in community crime prevention held out high hopes for crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Popularized by architect Oscar Newman, who borrowed the core of many of his ideas from urban writer and activist Jane Jacobs, the idea was that certain site-level

design features would facilitate specific behaviors of residents. These design features would result in the regulars or residents of the setting exercising both enhanced surveillance that would prevent crime and greater willingness to intervene in the event a crime occurred. The designs also would alter the perceptions of potential offenders about how good these locations were for criminal activity. The residents' or users' behavior and attitudes were subsumed under theoretical ideas like territorial functioning and informal social control. When delinquency was discussed, the process referenced was social disorganization. Research did show some of the expected connections between design and behavior in urban residential and public housing contexts, but the connections were not as strong or consistent across settings as had been previously promised.

Attention switched to a different aspect of the physical environment in the early 1980s—a broken window left unfixed. At a time when urban police departments were casting about for proactive roles, James Wilson and George Kelling suggested that unfixed physical deterioration in a neighborhood setting could undercut residents' willingness to intervene in situations and embolden potential offenders. They had police officers on foot, working collaboratively with resident and business constituencies, work to alleviate physical incivilities: graffiti, abandoned cars, litter, and the like. Social incivilities also were viewed as relevant and needing to be ousted; these included drunks, panhandlers, squeegee kids, and homeless people.

At about this same time several researchers were finding strong connections between residents' reports of physical incivilities, disorderly behavior by groups such as unsupervised teens, and reactions to crime like fear or avoidance.

Police and crime prevention specialists and resident improvement groups had a new target: disorderly neighborhood conditions, both social and physical. Their belief was that if they could just clean the place up, scrub out the gang tags, and get the drunks and dealers to hang out somewhere else, things would be fine. The balance of this entry looks at the efficacy of this approach to incivilities and social disorder.

Prospect of a Long-Term Solution

In the late 1980s, Wes Skogan expanded this core idea by suggesting that controlling incivilities

would be the key not only to making residents feel safer, but also to driving down neighborhood crime rates and preventing neighborhood decline. Entire areas of cities might be saved from decline and made safe through clean-up campaigns. Big city mayors signed on, including, among others, David Dinkins (New York City), Rudolph Giuliani (New York City), Kurt Schmoke (Baltimore), and Martin O'Malley (Baltimore).

At the time, zero-tolerance policies were considered the means of solving the problem of incivilities. The first zero-tolerance policies emerged from corporate work requirements. Organizations would have a zero-tolerance policy on drug use, for example. Implementing such a policy was relatively straightforward: The organizations would simply employ random drug testing.

However, implementing zero-tolerance *policing* strategies proved far more complicated for many reasons. Police cannot afford to cite or arrest every citizen for every violation or crime committed. They simply do not have the time or the proclivity for the paperwork. For many in the police, it is not their idea of "real" policing. In addition, most communities do not really want zero-tolerance policing. Historical research on what happened in some cities during Prohibition-era crackdowns on alcohol violations amply demonstrated that very few communities really wanted equal justice for all. This is probably still true. Therefore, inevitably, zero-tolerance policing amounts to geographically varying enforcement of different intensities around different neighborhood problems. Zero-tolerance policies, Australian researchers have suggested, when applied to open-air drug markets, can actually significantly elevate public health problems. These policies cause the markets to disperse, making it more difficult for public health workers to contact the addict population and carry out needle exchange programs, and increasing the chances that drug users will be "shooting up" in ways or under conditions that are riskier.

Empirical Work

The most recent solid empirical work has found only extremely modest beneficial impacts of zero-tolerance policing on later crime shifts. The studies have suggested that enormous police effort was required, either through citations or misdemeanor

arrests, to generate less than overwhelming crime prevention benefits.

In the mid-1990s, some work began on gauging the longitudinal effects of incivilities at both the street block and neighborhood levels in Baltimore, Maryland, and Salt Lake City, Utah. The analysis of street blocks suggested later changes in reactions to crime and local commitment sometimes were not shaped by earlier perceived incivilities but were contingent on other local features. The analysis of neighborhoods suggested modest and sometimes contingent effects of incivilities. The effects were contingent in that they depended both on the specific outcome and on the specific type of incivility indicator used.

Questions have also been raised about what assessed or perceived incivilities represent. Earlier research suggested they reflected underlying disorder in the residential setting. More recent work, however, has failed to find confirming patterns of convergent validity when multiple incivility indicators were used. A survey-based approach might ask residents to rate the intensity of local physical incivilities, like graffiti, vacant houses, litter, poorly maintained houses, and the like, as well as social incivilities, like unsupervised or rowdy teen groups, neighbors fighting, or public drunkenness or drug sales. Alternatively, trained raters can walk street blocks and count incivilities. They can do so reliably. From a construct validity perspective, the indicators of incivilities from different data sources should converge. However, sometimes they do not converge, especially when changes over time are examined. It is not clear what single or multiple underlying concepts these indicators are capturing, net of underlying socioeconomic and racial variations across contexts.

By the late 1990s, counterreactions to the sociopolitics of incivilities and zero-tolerance emerged. Bernard Harcourt suggested these zero-tolerance policies reflected a collapse of the harm principle, being disproportional responses to the harm occurring. Handing out stiff fines or even jail time to litterers and those urinating in public harkened back disturbingly to an era in the middle of the preceding century when vagrancy laws were widely used by police to remove "undesirable elements" from their locale. Harcourt also suggested these policies widened social divisions. Ralph Taylor has argued that zero-tolerance policing policies represent a return

to the harsh policing practices seen in large cities in the early 1960s and are based on fundamentally flawed or at least unsubstantiated program logic models. Martin Innes, returning to a symbolic interactionist argument made 30 years ago by Albert Hunter, has argued that the same incivility can have markedly different meanings for and effects on different groups of people or even different individuals, suggesting it will be difficult figuring out which incivilities to target.

Current Status and Future Outlook

Where does this leave us in solving the issue of incivilities and social disorder? The situation can be examined from the policy side, the prevention side, and the theory side.

In terms of policy, draconian enforcement of laws or regulations targeting disorderly behavior or deteriorating physical conditions will probably continue to be popular, in large part due to the politically asymmetrical consequences surrounding this debate in an era of late modernity, as described by David Garland. To favor less enforcement is to appear soft on crime. Appearing soft on crime can lose elections.

The popularity of these policies will continue despite weak empirical support suggesting that these policies, *in the long term*, are unlikely *on their own* to result in significant crime or victimization prevention. Targeted enforcement, third-party policing, or saturation of places with police can have a dramatic impact for a short period, but it is not feasible to keep up such a dramatic response over time. Most of the work on crackdowns shows short, temporally limited effects. The effects of enforcement against incivilities are probably the same.

Prevention and reduction of incivilities cannot work in the long term for several reasons. First, as intimated above, the agency resources are not there. Police cannot make and keep this a high priority over an extended area for an extended time. Second, if these problems crop up in a location, the occurrence is probably overdetermined. Crime pattern theory, and environmental criminology more generally, have demonstrated over the last three decades that local social, economic, household, land use, site, land, and traffic arrangements strongly shape what crime problems will crop up where. Barring wholesale forced out-migration of

residents, wholesale reconstruction of segments of neighborhoods, or changing large numbers of non-residential land uses and rerouting traffic, the long-term differentials in crime across areas of a city or of a neighborhood will remain.

In terms of theory, three broad issues remain unresolved. First is the construct validity question around incivilities. Do they reflect underlying disorder? With ecological units of analysis, incivility indicators do not converge as expected across method types. Are perceived incivilities or assessed incivilities separable from low-level misdemeanor rates of a locale? At the individual level, no one has yet demonstrated discriminant validity of perceived incivilities from mental health indicators like anxiety and depression, or from reaction to crime and local attachment to place indicators. Thus, at the psychological, small group (street block), and ecological levels, a successful case has not yet been made that variations in incivilities *primarily* reflect variations in an underlying unitary construct called disorder. Second, continuing confusion surrounds the relevant psychological and behavioral processes that lead incivilities to have the impacts they do. Different labels have been applied to the relevant processes—informal social control, willingness to intervene, collective efficacy, human territorial functioning—but clear longitudinal demonstrations at different levels that these processes are affected by incivilities, *net* of other fundamental sociodemographic and physical site features, are lacking. This is parallel in some ways to the early arguments about defensible space and territorial functioning. Defensible space was theorized to dis-inhibit residents' territorial cognitions and behaviors. In an opposite way, incivilities are theorized to inhibit some of those same cognitions and behaviors. But data linking these two—changing incivilities and changing territorial indicators or social control indicators—are lacking.

Ralph B. Taylor

See also Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Defensible Space; Neighborhood Watch Programs

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INFANTICIDE

Infanticide is a serious problem, both in the United States and throughout the world. It is a serious crime that affects not only the victim and offender but society as a whole. This entry explores the definition of infanticide, possible explanations, prevalence and reporting issues, and the unique characteristics of the victims and offenders. It then discusses risk factors, prevention measures, and the particular punishments associated with this crime.

Definition

Infanticide is generally defined as the intentional killing of an infant. Although the precise age of the victim that is required to qualify a murder as infanticide

varies, in the United States it is generally accepted that children under the age of 1 who are murdered are classified as infanticide victims. Other definitions may include murder of a child under the age of 5. Neonaticide, or the killing of a newborn within 24 hours of birth, is a specific type of infanticide. The most common perpetrators of infanticide are the infant's parents, which also classifies the homicide as filicide.

Explanations

Infanticide has been a somewhat common practice throughout history. In ancient times, it often took the form of child sacrifice for religious or supernatural purposes. Infants who were unwanted by their parents were often subjected to abandonment and subsequent death by exposure to the elements. Early cases of infanticide were partially legitimized by the existing societies because of the belief that newborns were not considered human.

Although many documented cases of infanticide are tied to psychological, sociological, or criminological explanations, other explanations are relevant. Residents of some countries may practice infanticide as a means of population control, especially against female infants. In countries where a limitation is placed on the number of children that a family may have, parents, immediate and extended family, and community members often prefer the production of male children, and decide to destroy the female children upon or shortly after birth. The level of social acceptance of this practice varies by country. Feminist scholars have suggested that the regulation of gender demographics through the controlling of births through "reproductive work" plays a pivotal role in shaping women's societal roles. In some countries, the exploitation of women through reproductive work may be used as a sociopolitical means to control the gender demographics, thereby maintaining the male-dominated power structures. The control exerted through formally and informally enforced gender preferences may be connected with rates of infanticide as well.

Prevalence

The rate of homicide of children under the age of 4 in the United States ranks among the highest

rates of child homicide in the world. In the United States, between 600 and 700 children under the age of 5 are killed annually, and about 45% of all child murders are classified as neonaticide cases. However, the actual prevalence of infanticide is difficult to determine, as it often resembles other forms of death among infants. For example, sudden infant death syndrome cases include children who stop breathing in their sleep, whereas shaken baby syndrome includes cases in which a child is shaken and suffers internal bleeding or swelling. Because it is difficult for policing agencies to make these determinations, incidents that may be infanticide cases may be officially classified as either accidents or deaths from natural causes. Furthermore, the reliability of system-detected infanticide cases hinges on official government recognition of a child's birth. In countries or specific regions within countries where record keeping is lacking, or childbirth frequently occurs outside of medical facilities, there may be no way of detecting cases of infanticide short of parents' self-reports.

The only major reporting tools that currently exist in the United States to measure infanticide are those of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program and the National Incident Based Reporting System, both of which rely on official reports of infanticide as documented by law enforcement agencies. For the reasons stated above, these numbers are not necessarily reliable. The National Crime Victimization Survey cannot be used to capture unreported infanticide, as the victims cannot be surveyed.

Victims and Offenders

When dealing with any type of family violence, it has been noted that there is a positive correlation between the age of the victim and the social distance between the victim and the offender. For child homicide cases, this means that the youngest victims are likely to be killed by parents, babysitters, or other caregivers. Of all the age groups, children under the age of 5 are the most likely to be killed by a parent or guardian, in part because these young children spend most of their time with their parents and guardians. Once children reach age 5, they spend more time with people outside the family, which means that other individuals, such as teachers and friends, may be inclined to

notice warning signs of abuse that might lead to murder. The second largest group responsible for infanticide are those persons classified as friends or acquaintances; a group largely comprised of boy-friends of the victims' mothers. Similar to many types of violent crime, a very small percentage of infanticides are committed by strangers.

However, infanticide has some unique characteristics not shared by other types of violent crime. Unlike many other forms of murder, females make up a significant portion of the perpetrators, with many acts being committed by the mother of the victim. Also, nearly all cases result from the child being beaten, strangled, shaken, drowned, or suffocated, which is in sharp contrast to other forms of murder, in which firearms and knives are the most prominent weapons. This is in part due to the vulnerability and relative small physical stature of the victim, who is rendered defenseless against the perpetrator.

Risk Factors

One risk factor associated with infanticide is the age of the parent, and more specifically, the age of the mother. Very young mothers may be experiencing denial, or find themselves overwhelmed or unprepared for their new motherhood role, thus cases of neonaticide are often linked to the young age of the mother. In particular, severe cases of postpartum depression may lead a mother to feel unable to care for her child. Several high-profile cases of murder committed at the hands of the child's mother have brought increased attention to this facet of infanticide.

Other factors, such as poverty, unemployment, and divorce may be indirectly linked to infanticide. These issues often create an increased strain in the household, leading to stress among parents. Parents experiencing higher levels of stress as a result of challenging situations may be violent with their young children and even homicidal. This is not to suggest that "broken" families or those living in poverty are more likely to commit infanticide, however, as other stresses may equally cause other types of families to exhibit risk factors.

One commonality often observed among victims is a history of being abused. Many cases are the result of a pattern of abuse in which the parent or other caregiver was reacting violently to a newborn or child. Among children who are abused, the

most frequent cause of death is a physical injury to the head.

There may also be a link between the race of the child and the likelihood of being a victim of infanticide. Black children are disproportionately represented and make up a majority of infanticide victims. In contrast, children who are either White or classified as “other” races make up the minority of reported cases. This may be the result of the issues discussed above, however, such as poverty, unemployment rates, and young parents. These statistics also should be considered with caution because the numbers are based on official police reports and subject to reporting errors.

All of these risk factors contribute to the consideration of infanticide as a social issue. More importantly, it should be understood that the media may play a role in conveying information to the public on these risk factors. As with all violent crime, the news media may disproportionately cover particular stories, especially those that are not the typical case. As such, it may be that stories in which the victims and offenders do not fit the profile of the standard infanticide case are actually more likely to receive widespread media coverage, thereby creating a skewed view of the issue.

Prevention

Because a great number of infanticide cases result from physical injuries inflicted on children by parents or caregivers, preventive measures should focus on these individuals as potential offenders. Possible measures include parenting classes (both before and after the birth of a child) and increased involvement of child protective agencies for cases deemed “at risk.” However, like all forms of homicide, infanticide is often situational rather than premeditated. Furthermore, the risk factors associated with infanticide are highly complex, making it difficult to adequately predict potential offenders and victims. Risk factors may be multidimensional, meaning that it may not be psychological or sociological factors alone but combinations of these factors that lead to the crime.

A common response to the issue is child death review teams, which are multidisciplinary investigation teams. These teams are becoming more prevalent, especially in the United States and Canada, and fulfill various duties. Their primary

function is often to examine death cases, seeking common patterns. They also often serve as a policy analysis and review board, examining the potential role of Child Protective Services in preventing deaths among children, as well as furthering the understanding of risk factors associated with child homicides and deaths.

In an effort to decrease homicides of infants, many states have passed legislation to allow parents to leave unwanted babies in designated safe locations, such as hospitals or fire stations, without a fear of legal action. These measures may help some of the individuals who are at a high risk of committing infanticide, such as those who do not feel they are economically or psychologically prepared to care for their children. Generally, states allow a grace period for either parent to claim the child before parental rights are terminated.

Punishment

Infanticide is a type of homicide, and is therefore subject to an individual state’s or jurisdiction’s homicide sanctions. These punishments range in severity, but can include the most severe punishments, such as lifelong prison sentences and capital punishment. Capital punishment statutes may be particularly relevant for infanticide cases, as many states that use the death penalty have specific provisions for those who murder very young victims. Trends in punishment indicate greater leniency for maternal offenders, who often are sentenced to probation or receive suspended sentences, while paternal offenders often receive more harsh punishments.

“Failure to protect” laws may also be used against parents as a means of offering protection to the abused child. Parents who did not murder their child, but who also did not prevent abuse by the offender, can be charged under these laws. These laws are viewed as punishing those who did not murder or abuse the victim, including those suffering from battered woman’s syndrome who felt unable to prevent or report the abuse of their children. As such, these laws are controversial and receive mixed levels of support.

Kristine Levan Miller

See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Family Violence; Homicide, Children and Youth

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INNOCENCE PROJECTS

A network of innocence projects has emerged in the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom to address the problem of wrongful and unlawful conviction. Driven by the belief that *if the wrong person is put in prison, the actual perpetrator of harm is free to commit more violent crimes*, innocence projects exist to correct miscarriages of justice leading to wrongful and unlawful convictions.

When the wrong person is put in prison, we systemically generate two victims—the actual victim of the original crime and the victim of a conviction for a crime he or she did not commit. This entry explores the role of innocence projects as a vehicle for righting the injustice of wrongful and unlawful conviction.

Definitions

Wrongful and Unlawful Conviction

In the United States, when scholars speak of wrongful and unlawful conviction, they are referring to the conviction of a person who is actually innocent of the crime for which he or she has been charged. Simply put, the person didn't do it; someone else did. Asserting that a *wrongful conviction* has occurred impugns no one. It says nothing

about the motivations of law enforcement, prosecutors, defense attorneys, or forensic analysts. By way of contrast, to allege that a suspect has been the victim of an *unlawful conviction* is to identify a case where police officers, prosecutors, and forensic analysts knowingly engaged in illicit behavior. At issue is the question of intention. As human beings, despite our best efforts to the contrary we will make mistakes. In those cases where a criminal justice practitioner professionally, but erroneously, proceeds to convict an actually innocent person, it is referred to as a *wrongful conviction*. Errors of judgment or omission can plague the best investigators, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and analysts. Conversely, to knowingly and willfully participate in the *unlawful* conviction of an innocent man or woman is a pernicious abuse of power, a threat to jurisprudential legitimacy, and a violation of human rights. Innocence projects work to correct both wrongful and unlawful convictions, and try to determine the causes of each.

Legal and Actual Innocence

It is important to distinguish between two common legal references to the notion of “innocence.” Attorneys and judges may refer to a defendant as either *legally* innocent or *actually* innocent. The accused in a criminal case can be considered *legally* innocent if he or she has been found “not guilty” by a judge or jury. That is, a jury could not determine beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant was responsible for committing the crime of which he or she was accused. By way of contrast, actual innocence is the absence of guilt; it is the absence of facts that in any way implicates a suspect with having involvement in a criminal event. Plainly speaking, the accused person who is *actually* innocent was not involved in any way with the planning and carrying out of the crime.

What Is an Innocence Project?

Innocence projects are organizations created for the purpose of investigating cases on post-conviction review (PCR) where actual innocence is being alleged. Post-conviction review is provided for under Rule 32 of the *Federal Criminal Code and Rules*, which provides for judicial

consideration of constitutional errors that occurred at trial as well as newly discovered evidence. Innocence projects typically do not get involved in cases prior to the exhaustion of state appeals, so in that way they are seen as the last resort for petitioners who believe they have been wrongfully and unlawfully convicted. Thus far, four innocence project models have emerged in the United States: (1) university based and operating within a law school; (2) university based, combined social science and/or humanities department and law school students and faculty; (3) university based but with no law school affiliation; and (4) community based.

With the exception of the fourth model—the community-based innocence project—the majority of innocence projects operate out of higher educational settings, including both undergraduate and graduate programs. The greatest proportion of innocence projects operate as part of law school clinics. One of the oldest and most successful models combines journalism and law school students at Northwestern University to divide the labor. Undergraduate journalism students investigate cases and turn the case material over to the law school to write PCR briefs. For universities with no law school, but where the faculty expertise exists to operate an innocence project, the third model has proven to be a viable option. At Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona, the Northern Arizona Justice Project (NAJP) operates out of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Both undergraduate and graduate students, primarily in criminology and criminal justice, serve as student investigators. The NAJP receives legal advice and representation from volunteer attorneys living in Northern Arizona. Finally, highly successful innocence projects have operated entirely without university affiliations. Centurion Ministries was established in 1983 and is the longest operating and most successful project in the United States. In addition, the Innocence Project New Orleans is a very successful project that operates by combining the resources of a few paid staff and many volunteer investigators and attorneys.

Presently, there are 60 innocence projects located in 43 U.S. states. In addition, there are innocence projects in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Germany.

How Do Innocence Projects Work?

Innocence projects have adopted different criteria for the kind of cases they will agree to investigate. Some only investigate cases where DNA is available for testing. These are arguably the “easier” cases to work on, because DNA will determine with some certainty whether or not the petitioner was or was not a participant in the crime for which he or she was accused. However, DNA evidence only exists in about 10% of cases nationally. By far most criminal convictions are obtained without the use of physical evidence. To procure a conviction in these cases, prosecutors rely on some combination of eyewitness testimony, suspect confessions, the testimony of a jailhouse informant (snitch), and ineffective indigent representation. For a host of reasons, these cases are terribly difficult to investigate on post-conviction review. Innocence projects choose what kind of cases they will work on, but most will take both DNA and non-DNA cases.

Innocence projects receive hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of requests for assistance each year. To manage the influx of requests for assistance the projects have extensive screening processes that are used to identify cases where a viable claim of actual innocence exists. While there is local variation, most projects follow the process described below.

Inmate referrals usually appear in the form of a letter from another innocence project, a private attorney, or a family member or friend. If the referral comes from an innocence project, it will most likely include the inmate's initial letter requesting support. A private attorney, family member, or friend might include background information about the inmate's case. Regardless of who refers the case, intake personnel with the innocence project read the letter and, if the inmate is claiming actual innocence, will send a detailed questionnaire to the inmate for completion. The questionnaires are quite similar across the United States and typically seek detailed information about the crime for which the petitioner was convicted, his or her reason for claiming actual innocence, the time remaining on the sentence, information regarding all previous legal counsel and all previous appeals, and a waiver that enables the project to procure documents and speak to case-related people on the petitioner's behalf. In

addition, projects request all appellate documents. Once the completed questionnaire and appellate documents are returned to the project, the case is assigned to a student investigator to review. Most cases are rejected at this point in the process (a) for failing to demonstrate that there is a viable claim of actual innocence, (b) because the time remaining on the petitioner's sentence is less than the time it would take to investigate and process a PCR, and (c) due to the perception that there is no way to establish actual innocence (e.g., evidence was destroyed or mishandled or there was no physical evidence).

The students' assessment of the merits of the case is presented at a case-staffing meeting before the project staff and other student investigators. If a decision is made to continue with the case, that is, if the staff is convinced that by virtue of a review of the questionnaire and appellate documents that there is enough doubt about the conviction to continue with the investigation, a follow-up letter will be sent to the petitioner requesting the entire case file. This will include the complete trial transcripts, all police reports, and forensic documents. In short, the innocence project students will receive everything known about the case that was included as part of the written record. Once these materials have been received by the innocence project, the case is assigned to a team of innocence project student investigators. These students will proceed to developing a complete case outline that summarizes key timelines, names, locations, and events. This information is presented to project staff and students for deliberation about ways to proceed with the case investigation. Students are responsible for knowing their cases inside and out. They will be the experts on the case. They will be the ones who must speak with police officers, witnesses, attorneys, and forensic analysts to find out as much as possible about what happened with the case, and whether there is any evidence that the petitioner was wrongfully or unlawfully convicted.

If there is physical evidence available to test, or some other kind of newly discovered evidence or constitutional violation that can be identified for presentation to the court on appeal, briefs will be filed on the petitioner's behalf by the attorneys and students associated with the innocence projects.

Remedies for Wrongful and Unlawful Conviction

Innocence projects not only have committed their time and energy to case investigation, but have also pushed for federal and state-level reforms that will minimize the likelihood of wrongful and unlawful conviction. Nationally, the Innocence Network has created the Innocence Policy Network to work on both state and federal reforms. The Innocence Policy Network played a crucial role in the policy introduction and lobbying efforts that led to passage of the 2004 Justice For All Act that provides for the right to petition for DNA testing, evidence preservation, better training and compensation for death penalty attorneys, increased compensation for wrongfully convicted federal inmates, and funding for independent investigations of state police crime labs. Innocence commissions charged with postmortem review of exoneration cases in order to recommend changes to crime scene investigation and due process have been established in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Illinois, California, Connecticut, and Wisconsin. Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld have noted that all but eight states have laws allowing postconviction DNA testing, and almost half have provisions for preserving evidence for future analysis. Many jurisdictions have altered other policies dealing with eyewitness identifications and the recording of interrogations.

Innocence projects signify manifestation of a new civil rights movement. By virtue of their existence, across the United States nearly 400 innocent men and women have been freed from prison since 1989. The substantial changes to crime scene investigation, witness and suspect interviewing techniques, crime lab procedures, and improved indigent defense policies have been essential to the projects' success. At bottom, innocence projects are the "canary in the coal mine," revealing serious institutional problems associated with the way criminal cases in the United States are prosecuted.

Robert Schehr

See also Court Advocates

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INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY (ICVS)

The International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) provides worldwide data on crime victimization, allowing for cross-country comparisons. It comprises standardized sample surveys conducted in several countries. The ICVS was first used in 1989, then repeated in 1992, in 1996, in 2000, and in 2005. The number of countries involved has substantially increased over time, with many countries in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa participating (often with face-to-face samples limited to capital cities). Thus, ICVS has grown to become *the* relevant worldwide source on crime victimization, reporting to the police, and attitudes toward the police, courts, and punishment. Since 1996, the questionnaire has regularly included questions on corruption (bribery) of officials, thus providing a valuable alternative source to the well-known Transparency International index. This entry discusses the background of international crime surveys, the obstacles associated with an international survey, the results and controversies associated with the first multicountry survey, and the future directions of the ICVS.

Background

The first crime surveys used outside the United States were conducted in Zurich, Switzerland; in Stuttgart, Germany; and in the Netherlands. All of these early examples of this American “export” were conducted in 1973. Whereas the Zurich and Stuttgart surveys were joint initiatives of Marshall B. Clinard (University of Wisconsin) and Günther Kaiser (Max Planck Institute of International Criminal Law at Freiburg, Germany) and designed to provide figures that were comparable with the pre-National Crime Survey city surveys, the Dutch survey by J. P. S. Fiselier was a national initiative and ultimately became a permanent survey under the responsibility of the Dutch Statistical Office beginning in 1983. Beyond the Netherlands, national surveys were conducted in England and Wales (beginning in 1981) and in Switzerland (beginning in 1984). Sporadically, surveys were conducted in other European countries, sometimes at the national level, but mostly at city level. Outside of Europe, early crime victimization surveys were conducted in Canada and in Australia.

These surveys, with the exception of the 1973 surveys in Stuttgart and Zurich, were not designed for international comparisons. Richard Block tried to assemble data from some of these surveys in order to compare crime rates and other relevant variables across countries. It turned out, however, that this attempt faced considerable shortcomings due to differences in interview methods, offense definitions, reference periods, and other features of survey methodology. As an alternative, Clinard and J. Junger-Tas proposed to use surveys specifically for purposes of international comparisons. Unlike statistics that by necessity will forever be linked to national offense definitions and processing procedures, survey data could be collected, these authors suggested, through strictly standardized interview methods using identical offense definitions and reference periods.

Obstacles to an International Survey

There remained, however, several practical obstacles to such an international survey, including the development of interview methods that made cost-effective as well as tightly standardized interview methods feasible. The chance to create such an endeavor came through the emergence of computer-assisted

telephone interviews (CATI). Starting in the early 1980s, this method became available on a larger scale in Switzerland, due to that country's extremely high telephone penetration rate. Thus, the first Swiss crime surveys of 1984 and 1987 were conducted through CATI by Martin Killias and his team at the University of Lausanne. Although one interview lasted, on average, about 30 minutes, the costs were less than 15% of face-to-face interviews. The results of re-interviewing face-to-face a subsample of seriously victimized respondents showed the high validity of CATI, disconfirming several reservations based on early tests of conventional (i.e., pre-CATI) telephone interviews in the United States. Further, CATI allowed the asking of a large number of questions to a small proportion of respondents through unusually complex questionnaires with many filters. Mail surveys that also were used at that time, even in comparative studies, faced far more limitations in this regard, as did face-to-face surveys where even well-trained interviewers reach limits in handling complex filters. Crime victimization surveys collect much "trivial" information (e.g., on lifestyle, leisure-time activities, and the possession of vehicles). Disclosing such details does not require much thinking on the part of the respondent and thus does not justify the investment required for a personal encounter.

There was, in addition, a further difficulty faced by all European crime victimization surveys up to that point: The surveys were vulnerable to "telescoping" (i.e., the reporting of victimizations experienced before the adopted reference period, which was usually one year preceding the interview). Early American pilot studies, such as those summarized in the volume edited by Wesley Skogan, revealed that many incidents are forgotten after a couple of months, a fact that led to the adoption of the "bounding" design. With this design, the same respondents are re-interviewed every 6 months and the interviewer is aware of the victimizations a respondent reported during the preceding interview. In Europe, this extremely cost-intensive method has never been adopted. The Dutch and the Swiss crime surveys adopted a different approach, namely asking the respondent first whether he or she had experienced the victimization during the last 5 years (or *ever*), and, if so, when the incident had happened. This design has the following advantages: (1) respondents regularly

devote a lot of attention to temporal and/or geographic limitations if the "when" and "where" questions are kept out of screening questions with quasi-legal definitions; (2) any respondent who may feel frustrated when learning that his or her victimization, although very serious, is not relevant in the context of the survey because it occurred shortly before the reference period, has an opportunity to tell the interviewer his or her full story; (3) even if the focus is on a shorter period, collecting data on serious offenses over a longer period is helpful because it increases the absolute number of such cases to more reasonable levels—a fact that is particularly important if, as happens mostly outside the United States, samples are not particularly large; (4) having data over a period exceeding 12 months is critical if the way the victim's case was handled by the police, insurance companies, victim support schemes, prosecutors, and courts is being measured.

First Multicountry Survey

The experience with CATI in Switzerland circulated within a Council of Europe committee on the position and rights of victims in the criminal procedure. Jan van Dijk, who directed the Dutch Ministry of Justice Research and Documentation Center, formed a working group in 1988 to discuss the feasibility of an international crime victimization survey. This working group opted for CATI, primarily because it allows a tighter standardization of data collection than any other method—a critical advantage in international surveys. The group further adopted a reference period of 5 years, with a follow-up question asking the respondent to locate the (last) incident more precisely in space and time (with special interest in the last year). There is no doubt, however, that the low costs of CATI interviews were critical when Europe's governments were approached, through the Dutch Ministry of Justice, to join by funding their national samples. For 1,000 or 2,000 interviews (i.e., the standard sample sizes proposed), the budget was affordable for 11 European countries, the United States, Canada, and Australia. For most of these countries, it was the first crime victimization survey ever conducted. The fieldwork was carried out during spring of 1989, and key results were published by van Dijk, Patricia Mayhew, and Martin Killias in 1990.

Controversies

The results of this first truly multicountry crime survey in criminology were controversial from the beginning, particularly in the Netherlands, where crime was higher than in most other European countries. Criticisms centered on the validity of CATI, the 5-year reference period, and a few offense definitions. Over the following years, these criticisms were addressed in several experimental tests. For example, Annette Scherpenzeel found identical victimization rates on two Dutch samples, interviewed through either CATI or “telepanel” (i.e., an early form of electronic questionnaires). Randomized experiments by Helmut Kury in Bochum and Erfurt, Germany, confirmed that victimization rates do not differ across interview method. The conclusion was more mixed, however, with respect to questions on attitudes (toward the police, punishment, etc.), where Kury observed some social desirability bias.

Scherpenzeel’s experiment included a test of the two reference periods. The results showed that a straight 12-month reference period (often used in crime surveys) produced, for burglary and robbery, rates 2.5 and 2.2 times those obtained with the ICVS format (where respondents are first asked about incidents experienced over 5 years, before a more precise indication of the time of occurrence is required). More recent experiments regarding surveys on self-reported delinquency (such as in Sonia Lucia and her colleagues’ 2007 article, “How Important Are Interview Methods and Questionnaire Designs in Research on Self-Reported Juvenile Delinquency?”) confirmed that telescoping former incidents into the 12-month reference period is a severe and largely underestimated threat to the validity of survey estimates, particularly in countries with low crime rates, such as Japan. Some newly developed surveys, such as the national crime victimization surveys in Sweden, ignore this experimental evidence and persist in asking respondents about events experienced “over the last year.” Even more surprising, the British Crime Survey has never considered experimentally testing its 12-month reference period, and it has expanded its sample to 40,000 respondents. Clearly, it is more difficult to control this problem in surveys than in face-to-face interviews where interviewers can devote more attention to geographic and temporal mapping.

Another controversy associated with the ICVS is that it has never included questions on the ethnic identity of victims and offenders, nor on certain explanatory variables (e.g., low performance of governmental services as a source of corruption). Despite all these controversies, the basic methodology has been adopted in other major international surveys, such as the first international survey on violence against women, which was coordinated by Holly Johnson, Natalia Ollus, and Sami Nevala.

Future Directions

At present, it is uncertain whether the European Union (through EUROSTAT) is going to conduct an independent survey, and, if so, how that will affect the ICVS. Challenges to CATI will come from the increasing popularity of cell phones and the decreasing number of households with fixed phones. A combined approach that, as the first choice, uses Internet questionnaires and, in a second stage, interviews nonrespondents through CATI, face-to-face, or mail questionnaires might be a suitable solution. After all, several experiments have shown that interview methods are far less important than the way questions are asked. Pragmatic solutions may, therefore, be best for keeping this unique data collection initiative alive.

Martin Killias

See also British Crime Survey (BCS); Calculating Extent of Victimization: Incidence, Prevalence, and Rates; Comparative Victimology; International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS); Victimization Surveys

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INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY (IVAWS)

The past two decades have seen rapid growth both in the number of population-based surveys interviewing women about their experiences of male violence and in the sophistication of the methods used. To date, targeted surveys designed to assess the extent and nature of women's experiences of violence have been conducted in at least 70 countries

worldwide. Random sample survey data are preferable to police statistics or records of hospitals or other services, because the majority of assaulted women do not use criminal justice or social services and therefore are not counted in official statistics.

There is growing interest among policy makers and researchers in comparing levels of male violence against women, the consequences of this violence for women and their children, and common explanatory factors at the international level. Internationally comparative data have the potential to make several important contributions, including investigating universal or cross-cultural traits associated with male violence against women; assisting with the implementation of international agreements and norms; assisting participating countries in better understanding the dimensions and contexts of the violence in order to better target aid efforts; planning interventions and services; raising public awareness and debate; implementing legislative change; and, developing research skills and technical expertise at the local level. These activities can be the impetus for social change on a broader scale than is possible with national-level surveys.

Building on lessons learned in conducting national-level surveys in a number of countries, there have been three major initiatives to improve the comparability of statistical data on this topic at the international level. Two have as a primary focus the impact of violence on health: the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), which is conducted with the support of MACRO International and the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Violence Against Women which is coordinated through the World Health Organization. A third is the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS), which was developed to respond to the need for internationally comparative data on the prevalence and effects of male violence against women and victims' interactions with the criminal justice system. This entry explores the methodology and challenges of the IVAWS and the potential for surveys of this nature to contribute to international efforts to combat violence against women.

Methodology

The IVAWS has so far been fielded in 11 countries and comparative analysis has been conducted with

9 of those countries. Participating countries and the sample sizes in each country are Australia (6,677), Costa Rica (908), Czech Republic (1,980), Denmark (3,589), Greece (interviewing continuing), Hong Kong (1,297), Italy (25,000), Mozambique (2,015), Philippines (2,602), Poland (2,009), and Switzerland (1,973).

Greece and Italy were not included in the international comparative analysis because their surveys were underway at the time of writing. Each participating country was responsible for fundraising, and in most countries funding was obtained from government sources or some other national fund (e.g., in Mozambique, the survey was co-funded by three United Nations agencies). The selection of countries to participate in the IVAWS was thus in large part determined by the success of individual countries' fundraising efforts.

A mix of telephone and face-to-face interviewing was used. In Australia, Denmark, Hong Kong, Italy, and Switzerland, interviews were conducted over the telephone; in the remaining countries, face-to-face interviews were conducted. Decisions about the mode of interviewing were left to project coordinators in each country and depended on practical matters such as telephone coverage, the budget, and the type of sampling frame available in each country (e.g., households versus banks of working telephone numbers).

The key to ensuring comparability among surveys fielded in different countries is to develop and maintain a standardized approach throughout all components of the project. Thus a standardized questionnaire was developed for the IVAWS through collaboration with project coordinators and field tested in 13 countries. The questionnaire was prepared in English and project coordinators arranged for translation, first into the language of their country then back into English as a way of verifying the accuracy of the translation. Training for project coordinators was centralized, and each project coordinator was provided with a data capture system and a comprehensive manual outlining all steps of the survey methodology. Included in the manual are guidelines regarding budgeting, the skill sets required to form a research team, the technical facilities required for capturing and processing data, the recruitment and training of interviewers, sampling procedures to ensure random selection of respondents, and administering the questionnaire

in order to minimize errors, as well as instructions on coding, entering, and validating the data.

A range of ethical considerations must be taken into account when interviewing women on sensitive topics such as intimate partner violence and sexual assault. Training for project coordinators for the IVAWS emphasized the importance of following strict ethical guidelines at all stages of the project. These include protecting confidentiality, ensuring the safety of respondents, careful selection and specialized training and support for interviewers, reducing distress to participants and interviewers, responding to distress by referring respondents to available local services and sources of support, and helping to ensure that research findings are properly interpreted and used to advance policy and interventions.

An important end result of the IVAWS is the transfer of technical expertise and research skills to some countries where none might have existed previously. In such countries, where there is little reliable information on the extent of men's violence against women, participation in the IVAWS can also serve as a basis for raising public awareness, debate, and national and local action. In countries where there have been prior prevalence surveys on violence against women, the IVAWS offers the possibility of international comparisons. International comparative research, like the IVAWS, facilitates comparability among countries and cultures and is an essential component to finding international as well as local remedies and responses to violence against women.

Measuring Violence Against Women

Research has shown that surveys that use specific behavioral measures of a range of types of violent acts will produce more reliable and valid estimates than surveys that employ general all-encompassing terms such as *violence* or *assault*. This is because individual respondents can hold different ideas of what constitutes violence or assault and may be reluctant to include assaults by acquaintances, family members, and intimate partners if not questioned about them in particular. The prevalence of physical violence is estimated on the IVAWS through the following items:

1. Threatened to hurt you physically in a way that frightened you
2. Threw something at you or hit you with something that hurt or frightened you
3. Pushed or grabbed you or twisted your arm or pulled your hair in a way that hurt or frightened you
4. Slapped, kicked, bit or hit you with a fist
5. Tried to strangle or suffocate you, burn or scald you on purpose
6. Used or threatened to use a knife or gun on you
7. Physically violent toward you in a way not already mentioned

The prevalence of sexual violence is measured through the following items:

1. Forced you into sexual intercourse by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in some way
2. Attempted to force you into sexual intercourse by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in some way
3. Touched you sexually when you did not want him to in a way that was distressing to you
4. Forced or attempted to force you into sexual activity with someone else, including being forced to have sex for money or in exchange for goods
5. Sexually violent toward you in a way not already mentioned

Results of the IVAWS in nine countries show the following:

- In the majority of countries studied, between 35% and 60% of women experienced physical or sexual violence by a man since age 16.
- In most countries, between 22% and 40% of women have been physically or sexually assaulted by an intimate partner.
- Between 10% and 31% of women have been sexually assaulted by a man other than an intimate partner.

The IVAWS identified certain factors that are correlated with women's victimization. In multivariate

analysis, the following were found to be significant predictors of intimate partner violence:

- Male partners used emotionally abusive or controlling behaviors.
- Male partners were heavy drinkers.
- Male partners used violence toward others outside the home.
- Male partners were abused in childhood or witnessed their fathers' violence.
- Women were abused in childhood or witnessed their fathers' violence.

These findings suggest that appropriate policy responses aimed at reducing violence against women should include targeting social norms that equate masculinity with alcohol abuse, with the use of violence inside and outside the home, and with subordination and control of their female partners. Targeted interventions to prevent child abuse may have the effect of reducing violence against women if fewer women and men grow up affected by the long-term damaging effects of child abuse. Reducing intimate partner violence should have intergenerational benefits as well, by reducing the number of children who are witnesses to violence and who learn that violence is an acceptable way to solve problems in intimate relationships. Reducing public violence by men may have spill-over benefits by also reducing violence against their female partners, and vice versa.

Reporting to the Police

In all countries studied, it was found that less than one third of women who were assaulted by an intimate partner report the violence to the police, and in all but one the figure was less than 20%. Even in cases where the violence or threats of violence were so severe the women feared their lives were in danger, 40% or fewer women in all countries called on the criminal justice system for help.

Societal-level attitudes and a culture that views intimate partner violence as acceptable can be major obstacles to ensuring that women receive the help they need to end the violence. A minority of women in all countries considered intimate partner violence to constitute a crime. Victims were more likely to consider the violence to be wrong but not a crime, or just something that happens. But, even

among those who considered the violence to be a crime, less than 40% reported such violence to the police in all but one country. This suggests that women tend to take into account a broader range of considerations than their own personal safety and the criminal nature of these acts, and that they do not always see engagement with the criminal justice system as the most effective strategy for ending the violence. It also points to the need for criminal justice agencies to engage abused women and their advocates in a continuous process of reviewing and improving their policies, training, and interventions strategies.

Challenges of Internationally Comparative Survey Research

Internationally comparative survey research poses many challenges for researchers. In addition to the ethical and logistical challenges associated with interviewing on sensitive topics, cross-national research is influenced by other complexities. For example, there will be differences in the extent to which women are familiar and at ease with responding to surveys and describing their experiences to a stranger in the context of an interview. Differences in culture can affect attitudes toward women and violence, norms protecting family privacy, and ideals and practices of masculinity. Norms that prevent women from speaking out about violence may affect their willingness to name their experiences in terms employed by the survey. Norms that endorse the use of physical and sexual violence against women can be affected by the political context, including the presence of war and conflict, displacement of populations, availability of weapons, and widespread use of violence to solve social problems. There also will be variation in the meaning of physical or sexual assault for individual women depending on their past experience and social situation, and this is bound to exist to a greater extent in cross-national comparative studies where societal-level differences are greater. There are additional challenges in ensuring that translation of the questionnaire and other survey materials into a variety of languages does not affect the results, since certain concepts may not translate well or may be misinterpreted.

Although every effort was made to adhere to rigorous scientific principles in designing, testing,

and conducting the IVAWS, it is difficult to anticipate and control for all the complexities that can arise in cross-national research. While survey designers do their best to ensure that the questions are clear and unambiguous and that they are thoroughly tested on a diverse group of women, in the end respondents will perceive their experiences to fit into the survey categories or they will not. They will perceive some benefit in reporting their experiences and disclose them to interviewers, or they will perceive some risk and choose to keep them private. Because of the importance of the survey results for formulating policy and for public awareness of the breadth of the problem, researchers must continue to search for ways to improve cross-national research methodologies.

Holly Johnson and Sami Nevala

See also British Crime Survey (BCS); International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS); National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)

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INTERNET FRAUD

Internet fraud includes a wide range of illegal behaviors in which various facets of the Internet play an integral role in the transmission of intentionally deceptive and/or false representations for personal or organizational gain. Acts of Internet fraud typically involve the transfer of currency, goods and services, or personal and intellectual property across this interconnected set of computers

via applications, including the World Wide Web, email, chat rooms, or software (e.g., online gaming). Rather than being perpetrated face-to-face, Internet fraud is usually perpetrated through lines of network communication that serve to spatially separate the offender from the victim. Since the use of computers or computer networks is an important locus of the illegal act, Internet fraud is considered a special subcategory of cybercrime.

The Nature of Internet Fraud

Most acts of Internet fraud involve the use of deception or false claims that serve to make the behaviors illegal under most circumstances. The legality of Internet fraud is also likely to vary across jurisdictions, especially transnationally. For example, Internet conduct or business dealings considered lawful in Barbados may be deemed illicit in the United States. Describing the nature of Internet fraud is largely a subjective endeavor and entirely contingent on both the circumstances of the crime and the jurisdiction under which the act takes place. Some of the most widely cited types of Internet fraud common to the United States include the following:

Advance fee scams. Offenders promise to disburse significant monetary payoffs to unsuspecting consumers who are to receive such funds after making advance payments of smaller sums of money to the offender. While any number of story lines may be used as a backdrop for an advance fee scam, money is essentially transferred or given to perpetrators under the false promise that they will compensate the consumer at a higher rate in the future. Included in these scams are job offers, inheritance offers, money offers, prize, sweepstakes, lottery offers, and sweetheart swindles.

Credit card fraud. Many Web sites often require consumers to share credit card information at a variety of locations on the Internet to obtain access to the sites' restricted content, or for the purchase of various goods and services. Offenders involved with these sites may then use transferred consumer credit card information for purposes other than those intended by the consumer.

Fake check scams. Offenders fraudulently claiming to be legitimate consumers may overpay

unsuspecting individuals with counterfeit checks for goods and services purchased. In turn, offenders will ask the seller to send or wire the overage amount back. The counterfeit check will then bounce, and the seller could potentially lose the product, purchase price of the product, and overage amount from the check as well.

Identity theft. Identity theft can be perpetrated in many ways, but it generally occurs when offenders obtain access to an unsuspecting individual's personal information and identification, via the Internet, with the intention of using it for personal or organizational gain.

Investment scams/Ponzi schemes. Consumers are lured by falsely advertised claims of little-to-no risk and large returns on particular investment opportunities. Once consumers pay to invest in these products or services, they may receive less than initially advertised or their funds may not have been used to actually invest in any product or service. Offenders may profit from initial investment dollars or may invest the funds for themselves, resulting in a future gains.

Multilevel marketing/pyramid schemes. Under the guise of a credible business model, consumers pay for the ability to distribute goods or services to the public by paying for distribution access to members of the scheme. Offenders may profit merely from signing unsuspecting consumers up as distributors, while never delivering on the promise of any goods or services.

Phishing scams. Offenders may mimic respectable sources via emails, Web sites, or advertisements asking unsuspecting persons to confirm or transfer personal information to the illegitimate location and then use the information later for fraudulent purposes.

Online sales or auction fraud. Offenders engage in the nondelivery of payment, merchandise, or services through online sales or auction Web sites (e.g., eBay) to consumers who lawfully sold, paid, or bartered for such goods or services. To date, online sales fraud, followed closely by auction fraud, is the most commonly cited type of Internet fraud.

Travell/vacation fraud. Consumers are promised a particular set of amenities or accommodations upon payment, but receive lower-quality services or receive numerous hidden charges at the time of travel or vacation.

Extent and Cost of Internet Fraud

Conservative estimates place the number of Internet users in the United States at well over a hundred million adults, a figure that will likely continue upward. As the number of Internet users across the entire globe continues to rise, the amount of Internet fraud is likely to increase as well. Anyone who sends information across the Internet is susceptible to Internet fraud. Unlike conventional criminal acts that often result because of the convergence of offenders and victims in time and space, Internet crimes involve temporally and spatially separated offenders and the potential for victimization is always present.

Each year, as part of a collective effort of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and National White Collar Crime Center, the Internet Crime Complaint Center releases an annual report detailing the amount and scope of Internet fraud perpetrated against U.S. citizens. According to results from the 2008 report, Internet fraud complaints jumped nearly 30% from 2007 to 2008. Moreover, almost a third of all offenses reported through Internet fraud complaints in 2008 had to do with the nondelivery of merchandise or payment, while nearly a quarter of complaints concerned Internet auction fraud (e.g., eBay). Both crime categories contributed to substantial growth in the number of filed Internet fraud complaints, up from just over 200,000 grievances in 2007 to more than 275,000 for the 2008 calendar year.

Despite mounting rates of Internet fraud complaints, it is likely the full extent of Internet fraud committed each year is vastly underestimated. This may in part be due to underreporting of fraudulent Internet activities. Underreporting is associated with the nature of the Internet itself and with individuals' uncertainty about where to turn concerning charges of Internet fraud.

While the dollar costs associated with Internet fraud were estimated by the Internet Crime Complaint Center report to exceed \$260 million for 2008, it is possible the estimated cost figures

have also been heavily influenced by the underreporting of fraudulent Internet activities. The actual costs associated with Internet fraud are likely far greater than even the best estimates available.

Prevention of Internet Fraud

Because Internet fraud can take many different forms, prevention strategies are situationally contingent on the operating environment of both the offender and the victim. Unlike the situational environment for conventional crimes, Internet crimes present a particular set of problems, specifically with regard to the location of crimes, namely, cyberspace. Situational crime prevention methods, those that recognize and address opportunities specific to Internet fraud, present users with a viable fraud prevention strategy.

In an effort to prevent and combat Internet fraud, the Internet Crime Complaint Center provides local, state, and federal law enforcement and regulatory agencies in the United States with information contained in Internet criminal complaints to assist their investigations, make the public more aware of the growing Internet crime problem, and reduce victimization through Internet fraud. Beyond existing U.S. laws and regulations, the existence of an organized set of preventive regulatory and enforcement strategies has been elusive where Internet crimes are concerned. Law enforcement and regulatory agencies have not been provided with adequate resources or the technology training required to effectively combat the growing Internet crime problem. Consequently, little collaboration exists among agencies, as agencies are ill equipped to confront Internet fraud and adapt to the changing landscape of cybercrime.

From the perspective of the individual, several situational crime prevention strategies may be helpful in reducing, while not altogether eliminating, the risks associated with Internet use. Specifically, strategies that involve increasing the difficulty of perpetrating an Internet crime, decreasing the benefits and rewards of an offender's engaging in an act, and helping individuals make themselves less attractive targets may be considered the only practical solutions. These may be partially accomplished through the use of firewalls and antispyware/antivirus programs, as well as by educating individuals to be extremely cautious

with how and with whom they share personal information when using the Internet.

William A. Stadler

See also Cybercrime, Prevention of; Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cyberstalking; Exploitation by Scams; Identity Theft; White-Collar Crime

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INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Generally speaking, intimate partner violence (IPV) occurs when an individual in an intimate relationship intentionally harms the other person in the relationship. In the 1960s and 1970s, intimate partner violence was increasingly recognized as a problem across the world. Attention from researchers first surfaced when domestic violence advocates called attention to the plight of women victimized by their partners or spouses. Advocates pointed out that victims were being treated poorly by criminal justice officials, and few services were available to help victims of partner violence. Victimologists began to focus on domestic violence to help advance the area of study beyond the discipline's traditional victim precipitation orientation. The issue quickly moved from being an issue that no one talked

about to being recognized as a social problem warranting significant attention from researchers, policy makers, academics, practitioners, and advocates.

Since that time, many have accepted that intimate partner violence is a problem that needs to be addressed by different disciplines and practitioners. Most agree that the best response to intimate partner violence involves what is called a “multidisciplinary” or “integrated” response. This means that several different agencies are involved in the preventing and responding to intimate partner violence. Indeed, intimate partner violence is no longer viewed as a family problem that should remain hidden within the confines of victims' homes; rather, intimate partner violence is now regarded as a global public health problem. Fully understanding the integrated response required to address intimate partner violence involves knowledge of the following areas: the types of intimate partner violence, the extent of the violence, the dynamics and patterns surrounding such violence, and the causes of intimate partner violence.

Types

Intimate partner violence is typically categorized as one of three varieties: (1) physical assault, (2) sexual assault, or (3) psychological assault. Physical assaults include a range of behaviors (hitting, kicking, biting, stabbing, shooting, pushing, grabbing, shoving, and so on) that have the potential to result in bodily injury to the victim. Sexual assaults include rape and noncontact offenses such as voyeurism and forced exhibitionism. Psychological assault includes a range of behaviors in which offenders use verbal or psychological tactics to harm their partners.

Extent

After a review of studies conducted across the world, reporter Sheila Hotchkin concluded that worldwide one in three women have been victims of violence. Similar estimates have been found in the United States. The National Violence Against Women Survey, jointly funded by the National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is among the most

comprehensive studies focusing on issues related to intimate partner violence. Led by investigators Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes, this project involved phone surveys with 8,000 women and 8,000 men. Respondents were asked about their experiences with different forms of violence, including rape, physical assault, and stalking/harassment. The findings of this national survey related the following:

- 7.7% of women reported being raped by an intimate partner
- 22.1% of women were physically assaulted in their lifetime, and 1.3 million reported being physically assaulted in the preceding 12 months.
- 5% of women reported being stalked in their lifetime, and more than 500,000 reported being stalked in the preceding 12 months

Some researchers have argued that intimate partner violence against men is just as pervasive, if not more pervasive, than intimate partner violence against women. Results of a few studies have shown that a high number of men have been abused by their partners. Critics of these studies point to three problems that call into question the utility of the body of research showing males have higher rates of intimate partner violence. First, many of the studies finding higher rates of intimate partner violence victimization among males have used Murray Strauss's Conflict Tactics Scale. This scale has been criticized for failing to consider the context surrounding victimization and measuring acts that are not universally defined as violence. Second, critics have suggested that violence by women against men is often for self-defense in response to violent actions initiated by an aggressive male partner. Third, critics point out that violence by women is typically of a relatively minor form, at least in comparison to violence by men against women. Simply put, sheer physical strength differences mean that men do more physical harm to women than women do to men. This is not to suggest that intimate partner violence against men is not an issue. Certainly a number of men are victimized and they warrant appropriate services; however, the vast majority of serious intimate partner violence cases appear to be instances where men abuse women.

Dynamics and Patterns

Researchers have devoted a great deal of effort to understanding the dynamics and patterns surrounding intimate partner violence. This research has been useful in generating a description of the nature of intimate partner violence. Patterns and dynamics that have been uncovered are listed below and described in the paragraphs that follow. They include the following:

- The chronic nature of intimate partner violence
- The cycle of violence
- The duration of intimate partner violence
- The battered woman syndrome
- The characteristics of batterers

The *chronic nature of intimate partner violence* has been demonstrated by the National Survey of Violence Against Women, which found that more than half of women sexually assaulted by their partners, and two thirds of those physically assaulted by their partners, were victimized by their partners on multiple occasions. Clearly, intimate partner violence is typically not a one-time incident. Further, in *Policing Domestic Violence*, Lawrence Sherman supports these findings. He argued that a vast majority of domestic violence incidents are committed by a small number of offenders.

Another pattern surrounding intimate partner violence is the *cycle of violence*. This concept recognizes that intimate partner violence does not happen every single day of a victim's life. Originally created by Lenore Walker, the cycle of violence explanation suggests that violence is part of a cycle involving a series of stages. First, during the honeymoon phase, the abusers treat their partners as if they are newlyweds. Gifts, promises of a lifetime of commitment, and romantic displays of affection are frequent. Second, during the tension-building phase, the relationship transitions to one in which angst and disagreements become more frequent. Third, the battering episode stage occurs when the abuser acts out aggressively against the victim. This is followed by the honeymoon phase, during which the abuser "makes up" for his harmful actions.

A related pattern has to do with the *duration of intimate partner violence*. Generally, these actions occur over time. Because of the offender's ability to convince victims that the abuse will stop, victims

are sometimes reluctant to leave their abuser. Of course, it is not just the abuser's "charm" that keeps victims in violent relationships. Often, others will ask, "Why doesn't she leave?" when they think of intimate partner violence incidents. Four responses to this question are worth nothing. First, rather than asking, "Why doesn't she leave?" one could ask, "Why doesn't *he* leave?" Why is it that the woman should be expected to be the one to leave? After all, the abuser is ultimately responsible for the abuse. Expecting the victim to leave inadvertently places responsibility on the victim rather than the abuser.

Second, in considering the patterns surrounding leaving domestic violence relationships, an oft-quoted saying from domestic violence advocates comes to mind: "Leaving is a process, not an event." Intimate partner violence victims do leave their abusive relationships. It just takes time for them to leave. A commonly cited estimate suggests that women leave abusive relationships for good after being physically abused between seven and eight times.

Third, some researchers have suggested that asking "why" women don't leave violent relationships holds very little utility in terms of broadening our understanding about intimate partner violence. In their 2005 book *Family Violence and Criminal Justice*, criminologists Brian K. Payne and Randy R. Gainey noted that it is more appropriate to ask *how* women stay in abusive relationships than *why* they stay.

Fourth, domestic violence victims stay in violent relationships for a number of reasons that help to explain why leaving these relationships is so difficult. The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence cites barriers such as lack of resources, institutional responses, and traditional ideologies as making it difficult for victims to leave violent relationships. Lack of resources can be an enormous obstacle to leaving an abusive partner, as victimized women typically do not have the resources required to leave and create a new household on their own. Many intimate partner violence victims have at least one dependent child, and obtaining the financial resources they need to take care of their children can be virtually impossible on their own. Because of the dynamics of control in their intimate relationship, many of these women may not hold jobs.

In addition, the responses of institutions designed to protect women from harm may inadvertently contribute to continued violence. Police officers may not be aware of strategies to help victims or services available. They may actually tell victims that they should simply stay in their relationship and make up with their partner. Helping professionals—like social services professionals, clergy, and counselors—may fail to recognize the abuse. Even when they see it, they may be unaware of effective ways to help women in these relationships.

Traditional ideology also keeps women in abusive relationships. Many battered women grew up in families where their fathers abused their mothers. They are socialized to believe in marriage at all costs. Women may rationalize the abuser's actions as part of a typical marriage, or they may convince themselves that the abuse is not that serious.

Cultural factors may also keep women in these relationships. For some individuals from different cultures, intimate partner violence is something that cannot be disclosed to any outside sources. Describing this phenomenon, the Family Violence Prevention Fund noted that battered immigrant women experience many barriers to leaving abusive relationships. Overriding cultural values from the woman's home culture may conflict with American values, creating conflict between adhering to different sets of values.

Related to the fact that intimate partner violence is often chronic, experts recognize that *battered woman syndrome* is a consequence of this violence for some women. The psychological effects of intimate partner violence can be devastating for victims. The combination of the psychological effects, according to domestic violence expert Lenore Walker in her classic work *The Battered Woman Syndrome*, has the capacity to lead to the syndrome, which is a type of posttraumatic stress disorder. According to Walker, the syndrome is produced by trauma due to repeated experiences of different forms of domestic violence. The foundation of the syndrome includes (1) the flight response and (2) cognitive impairments from the abuse. This syndrome, which is also termed *battering and its effects*, is well accepted in the medical field and in disciplines such as psychology, social work, and counseling. It is sometimes used as a legal defense in murder cases in which women explain their homicides against their abusers by suggesting that their years

of abuse caused them to fear for their lives and act out violently toward their abusers.

Another pattern or dynamic in intimate partner violence has to do with the characteristics of batterers. Indeed, to fully understand the dynamics surrounding intimate partner violence, it is imperative that one has understanding about batterers. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, three types of batterers exist. These include the following:

- The *family only batterer*, who may perpetrate less severe violence, use relatively little psychological or sexual abuse, and display few or no symptoms of psychopathology
- The *dysphoric/borderline batterer*, who may perpetrate moderate to severe violence, mostly confined to the family, and may be generally distressed, dysphoric, or emotionally volatile
- The *generally violent/antisocial batterer*, who may engage in moderate to severe intimate partner violence and, of the three types of batterers, the most extrafamilial violence; the batterer also may have the most extensive history of criminal involvement, alcohol, and drug abuse, as well as antisocial personality disorder or psychopathology

National organizations have provided guidance in further understanding the characteristics of batterers. The American Bar Association, for example, has provided the following characteristics of batterers:

- Batterers discourage victims from getting help.
- Batterers frequently insist on accompanying victims everywhere.
- Batterers harass, stalk, and keep tabs on their victims.
- Batterers isolate victims from their friends, family, and acquaintances.
- Batterers keep victims from working.

Note that each of these characteristics makes it more difficult to leave violent relationships. Also providing insight into the characteristics of batterers, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence noted that batterers (1) objectify women; (2) have low self-esteem, feel powerless and inadequate, and externalize the causes of their behavior; (3) may be pleasant and charming between

violent incidents; and (4) exhibit warning signs such as jealousy, possessiveness, bad tempers, unpredictability, cruelty to animals, and verbal abusiveness.

Causes

Researchers have devoted a great deal of effort to identifying the causes of intimate partner violence. In line with victim precipitation research by victimologists, early explanations focused on how victim characteristics and behaviors contributed to IPV. Criminological theory was noticeably absent from many early explanations of this type of violence. Payne and Gainey have argued that to fully explain intimate partner violence, it is necessary to consider the characteristics and behaviors of offenders rather than victims. They further suggest that traditional criminological theories have some utility in explaining intimate partner violence.

In applying criminological theory to IPV, one can see how the source of this violence can be similar to the source of other forms of harmful behavior. Routine activities theory, for example, can be used to explain intimate partner violence. Abusers are the motivated offenders, victims are the vulnerable targets, and the fact that much of the violence occurs behind closed doors is equivalent to the absence of capable guardians. Social disorganization theory can also be applied to intimate partner violence, as living in disadvantaged areas can exacerbate the risk, and consequences, of this type of violence. And conflict theory can be used to explain the woeful response of criminal justice officials to intimate partner violence. The lack of penalties given to offenders for this violence is consistent with the ideas of deterrence theory. In addition, the consistent finding that intimate partner violence is learned from family members is in line with differential association theory. The list could go on and on. The main point is that criminological theory can be used to explain IPV.

Power and control explanations are the most commonly cited explanations of intimate partner violence. The basic assumption underlying power and control explanations is that abusers use violence to control their partners. The power and control wheel has been used to illustrate the ties between power and control. This wheel was developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project,

which was created in Duluth, Minnesota, in 1980. After police began arresting all domestic abusers in Duluth, offenders were given the choice of a 6-month treatment program instead of jail. During the program, facilitators recognized that offenders were describing a series of nonphysical behaviors they performed in order to control their partners. Facilitators of the treatment program categorized the kinds of comments offenders made about controlling their victims into the power and control wheel. After describing their wheel with abusers, the facilitators recognized that abusers increased their nonphysical behaviors when they were unable to physically abuse their partners as part of their desire to control them.

The power and control wheel identified several activities that are performed in order to maintain control. First, offenders use intimidation through tactics such as glances, property destruction, and speaking loudly. Second, offenders use emotional abuse through actions such as verbal abuse and emotional neglect. Third, abusers use isolation as a strategy to make their victim more dependent on them (and thus less likely to leave). Fourth, offenders minimize and deny their behaviors by suggesting to their victim that they are really doing nothing wrong in their relationship. Fifth, offenders use their children to maintain power and control by making their victim fear for her children's safety. Sixth, offenders use male privilege by invoking patriarchal rules in the household and making important decisions without their partner's input. Seventh, abusers use economic abuse by controlling the finances and not allowing their partners access to financial resources. Eighth, offenders use coercion and threats to get victims to comply. Offenders might, for example, threaten to kill their partner, their children, or themselves as a strategy to get their victims to do certain things. The similarity between these tactics is simple: offenders, wanting power, do things to control their victims. This is the underlying assumption of power and control theory.

Brian K. Payne

See also Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence/Family Violence Courts; Elder Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Family Violence; Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication; Rape; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE, RISK ASSESSMENT

The science of risk assessment in intimate partner violence (IPV) is relatively new. As research has increased in the field generally, so has demand for demonstrated accuracy in predicting risk in domestic violence cases and for the use of IPV risk assessment in criminal justice, advocacy services, and health care settings. As the science of IPV risk assessment has developed over the past decade, so have the identification of risk factors, for both re-assault and intimate partner homicide or near homicide, and the realization that the risk factors for the two outcomes, although overlapping, are not exactly the same and do not operate at the same degree of risk. In this entry, the term *risk assessment* will be used for assessing the risk of IPV re-assault or recidivism, while the term *lethality assessment* will be used for assessing the risk of an intimate partner homicide or near homicide.

The most commonly used methods for assessing both re-assault and lethality that have been validated in prospective studies in peer-review journal publications are described along with a brief summary of the evidence. The entry ends with recommendations for the use of these methods of risk assessment in a systemwide process.

Risk Assessment Instruments

The three most widely used risk of re-assault instruments are the SARA (Spousal Assault Risk Assessment), the ODARA (Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment), and the DVSI-R (the revised Domestic Violence Screening Instrument). The oldest and most validated IPV risk assessment instrument is the Spousal Assault Risk Assessment, or SARA, which was developed in Canada by Randy Kropp and Stephen Hare as a structured professional judgment guideline intended to assist professionals to come to a judgment of the level of risk of re-assault in cases of IPV. It was primarily intended for use in the criminal justice system and is widely used in probation departments, but it is also used in domestic violence advocacy. Its shorter version, the B-Safer (Brief Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk), has not been separately validated but was based on extensive data testing the SARA. The ASAP (Aid for Safety Assessment Planning) incorporates both the SARA and the B-Safer to guide in risk evaluation and safety planning with victims.

The Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment, or ODARA, developed in Canada by Zoe Hilton, was designed for frontline police officers, but it can be used by victim services, health care workers, probation, and correctional services personnel. The ODARA was developed based on Ontario domestic violence arrest data. In subsequent testing with a new data set, also from the Ontario domestic violence criminal justice database, the ODARA achieved an area of .77 under the ROC (receiver operator curve). The area under the ROC reflects the percentage of cases captured under a curve that combines the sensitivity (true positives or cases where recidivism was predicted and occurred) and specificity (cases where no re-assault was predicted and none occurred) across the range of risk scores on an instrument. The receiver operator curve area ranges from 0 to 1.0, where 1.0

represents perfect accuracy. ROC analysis is an appropriate strategy to use to assess the predictive accuracy of a risk assessment instrument.

The Domestic Violence Screening Instrument, or DVSI, developed by Kirk Williams, contains 11 items (and thus is almost as short as the ODARA, which contains 13 items), and it is user-friendly for criminal justice systems, with the information needed for all items available from the police incident files. The DVSI was independently tested in a prospective study of victims of IPV in New York City and Los Angeles (known as the Risk Assessment Validation Experiment, or RAVE study) achieving an area under the ROC of .60. Subsequently, it has been revised (and called DVSI-R) and tested prospectively in a large study in Colorado with an area under the ROC of .71. The DVSI-R is used widely in probation departments in Colorado, Connecticut, and other U.S. jurisdictions.

Lethality and Severe Re-Assault Assessment

DV-MOSAIC, developed by Gavin de Becker and his associates in 2001, is a computerized threat assessment system based on intimate partner homicide data. DV-MOSAIC is longer than the DVSI-R and ODARA, and the only assessment instrument that incorporates protective as well as risk factors. It was developed for use in police departments and by domestic violence criminal justice specialists using data gathered from an investigation of the case. Levels of risk are determined through the programmed algorithm easily communicated to victims from a printout of the level of risk and its meaning. DV-MOSAIC was independently tested in the RAVE study, with 65% of the cases of severe re-assault accurately assessed with ROC curve analysis.

The Danger Assessment (DA) was developed based on IPV homicide data from three published studies, and extensive case and group work with women in shelters, in order to help abused victims determine their level of danger of homicide or near lethal attack. It consists of a calendar assessment filled out with victims that helps them see for themselves the actual pattern of IPV, followed by 15 yes/no items formulated in wording that abused women can understand. Data from a recent case control study of homicide were used to formulate a weighting scoring system and levels. They were

subsequently tested on a sample of attempted homicide victims with a receiver operator curve of .90. In the RAVE study, the DA achieved a .69 under the ROC for severe re-assault.

Victims' Assessment of Risk

In the RAVE study, victims' perception of risk accurately captured 61% of "any re-assault" and "severe re-assault," adjusting for the protective actions that put the victim out of possible physical contact from the perpetrator (e.g., the victim going to a shelter or the perpetrator being in jail). This was a greater proportion of accurate prediction than that made by the DVSI (not DVSI-R) and DV-MOSAIC, but smaller than the Danger Assessment. Other examinations of the accuracy of victim perception of re-assault have found that abused women are good predictors of re-assault but are more likely to underestimate than overestimate their risk. The D. Alex Heckert and Edward Gondolf prospective study of abusers in batterer intervention programs and their victims found that the combination of the original 15-item DA combined with victims' perception of risk was the most accurate of the instruments used in assessing risk of re-assault.

Use in Systemwide Process

There have been at least three reviews of DV re-assault and lethality risk assessment approaches, several published investigations of predictive validity of specific instruments, one comparison of the SARA and the DA, and an experimental test to comparatively evaluate four of the methods plus victims' perceptions of risk in the same sample (the RAVE study). This demonstrates that there is beginning to be a body of knowledge that allows choice of an instrument or system based on its predictive accuracy as well as on its utility in a setting and intended use.

Thus, there is sufficient evidence of accuracy to use the methods summarized above and to end the usage of lists without validation. In a recent meta-analysis examining clinical judgment against statistical judgments in 92 studies, statistical methods were found to be more accurate than other methods overall. In the case of domestic violence, victims' perceptions of risk also have a place, but

victims often underestimate their risk of re-assault, and especially of lethality. Therefore, validated statistical assessment of potential re-assault and lethality needs to be part of the overall coordinated response to domestic violence, and used as the basis for safety planning for and by abused women and community strategies to keep women safe.

Jacquelyn C. Campbell and Nancy Glass

See also Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence Fatality Review Team; Femicide; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of

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INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE, THEORIES OF

Intimate partner violence occurs in an environment of complex, often interrelated issues, including individual, situational, psychological and couple relationship factors, in the context of a social, political, and economic environment. There are many different theories of intimate partner violence, which concentrate on explaining clusters of issues. These theories can be categorized in many different ways; some describe intimate partner violence in terms of intra- or interpersonal factors that affect the couple dynamic, and others use models which include structural or institutional elements that foster the use of violence in the wider society.

Intrapersonal theories are drawn from the discipline of psychology and encompass a range of personal pathologies, including physiological and mental instabilities and related inability to control emotional outbursts. Examples might be the roles of obsessive ideation, paranoia, disassociation from feelings, substance use or an acquired brain injury in the perpetrator that leads to poor impulse control; in addition, a flawed attachment experience during childhood can lead to hypersensitivity in which any feelings of hurt, fear, or jealousy are immediately transformed into anger. Low self-esteem, depression, and anxiety can trigger both perpetration and victimization. This group of theories also includes discussions of reinforcing behaviors that can be associated with intimate partner violence, such as watching violent movies, using pornography, possessing weapons, and a history of criminal activity.

The range of theories categorized as *interpersonal theories* focus on the dynamic between the couple in the relationship. The Duluth Domestic Violence Project made important contributions to theory by illustrating how control is enforced using psychological and emotional means in addition to violence through the processes described by the *power and control* and *cycle of violence* models. In 2000, Michael Johnson and Kathleen Ferraro theorized that there were two distinct types of intimate partner violence. The power and control dynamic plays little part in the *common couple violence* where either partner may lash out, whereas in *intimate terrorism* the violence is motivated by control. *Exchange theory* explains the calculated use of violent behavior in achieving the perpetrator's goals, while *investment theories* look at the level of commitment in the relationship to explain intimate partner violence.

Structural theories show how social and economic inequalities translate into aggression and violence. *Feminist theories* regard intimate partner violence as the result of a patriarchal society where male coercive power and domination over females is promoted and reinforced. For example, a belief in the rights of a male to chastise and punish his partner, along with a general endorsement of the use of aggression and violence by men in the exercise of power and control in the wider social system. In *resource theory*, power within an intimate relationship is based on the command of resources, whether economic, psychological, or social. When resources are scarce or threatened, aggressive behavior and violence are tactics used to increase control. For example, a man who perceives that he has lost control in an intimate relationship is likely to use violence to restore his power.

Social situation/stress and coping theory provides a two-dimensional explanation as to why intimate partner violence may occur in some situations and not others. The first dimension is the position of the dyad in the social structure (e.g., employment and income levels), and the second dimension is the capacity of the dyad to deal with stress and includes the coping strategies that may be used by either partner. One or both partners may resort to violence to deal with episodes of financial strain in a society where the use of violence is seen as an appropriate response to stress.

Social learning theory explains how the use of violent behavior is transmitted between generations. For example, Debra Kalmuss found that repetitive exposure to violence in the emotionally loaded environment of the family predisposed children to use violence, and adult victims of intimate partner violence were six times more likely than others to have been subjected to violence as children. However, the explanation offered by social learning theory is only partial, as research into the pathways to violent behavior has found that not all children exposed to violence become perpetrators or victims.

Murray Straus first applied *general systems theory* to intimate partner violence in 1973, where the system involved individuals, their behaviors and pathologies, and family backgrounds as well as the social spheres, cultural influences, and organization of the society in which they live. General systems theory describes the processes that characterize the use, management, and stabilization of violence in family interactions.

Donald Dutton proposed an *ecological theory* that integrates many of the above theories of abuse and applies to both victims and perpetrators. The ecosystem of a violent relationship has a foundation layer that is based on intrapersonal psychological factors, followed by a family system layer in which the individual experiences such negative actions as abandonment, neglect, and abuse. The next layer contains peer group issues such as education, religious training, alcohol and drug use, and gender role socialization. The final layer describes the influence of wider sociopolitical gender inequalities, media portrayal of subjugation

and violence against women, and racial/ethnic/cultural prejudices. *Life path* theories also take into account the changes in personal and environmental effects over time.

The heterogeneous nature of intimate partner violence makes it problematic for a single theory to take into account all the dynamic and static elements that produce violent acts between intimate partners, such as social conditions, social policy, political events, and shifts in social history that are taking place as well as the situational, individual psychological, and couple relationship factors.

Romy Winter

See also Abuse, Spouse; Battered Woman Syndrome; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Domestic Violence; Feminist Victimology; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Risk Assessment; Male Victims of Partner Violence

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JOURNEY TO CRIME

Journey to crime (JTC) is one of the better-researched aspects of crime in the crime and space literature. Research on JTC attempts to understand how offenders' movements in space factor into the discovery of unintended targets, leading to crimes of opportunity; into offenses planned by serious criminals taking steps toward known targets; and into purposive hunting patterns in areas thought to be target rich. Clearly, understanding the JTC process more completely would provide the police with a set of tools with which to effectively track down active offenders and lead to tremendous benefits for crime prevention and reduction efforts. Three core aspects of this literature deal with determining (1) the point of origin (or anchor) for a particular crime or set of crimes, (2) the directionality of the crime trip, and (3) the actual distance traveled between nodes. Like economic geography research, which has long studied the characteristics of consumers deciding on where to locate retail outlets (catchment areas, for example), JTC research studies the characteristics of offenders deciding on where to journey "to work" (that is, commit crime). Journey to crime research, although similar in many ways to criminal profiling, should not be confused with it. Whereas journey to crime research is applied to the specific journey (and chain of events and decisions) undertaken by an individual offender leading up to a specific crime, criminal profiling seeks to work back from a set

of crime event locations that are thought to be linked in some way in an effort to estimate possible nodes of activity that the offenders may use, such as residences.

Point of Origin and Direction of Travel

"Home" is often used as starting point in JTC research, but it is widely understood that crime trips do not have to start from a residence; they can begin in any central node of activity. As JTC research only considers crimes for which travel was needed, "zero-distance" crimes such as domestic assaults or the production of illegal narcotics or substances in an offender's home are usually not part of a formal JTC analysis, as the origin and endpoint are the same.

Once a point of origin is determined (such as through an examination of police records of convicted offenders), the crime trips can be measured for associated crime sites and areas or locations the suspect is known to frequent. Directional bias, or the tendency for trips from anchor points to a given set of destinations to be clustered in something approaching a mean cardinal direction, helps researchers to determine likely travel paths. Specific types of locations have been shown to have attractor and/or generator properties for crime events, and thus knowing offenders' direction (if not literal paths) will assist both active and "cold case" analyses. Directionality also helps investigators look for additional clues, information, suspects, or any potential, as-yet-undiscovered nodes of activity.

Distance Traveled

Opportunity-based crimes tend to involve the least amount of precrime preparation and occur closest to nodes used during routine activities. According to the least energy (or least effort) principle, equally suitable targets that are closer to the potential offender are preferable to those further away. This principle also suggests that at some point, the potential offender would experience a diminishing return for travel and effort expended and expected/realized reward from the crime.

Research findings on trip distances by crime type show that more spontaneous and affective crime types, such as domestic assault, involve the shortest distances. Data from the mid-1970s, for example, show distances to rape of approximately 1 mile as a modal measure, burglaries at just over one mile, and robberies at approximately 1.5 miles. These findings are not consistent, but nevertheless, all of these distances are relatively short. For example, a 2007 Finnish study reported average travel distances for burglars as being approximately 2.4 miles (or just under 4 kilometers). Thus, affective or emotionally charged crimes involve shorter distances than do instrumental crimes. Presumably the latter involve a specific target, such as a certain store or warehouse that is known to have a particularly lucrative “haul” of goods, and this may be seen as deserving some additional effort, planning, and travel than other, more immediate targets. This is borne out in research on serial arsonists, for whom any suitable target will do, and who therefore have no need to seek out special targets. Australian research, for example, finds that young offenders set most fires with little motive beyond immediate gratification in the form of excitement or entertainment. This is at least partly why distances traveled for this type of crime are typically among the shortest—often less than half of a mile. This changes when fire settings involve instrumental purposes. These more purposive crimes are more likely to include specific targets to which the offender must travel. Keeping with fire setting as an example, arson for revenge (or for fraud) may call on the offender to travel several miles to attack a former boss or place of employment. Here, the crime is a means to an end, rather than the end itself.

Of course, not all targets are equal, so some level of decision making takes place, but the majority of

empirical evidence suggests that most crime trips are undertaken by offenders who traveled relatively short distances, and that as much as four fifths (80%) of all crime occurs as a result of opportunities discovered in the course of routine, noncriminal activities. Burglar interviews and analysis of solved offenses using police incident data show that burglars tend to find (and act on) targets closer to their point of origin rather than those further away, and that they avoid targets close to home. This “buffer zone” of reduced offending quickly fades, however, as the offender moves toward his or her destination. The buffer zone effect, which was first described by Paul and Patricia Brantingham in *Patterns in Crime*, is theorized as being primarily a strategic response on the part of offenders to avoid recognition if they are seen in a potentially compromising set of circumstances. However, not all researchers agree on the existence of the buffer zone. Recent work in Chicago involving police incident data from the late 1990s involving violent altercations showed no such buffer around offenders’ home locations, although the researchers found that travel distances were, nevertheless, short (and conformed with expectations arising from routine activities theory, which are described in the entry on the theory in this encyclopedia).

Measurement

Several measurement options are available to JTC researchers, but only two basic forms are discussed here. A Euclidian, or straight line, distance between start and end locations is the simplest distance measurement between two points. This “as the crow flies” distance is easy to calculate, but reflects rather poorly the paths of (and distances traveled by) people in the built environment. To capture more realistic estimates of trips between points in an urban setting, researchers often use the “Manhattan” metric, which estimates the likely distance traveled as the sum of the distances needed to move along two lines that form a triangle, assuming the original, straight path distance forms the hypotenuse.

Actual distance traveled is only part of a JTC analysis. Most people consider the time spent in transit at least as, if not more, important. Simple distance measures, then, need to be adapted to include such “costs” as time spent in transit,

among other things (e.g., convenience), and of course the actual monetary costs involved. Such considerations are highly subjective and not always accurately estimated, leading to inefficient travel patterns that “make sense” to the traveler because they are the most comfortable, even when more efficient paths are available. Of course, the mode of travel figures prominently in any travel distance–time estimation. Clearly, people are apt to be less concerned about literal distance traveled than the time spent traveling when they are driving to work every day. Most would drive a bit farther than strictly necessary if it enabled them to cut their travel time.

To improve JTC modeling, researchers often modify expected travel distances by including the impact of a range of additional variables, such as mode of travel, traveler demographics, urban infrastructure (areas known for goods and services, road networks, foot/bicycle pathways, etc.), and topographical features (e.g., bodies of water and bridges).

City planning efforts have an obvious impact on people’s daily routines, and consequently, opportunities for licit and illicit activities alike. Certain city zones, such as entertainment districts with bars or nightclubs as major services, are known to attract problems. Knowing something of key areas and locations assists in forecasting likely nodes that serve as points of contact during the journey to—and from—crime. Kim Rossmo’s *Geographic Profiling* is one of the most accessible introductions to—the specific methods of analytical work on offender movements, including JTC and the prediction of key nodes where complete travel information is not known. Gravity models are used by geographers to predict the movement of people in space based on some supply-and-demand assumptions, such as the availability of a particular class of goods or services. For example, consumers will undertake a certain amount of effort to find suitable goods, but will eventually stop spending energy and take the best deal that they can find. Such estimations provide the “distance decay functions” (i.e., diminishment of actions as distance traveled increases) included in most research on the journey to crime.

Simulation

JTC research involves both retrospective accounts of known offenders and simulation studies. In

retrospective studies, actual paths can be more or less accurately reproduced for a set of offenses. Such examples assist greatly in the calibration of techniques to predict missing information when examining incomplete cases. Given the interest in predicting trip distances, and estimating the start points where points of origin are not known, it is not surprising that simulation work is flourishing. A detailed discussion of simulation methods is not possible here, but key work in this area includes joining geographic information systems (GISs) and agent-based systems modeling. Although there is considerable variation in the types of simulation research in this area, generally, such efforts place a hypothetical offender (agent) into a network of travel options, such as a digitally reproduced road network (or “graph”), and then specify potential targets and start and end points. The simulation then allows the agent to make several hundred “trips” to see what paths and targets are “found” by the agent, and of those, which are actually used and acted on. Simulation models provide an arena in which it is possible to test theory about relatively rare events, such as homicide, as well as to assist in crime prevention and reduction efforts of investigators by supplying a more efficient strategy for resource (surveillance, evidence searches, etc.) deployment in the field. This contribution is subtle but vitally important to the growth of offender movement theory, as it provides a new path for empirical findings to feed back into theory. Finally, simulation studies build on the set of computational approaches—along with geographic information systems techniques—to build on what is becoming more widely referred to as “crime science.”

J. Bryan Kinney

See also Crime Mapping; Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Prevention; Crime Science; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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JUVENILE OFFENDING AND VICTIMIZATION

Substantial research investigating offending and victimization has found that they may be intertwined. High rates of victimization and offending exist among juvenile populations, and studies have made clear that these categories are not mutually exclusive. Most of the research has focused on one or the other of these phenomena, however, rather than the relationship between delinquency and victimization.

The Victim–Offender Connection

The connection between juvenile offending and victimization has been established. What is less clear is *how* victimization and offending are linked. That is, does offending result in victimization, or does victimization lead to offending? And, are these relationships reciprocal, or are there other factors that explain both offending and victimization?

There is strong support for the idea that participation in delinquency is related to an elevated risk of victimization. Many victims of violence have histories of serious delinquency. Victimization

also appears to be a risk factor for offending, especially for committing violent offenses. Thus, there is some evidence that the relationship between offending and victimization is not unidirectional. It appears that violent offending affects victimization, and violent victimization is related to an increased risk of later victimization and violent offending. Since there appears to be some relationship between victimization and offending, it may not be surprising to find that similar factors may account for both juvenile offending and victimization. Factors such as self-control, family and peer influences, gang fights, drug selling, and carrying a weapon are examples.

Theories

In describing the relationship that exists between offending and victimization, several explanations have emerged. One line of thought suggests that offenders are more likely to be in situations that would result in an increased risk of victimization. This contention is supported by findings that those involved in the most serious delinquency had higher rates of violent victimizations. It is also important to note, however, that many offenders are not victims of crime, nor are all victims offenders.

The primary explanation utilized and supported to clarify this relationship is that in lifestyle theory and routine activities theory. Michael Hindelang and his colleagues developed lifestyle theory to explain differences in victimization. The basic premise of this theory is that victimization occurs due to an individual's lifestyle or associations. In this sense, lifestyles that are characterized as deviant and risky can contribute to offending and victimization in similar ways. A situation that is conducive to offending is also characterized by elements related to victimization. Since these two concepts are invariably linked together—offending does not exist without victimization—those surrounded by delinquency based on their lifestyle may be at higher risk of victimization either in the context of offending or as a result of retaliation or retribution.

Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson further developed this area of theory by introducing routine activities theory. This proposition states that when three things—(1) motivated offenders, (2) suitable targets, and (3) lack of capable guardians—converge in time and space, victimization

will occur. Thus, participating in delinquency increases the risk of victimization by decreasing the number of guardians or by increasing exposure to motivated offenders. Some individuals, for example, may have more contact with offenders due to their environment, while others may have more contact with offenders because of their activities.

According to these theories, increased victimization results from several factors related to delinquency. First, increased exposure to offenders can result in higher rates of victimization. Those involved in delinquency, for example, often have greater exposure to both delinquent situations and individuals that can result in increased victimization. Second, the nature of offending can affect victimization because situations that are conducive to crime are also conducive to victimization. For instance, prostitutes in the process of committing a crime also expose themselves to situations in which they could become a victim. Third, offenders make extremely suitable victims. Offenders are more likely not to report crimes committed against them, as they try to avoid police detection for their own crimes. In addition, offenders may be less likely to report victimization due to the perception that they are less likely to be believed or have their victimization taken seriously by law enforcement and/or their losses are illegal contraband that would bring additional police scrutiny of their own activities.

Related to these explanations are victim precipitation theory and subcultural theory. Victim precipitation theory proposes that victims encourage victimization by their own behavior. The relationship with offending is most often associated with what is classified as active precipitation. For example, in the case of a barroom brawl, one individual begins a fight by insulting another, but miscalculates the ability of the target and comes out on the losing end. Thus, through their actions, offenders become victims. In addition, subcultural theory states that certain groups possess norms that require a reaction to disputes, such as retaliation,

that turn offenders into victims during the course of the response.

Adrienne Freng and Terrance J. Taylor

See also Lifestyle Theory; Offending and Victimization; Routine Activities Theory; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology; Victim Precipitation

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KIDNAPPING

Under the common law, kidnapping was defined as the unlawful confinement and transportation of a person out of the country. Originally it was a misdemeanor, but kidnapping is now statutorily defined in all jurisdictions in America and is considered a serious felony.

Kidnapping, as a crime, was brought to national attention in America when the baby of famous aviator Charles Lindbergh was kidnapped and murdered in 1932. In response to the extensive public outcry, Congress enacted the Federal Kidnapping Act (also known as the Lindbergh Law) in 1934, which provided the death penalty for kidnapping that results in death.

The Law

Although every jurisdiction's criminal laws are different, as a general rule, each one recognizes the crime of kidnapping. Most of the kidnapping laws in America contain the following elements: (1) a person's knowingly or intentionally (2) transporting another person (known as *asportation*) (3) against his or her will, (4) by force or threat of force, and (5) restraining, holding, or confining that person for a certain amount of time. Some kidnapping laws have a requirement of secrecy. Many kidnapping laws include additional elements, such as the purpose of the kidnapping (e.g., ransom, sexual assault, or hostage taking) and whether it was committed in conjunction with

another crime (e.g., robbery). The penalty for crimes that include these elements is usually higher. Many jurisdictions have a lesser degree of punishment where the kidnapping involves family members such as children.

Kidnapping differs from false imprisonment, which was recognized under the common law as a crime and is usually defined as having the following basic elements: (1) a person's knowingly or intentionally (2) unlawfully restraining another person, (3) substantially interfering with that person's liberty. The primary difference between the crimes of kidnapping and false imprisonment is the transportation of the victim. Another term often used in place of false imprisonment is *hostage taking*. Hostage taking and kidnapping are similar, but they are often defined in different statutes.

Understanding the Crime

Kidnapping can be divided into several general types. These include (1) political, (2) sexual, (3) financial, (4) domestic, (5) psychological, (6) slavery, and (7) hostage-associated kidnappings. Of course, there is some overlap between the different types. Political kidnappings usually involve the taking of a high-profile person, occasionally a diplomat or government official, to compel a government to take some action such as the release of political prisoners. These kidnappings also are a favorite tool of terrorists, who frequently use them to obtain operating funds. Sexual kidnappings usually involve situations where the perpetrator takes the victim to a remote place for sexual

assault. Financial kidnappings are usually done to extort money from a wealthy person or corporation. Executives from large corporations and children of wealthy families are the usual victims in these kidnappings. Domestic kidnappings usually involve the taking of a child where there is an ongoing dispute over custody in a divorce or separation. It should be noted that, as a general rule, if there is no court decree or restraining order in effect, it is generally not considered kidnapping if one parent takes sole possession of the children. Psychologically based kidnappings are usually associated with serial killers, who kidnap their victims and then take them to remote places and kill them. Such kidnappings share some features with sexual kidnappings, but their purpose is not sexual and involves other factors, such as revenge, ritualistic crimes, or a psychological disease. Slavery-related kidnappings involve people, usually women, being taken and held against their will and forced to work, usually in menial occupations or as sex slaves. Finally, hostage-associated kidnappings are usually committed in conjunction with other crimes. For example, if a robbery is interrupted, the perpetrators may take hostages with them to attempt to ensure their escape.

One of the most widespread problems concerning kidnapping is the issue of custody of the children where the parents are separated or divorced and custody is in dispute. Several authorities estimate that more than 300,000 children are kidnapped every year. To prevent domestic kidnapping, a number of laws have been enacted. The Parental Kidnapping Prevention Act of 1980, for example, a federal law that applies to the states, discourages interstate kidnapping of such children by preventing jurisdictional conflicts when children are taken across state lines (Public Law 96-611, 94 Stat. 3568 [1980]). Further, the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act and its successor, the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction and Enforcement Act, one or both of which have been adopted by all the states in various forms, allow for continuing jurisdiction for custody in the home or resident state of the child.

One of the problems with analyzing the prevalence and prevention of kidnapping is that it is not listed as a Part I offense by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program. This has made it difficult to obtain a complete understanding of the incidence

and characteristics of the crime. There have been a number of calls to rectify this problem.

Prevention

Prevention of kidnapping is difficult, given the nature of America as an open society. However, corporations and wealthy people employ security personnel to prevent financial kidnappings, and governments usually have elaborate protection systems for their diplomats and officials to prevent political kidnappings. Domestic kidnappings are extremely difficult to prevent, given that usually both parents are allowed direct access to the children, and court decrees and restraining orders are not always effective tools of prevention. The AMBER Alert system has helped solve and/or terminate these child kidnappings. (For more information on this system, see the entry "AMBER Alert" in this encyclopedia.) Prevention of sexual kidnappings, at least when the victim does not know of a potential perpetrator, are usually best prevented by cautious practices in dating and travel.

Wm. C. Plouffe Jr.

See also AMBER Alert; Domestic Violence; Human Trafficking; Missing, Exploited, and Murdered Children

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KIRKHOLT BURGLARY PREVENTION PROJECT

The Kirkholt area of Rochdale, which is one of the former mill towns common across Lancashire,

England, and is now part of Greater Manchester, is a public housing estate comprising some 2,300 homes. It is historically a challenging area in terms of both reputation and recorded crime. In the early 1980s it was singled out by Greater Manchester Police as the location within their force area with the most acute domestic burglary problem. Funding was put in place to study and reduce the incidence of that offense. A police officer, David Forrester, was assigned to the project, under the supervision of researchers Mike Chatterton and Ken Pease. The report of the first phase of the project was published as *The Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, Rochdale*.

Overview

When police records dealing with Kirkholt were scrutinized, it was found that they lacked the detail necessary to inform target hardening (such as clarity about burglars' method of entry), so an ambitious interview program was undertaken. Interviews with local burglars, victims, and other residents confirmed that target hardening should be the police's initial tactic of choice. Lacking funding to target harden over 2,000 dwellings, the police decided that their first step should be to identify the most vulnerable homes for priority attention.

At the time, the police perception of residents of the Kirkholt estate was that they were largely less than upright citizens, but Forrester returned from the interviews infused with a sense of the essential decency of most of the residents—and a burning desire to help those who had been chronically victimized by burglary. Contrary to expectations, it was found that prior burglary victimization was the best indicator of vulnerability to burglary in the future. In fact, the level of repeat burglary in the year before the implementation of the project was such that the majority of crimes were against households that already had been targeted at least once during that calendar year. Thus, putting the possibility of crimes being moved to another location to one side, the prevention of all repeat burglaries would result in the prevention of more than half of all domestic burglaries within a year. The alternatives (such as prioritizing single-parent households and the most victimized part of the estate) would be less efficient and more vulnerable to perceptions of unfairness. For instance, a householder whose

neighbor receives help that she herself does not might well be resentful, and a denizen of one part of Kirkholt who sees resources deployed elsewhere on the estate might be similarly unhappy. By contrast, it is unlikely that citizens would object to burglary victims' receiving help geared toward the prevention of their being burglarized again. In addition, target-hardening burgled and neighboring homes provides a steady (but, it is hoped, declining) workload for those engaged in target hardening the homes, whereas target hardening by demographics or area provides a one-time task for people who are then dismissed or allocated work elsewhere. The steadily declining workload was termed *drip-feeding* and is an often overlooked advantage of target hardening that occurs as a result of criminal events.

At its core, the Kirkholt project involved target hardening both burgled homes and neighboring homes. The inclusion of near neighbors' homes was based on the notion that capable guardianship could be exercised to prevent repeated burglaries, and that target hardening these homes would sensitize their occupants to the situation, causing them to exercise this guardianship. It also was based on the notion that neighbors may have been burglarizing each other, and the manifestation of a serious intent to remedy the burglary problem would be helpful in warning them off. Indeed, the preproject assumption of police in the area was that Kirkholt residents were faking their burglaries. Evidence that emerged in the study made it clear that this was a very minor part of what was happening. The invocation of neighbors to become capable guardians was termed *cocoon watch*, and it extended across Kirkholt to become the more conventional Neighborhood Watch scheme.

Results

The Kirkholt project reduced burglary on the Kirkholt estate immediately and dramatically. The number of domestic burglaries fell from 316 in 1986 to 147 in 1987—a decline that was not reflected in the rest of the police area. Further, repeat victimization showed an especially dramatic decline. Within practical limits, it was shown that crime had not been displaced by place (elsewhere in the area) or crime type. The improvement remained, and the evaluation ended in 1990. A

second report on the project by Forrester and his colleagues in 1990 is noteworthy for its early attempt at cost-benefit analysis, and for the observation that it was increasingly householders new to the area who fell victim to burglary. In the year before the project was implemented, 10% of the burglaries in Kirkholt were suffered by those living in the area for less than 2 years. In the third year of implementation, that figure had jumped to 49%. This is in part attributable to the improved reputation of the estate and its consequent increase in the number of occupied homes. Highlighting the vulnerability of newcomers to burglary was an important incidental finding of the study of Kirkholt.

Criticisms

The claimed success of the Kirkholt project came under criticism, no doubt because the success was so dramatic and replications were less successful (at least in part because they were not full replications). It was suggested that the burglary reduction was attributable to general estate improvements rather than target hardening. The Home Office commissioned David Farrington to review the evidence and reanalyze the data. His report (which was never published) indicated that the decline had tracked the target hardening of burglary victims rather than tracking other types of improvements. After more than 20 years, what are we to make of the Kirkholt project? The points worth remembering include the following:

1. Because the burglary rate in Kirkholt was extremely high before the project, one could anticipate a decline in burglary on the basis of the rate simply declining to a more normal level, independent of the intervention.
2. As the project contained a package of measures, it is impossible to tease out the components of its “active ingredient,” although some clues can be gathered from the shape of the reduction—for example, there was a greater reduction in burglaries in semidetached homes than in maisonettes (apartments on two floors), where the overall building design and environmental setting provided more crime opportunities.
3. One aspect of target hardening was the removal of the meters, sometimes called “burglars’

piggybanks,” into which residents in British public housing up to the 1980s typically inserted coins to prepay for their electricity. These meters, which were in a standard place within the home and easy to break into, often contained a substantial sum. Before the project, 49% of all burglaries involved loss of meter cash, and 27% nothing but meter cash. Thus the meters were the ultimate “low-hanging fruit” for target-hardening crime preventers.

4. In addition to the features that made the project a success beyond the reach of projects that followed it, the Kirkholt project had the distinction of being the first project that used what was known about how victimization is concentrated as the basis for the prioritization of crime reduction efforts.

5. The project “got lucky” in its deployment of cocoon watches, wherein target-hardening help was offered to near neighbors of burglary victims. Later research showed how burglary risk is communicated to near neighbors, but this was not understood at the time. The burglary reductions achieved by the project were greater than the total numbers of preproject repeats, and there were some postproject repeats, so the balance of the reduction came from somewhere else. It is plausible that it came from neighbors of burglary victims, but this was not measured at the time. It is now more productive to think of repeat victimization as a special case of communicated risk.

6. Despite its flaws, the Kirkholt project was an important step forward in placing the prevention of repeat victimization on the crime prevention agenda. And the concepts of drip-feeding and cocoon watch speak to practical crime reduction issues. However, crime concentration at the individual and household levels remains a ubiquitous feature of crime patterns, and an affront to notions of distributive justice. Thus the scope for prevention via the reduction of repeat victimization and other instances of communicated risk remains considerable in scale and worthy in terms of its fairness in spreading the burden of crime around.

Ken Pease

See also Burglary, Prevention of; Neighborhood Watch Programs; Safer Cities Program

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LANDMARK VICTIM-RELATED COURT CASES, FEDERAL, UNITED STATES

The United States Supreme Court and the federal appellate courts have decided many landmark victim-related cases since the 1980s. In the U.S. legal system, laws have little practical meaning without judicial interpretation; therefore, case law is crucial to our understanding of the contours of victims' legal rights and remedies. Landmark victim-related cases are those that establish new legal principles or substantially change existing law and that have great significance to the evolution of the victims' rights movement. Historically, the goals of this movement have been to expand victims' participatory rights in the criminal process, to secure adequate restitution for victims, and to enact better crime control measures. These goals provide a useful framework for this discussion of landmark victim-related cases.

Participation in the Criminal Process

Victim Impact Evidence

The most recognized victim-related cases in the United States are the Supreme Court's decisions involving victim impact evidence (VIE) at sentencing. Although initially disinclined to permit VIE, the Court eventually granted victims the right to participate in capital sentencings. These cases mark

the Court's earliest recognition of the victims' rights movement.

In *Booth v. Maryland*, 482 U.S. 496 (1987), the Supreme Court held that consideration of VIE—evidence about victims and their family—at the penalty phase of a capital trial was unconstitutional. Because the jury's focus shifts from the defendant to the victim when presented with VIE, the decision to impose the death penalty could be arbitrary and capricious. Recognizing society's growing concern for victims' rights, the *Booth* dissenters urged deference to state legislatures' decisions to expand victims' role at sentencing.

The Supreme Court extended the holding of *Booth* in *South Carolina v. Gathers*, 490 U.S. 805 (1989), to bar VIE from a prosecutor's argument to the jury. The Court held that the prosecutor's argument, in which he commented extensively on the victim's personal characteristics, impermissibly introduced sentencing factors unrelated to the defendant's blameworthiness. The dissenters in *Gathers* argued that jurors should know the human cost of the crime and called for *Booth* to be overruled.

The reconfigured Supreme Court did just that in *Payne v. Tennessee*, 501 U.S. 808 (1991). The Court held that consideration of VIE at capital sentencings is not unconstitutional. The opinion focused on the direct relationship between the degree of harm suffered by the victim's family and the defendant's punishment. The strong public support for victims' rights influenced the Court's decision. Irrespective of the rationale, *Payne* represented a paradigm shift in the Court's view of victims' rights.

Enforcement of Victims' Rights

Since *Payne*, federal and state legislation has greatly expanded crime victims' rights to participate in criminal cases. Even more significant, however, is the development of mechanisms for victims to enforce these rights.

Enforcement has not always been available to victims. For example, in *United States v. McVeigh*, 106 F.3d 325 (10th Cir. 1997), the district court entered an order prohibiting victim witnesses from attending the trial of Timothy McVeigh, one of the Oklahoma City bombers. The excluded victims appealed. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals held that it did not have jurisdiction to overturn the appeal because neither the relevant federal statute nor the Constitution granted the victims a legally protected interest in attending the trial. However, public outcry after the *McVeigh* holding prompted Congress to pass emergency legislation to allow the excluded victims to attend the trial, notwithstanding their intent to give VIE at sentencing.

Recent cases reflect legislative efforts to create enforcement mechanisms for victims and a shift in judicial interpretation of victims' statutory rights. In *Kenna v. United States District Court for the Central District of California*, 435 F.3d 1011 (9th Cir. 2006), the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reviewed a provision of the Crime Victims' Rights Act (CVRA). Victims of a multimillion-dollar fraud scheme gave VIE at one defendant's sentencing hearing, but the district court denied them the opportunity to speak again at the other defendant's hearing. On appeal, the *Kenna* Court interpreted the CVRA's right to be reasonably heard to mean the right to speak at every relevant sentencing hearing, not just the right to submit a single written statement. The Court endorsed the CVRA's aim to make victims full participants in the criminal trial process and to give victims equal footing with prosecutors and defendants.

The shift in favor of victims has come so far that, in *United States v. Perry*, 360 F.3d 519 (6th Cir. 2004), the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals allowed a victim, although not a party to the criminal case, to appeal a restitution order. Until *Perry*, federal courts had found that the Constitution prevented victims from making such challenges.

These cases are significant. They demonstrate that Congress and the courts are responding to

public opinion in favor of the expansion of victims' rights. Although the issues of whether a victim has a legal interest in the criminal trial of a defendant and, if so, whether that interest should be enforceable, are still unsettled, the courts appear to be siding with victims.

Victims' Civil Remedies

The questions surrounding victims' legal interests are not limited to the context of criminal trials. Victims also seek civil remedies from defendants and from government entities that have failed to protect them. In contrast to lawsuits against offenders in state courts, victims' federal lawsuits must overcome certain constitutional barriers. Therefore, federal lawsuits have met with limited success.

Lawsuits Against Offenders

For example, when a campus rape victim sued her perpetrators under the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA), the statute was struck down. Congress and victims' advocates had intended the VAWA civil rights statute to provide recourse beyond traditional state law remedies to victims of gender-based violence. The Supreme Court held in *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000) that Congress lacked the necessary constitutional authority to enact that particular section of VAWA. Despite this ruling, several states enacted similar legislation, and victims continue to seek civil redress in state courts.

Lawsuits Against the U.S. Government

Victims have secured more rights in the criminal process over the course of the victims' rights movement, yet there has been no corresponding development in victims' lawsuits against governmental entities. The Supreme Court has held that the government generally has no constitutional duty to provide protection against privately inflicted harms or to enforce all laws.

In *DeShaney v. Winnebago County Department of Social Services*, 489 U.S. 189 (1989), the Department of Social Services failed to take action for over 2 years in a suspected child abuse case, which resulted in irreversible brain damage of the 4-year-old victim. The social service officials knew that his father posed

a risk of violence but failed to intervene. Nevertheless, because the child's injury occurred at the hands of a private party and the child was not in government custody, there was no constitutional violation.

The Supreme Court recently affirmed the *DeShaney* holding in *Town of Castle Rock, Colorado v. Gonzales*, 545 U.S. 748 (2005). Gonzales reported that her husband had taken their children in violation of a restraining order, but the police repeatedly refused to take action. Later that evening, Gonzales's husband murdered the children and was killed in a shoot-out with the police. The Court found that, despite its mandatory language, the state law did not give Gonzales entitlement to the enforcement of a restraining order because the police and prosecution had some discretion with respect to its enforcement.

In addition to finding that the government has no affirmative duty to protect victims from their offenders, the Supreme Court also has imposed constitutional barriers to federal causes of action. The Court has severely circumscribed crime victims' use of the Constitution as a remedy for the wrongful conduct of government entities and officers.

Crime Control Measures

In addition to imposing limits on victims' ability to secure civil remedies, the Supreme Court has sometimes hindered victims' push for greater crime control. Victims seek the enactment of laws that criminalize more behavior, enhance the severity of criminals' punishment, and provide victims with protections and reparations. The Court has invalidated such laws if they burden criminal defendants' constitutional rights.

Notoriety for Profit

The Supreme Court considered New York's "Son of Sam" law in *Simon & Schuster, Inc. v. Members of the New York State Crime Victims Board*, 502 U.S. 105 (1991). To prevent criminals from profiting from their crimes and to recompense victims, the law required an accused or convicted criminal's income from works depicting his crimes to be collected and distributed to the victims of the crime. The Supreme Court held the law unconstitutional because it imposed a financial burden on speakers solely because of the particular content of the speech. New York and other states

subsequently remedied the constitutional deficiencies in their Son of Sam laws.

Hate Crimes

Hate crime legislation seeks to criminalize behavior that is motivated by certain characteristics of the victim. The Supreme Court considered whether expressions of hate against victims, such as cross burning, can be prohibited and punished in *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992). The Court struck down an ordinance that prohibited hate speech based on race, color, creed, religion, and gender. The Court held that the government may not regulate speech on the basis of the government's hostility or favoritism toward the underlying message expressed.

However, in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476 (1993), the Supreme Court upheld a sentencing statute that enhanced the penalty for a defendant convicted of a physical assault who intentionally selected his victim because of the person's race. The Court ruled that the statute did not violate the defendant's free speech rights by punishing his beliefs; the statute punished the bias motivation behind his conduct. The Court affirmed this principle in *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003), in which it upheld a law banning cross burning so long as it required the state to prove that the defendant acted with the intent to intimidate the victim.

These cases epitomize the inherent conflict between victims' rights and defendants' rights. Hate crime legislation attempts to reconcile the two by regulating biased conduct against victims without censoring defendants' speech.

Sex Offender Registration and Notification

Victims' advocates pushed for the enactment of sex offender registration and notification laws to prevent against sexual victimization. Thus the Supreme Court recently considered the constitutionality of state versions of Megan's Law. The Court upheld the state laws in *Connecticut Department of Public Safety v. Doe*, 538 U.S. 1 (2003), and in *Smith v. Doe*, 538 U.S. 84 (2003), finding no constitutional infirmity with regulatory measures adopted for public safety reasons. These cases signal the Court's continued protection of victims; however, they do not end future challenges to these laws.

Future Outlook

Throughout these cases, the Supreme Court has explicitly acknowledged the need to provide victims with more rights and with enforceable remedies. The Court, however, has placed the onus on Congress and state legislatures to create a remedial system within constitutional boundaries. As public sentiment in favor of victims' rights continues to grow, we can expect a legislative and judicial expansion of victims' rights and remedies. Because such rights and remedies will likely conflict with defendants' rights and present constitutional questions, it is inevitable that the Supreme Court will revisit the issues presented in these landmark victim-related cases.

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See also Civil Litigation; Defendants' Rights Versus Victims' Rights; Politics and Victims; Victim Impact Statements; Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States

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LANDMARK VICTIM-RELATED COURT CASES, INTERNATIONAL

Starting with the creation of the International Military Tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo in the aftermath of World War II, the international community set up various international criminal courts

over the course of the 20th century whose goal was to prosecute acts of particular gravity. Victims' rights before international courts, which were completely excluded from the proceedings in the early days of international justice, have considerably evolved in the last decade. After a brief presentation of the existing international criminal jurisdictions, this entry examines their definition of the victim and presents some important cases that have shaped the rights of the victims appearing before them.

International Criminal Tribunals

In 1993 and 1994 respectively, the United Nations established two international criminal tribunals to prosecute very serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the former Yugoslavia since 1991 and in Rwanda during 1994. Under their rules of proceedings, victims have no autonomous role. They have no legal representatives, have no access to the files of the case, and cannot intervene except as witnesses (and only when asked to do so by the court, the prosecutor, or the defense). They cannot claim any compensation and only have a right to *restitution* (i.e., the return of any property acquired by criminal conduct to their rightful owners). However, a tribunal's guilty verdict can be used by the victim to claim compensation in his or her national jurisdiction. The reason for such a limited role for victims resides in the fact that it was thought at the time of the creation of the tribunals that the prosecution represented the interests of the victims as well as those of the international community. The Rome Statute (1998), however, recognizes that these interests may conflict and thus that victims need their own representatives.

Hybrid Tribunals

In addition to international tribunals, various hybrid criminal tribunals were set up between 2000 and 2007, namely the special courts for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, East Timor, Lebanon, and Sierra Leone. Each has its own characteristics, but all are regulated by national as well as international law, are integrated into the national justice systems, and are financially supported by the international community. They all have jurisdiction

over massive violations of international criminal law as well as some serious offences of national criminal law, and they employ both international and national magistrates. Being implemented on national territory, where the crimes occurred, the tribunals are culturally and politically close to the victims. Nevertheless, victims' rights in the jurisdictions vary greatly, and though still unclear, the tribunals' provisions seem limited in that respect.

International Criminal Court

The situation is different before the International Criminal Court (ICC), which for the first time in international law grants autonomous rights to the victims. The ICC is an independent and permanent tribunal created and regulated by the Rome Statute, which was joined by 108 state members. It tries individuals prosecuted for crimes against humanity such as genocides and war crimes. The Rome Statute and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence (RPE) both contain provisions that allow the victim to participate in the criminal justice process, which requires that the victim first be defined.

Definition of the Victim

Rule 85 of the ICC RPE defines two types of victims. People are considered victims when they "have suffered harm as a result of the commission of any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court." Organizations and institutions, however, may have the status of victims if they have sustained "direct harm to any of their property which is dedicated to religion, education, art or science or charitable purposes and to their historic monuments, hospitals and other places and objects for humanitarian purposes."

This raises two questions: First, what is *harm*? Second, when does the status of victim take effect?

The definition of *harm* can be problematic: What degree of harm must a person have suffered to qualify as a victim and how direct must it be? As harm is not defined in the Rome Statute or in the RPE, it lies within the court's competence to define it on a case by case basis: physical harm, moral suffering, and material loss all constitute harm. It seems that the court will also consider indirect suffering. In a decision dated June 29, 2006, the court referred to the definition given by

the *United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power* in 1985, which includes suffering caused by the loss of a close relative while helping victims or trying to prevent victimization.

Then, as indicated in a decision by the Pre-Trial Chamber I, dated January 17, 2006, there must be a causal link between the harm suffered and a crime falling within the jurisdiction of the Court. This means that the alleged victim must be able to prove that he or she was victimized by the accused; hence the importance that the victim be allowed to participate in the proceedings at an early stage to help establish the identity of his or her aggressor. However, in the *Lubanga* case, the court ruled that, at the early stage of the trial, when a *situation* is investigated, it is sufficient for the victim to establish there are *grounds to believe* that he or she was victimized by the accused. Later, when a *case* is being tried, the victim must show there are reasonable grounds to believe that he or she was victimized by the accused during the crimes for which the accused is being tried by the court.

When does the status of victim take effect? In the decision of January 17, 2006, the court held that the right of the victims to participate starts as early as the investigation on the situation, that is, even before an arrest warrant or a summons to appear is issued.

Rights of Participation

How the provisions of the Rome Statute and the RPE regarding victims should be put into practice precisely is left to the court to determine. Victims have a right to participate at any stage of the proceedings, when *their interests are affected*. This is a flexible criterion, which will depend, among other elements, on the stage of the proceedings.

As stated in the decision of January 17, 2006, the rights of participation of the victims start at pretrial stage, when the court tries to determine whether there is a ground for prosecution. Victims must be informed if the court or the prosecutor decides not to proceed with an investigation. Their rights also include the right to attend the hearing, to present oral and written views and concerns, to present evidence, and to examine and cross-examine witnesses. They have a right to be informed of the requests and conclusions made by the other

parties, and of the progress of the proceedings. They also have a right to make observations when the jurisdiction of the court or the admissibility of an action is challenged. However, victims have no right to open an investigation.

Moreover, victims have a right to legal representation: Rule 90 of the RPE states that victims are free to choose a legal representative, which the court shall only limit if it is inappropriate in a specific case.

Victims may benefit from *protective measures*. In the *Lubanga* case, the Pre-Trial Chamber I held that the protection of victims, up to then restricted to victims “appearing before the Court,” should be extended to victim applicants, who must be protected from the time the court receives a completed application to participate in the trial. When appearing as witnesses, victims must be protected against reprisals from the offenders, but also from a possible revictimization caused by the trial itself. Their privacy must be protected, and the prosecutor can withhold any evidence that can gravely endanger a witness or a witness’s family. The court may derogate to the principle of public hearing and may allow evidence to be presented by electronic means, for example by allowing a witness to testify by video.

But there are limits as to how and when victims may participate: It is the court’s competence to decide in what form and when it is appropriate for victims to intervene (i.e., in a manner that is not prejudicial to the rights of the accused). They must apply in writing to the registrar (i.e., the principal administrative officer of the court) before being allowed to address a trial chamber. If there are numerous victims, they may be asked to choose one or more common representatives, unless there is a conflict of interests, in which case separate representation will be allowed. Victims’ legal representatives may only examine witnesses, experts, or the defendant once authorized to do so by the trial chamber, and may be requested to do it only in writing.

Rights of Reparation

The ICC is the first international jurisdiction to grant victims a right to reparation. As an individual right, it is independent from the right to participate. But the court can also order collective reparations, which shall benefit all the victims of a crime, including victims not represented during the

proceedings. Reparation can be granted to the victims themselves or to their families and dependents.

The ICC statute provides for three forms of reparations, namely, restitution, compensation, and rehabilitation. *Restitution* aims at restoring victims to the situation that was theirs prior to the crime; this includes the restitution of their property and employment as well as their return to their place of residence. *Compensation* is reparation for the damage suffered; it is a substitute for restitution, and can be awarded for medical expenses, loss of earnings, and compensation for physical and mental sufferings. *Rehabilitation* includes psychological and medical care, as well as social and legal assistance. It aims at alleviating the consequences of the crime. However, the list is not exhaustive. For example, the court can request guarantees of nonrepetition or order public apologies, or that a judgment be publicized. The court may ask states to proceed to seizures of property and assets against individuals for the restitution to victims, and states are required to comply with such orders. Yet, the court cannot issue reparation orders against states themselves.

To help the court determine the appropriate compensation, it can appoint experts to help establish loss, injury, and damage. The Rome Statute also establishes a trust fund for victims, which benefits crime victims within the jurisdiction of the court and their families. This serves two goals: providing reparation to the victims when the court makes awards to victims through the fund and managing voluntary contributions to the benefit of larger groups of victims who may not have suffered directly from the crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court.

What is not known yet is at what stage of the trial the victim can apply to obtain them: Must the victim wait until the accused is pronounced guilty, or are reparations due as soon as the victim has proved him- or herself a victim? What about victims who join trial after the guilty verdict? The principles governing reparations are still uncertain and will be established by the court, as prescribed by Article 75 of the Rome Statute.

The Victims and Witnesses Unit

Besides allowing for the participation and reparation of the victims, the court, through the Victims

and Witnesses Unit, also provides counseling and protection for the victims, the witnesses, and their families. It supplies them with medical care and psychological support, and it guarantees their protection and right to privacy before, during, and after trial.

Final Thoughts

Many questions relating to victims' rights remain unanswered. However, an international criminal jurisdiction has granted victims the right to participate at any stage of the proceedings. It has been recognized that victims play a unique role in helping to establish the reality of the heinous crimes prosecuted before the International Criminal Court, and thus should be allowed to participate under the best conditions. It also shows the will of the international community to overcome the sole logic of punishment and to establish some sort of restorative justice.

Joelle Vuille

See also Landmark Victim-Related Court Cases, Federal, United States; Restorative Justice; Victims' Rights Legislation, International; Victims' Rights Movement, International; War Crimes

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LARCENY/THEFT

The terms *larceny* and *theft* are often used interchangeably, however, *theft* is the more general term and encompasses many different acts of taking property, including larceny. The United States government defines larceny/theft as the unlawful taking and/or possessing of property that belongs to another individual. The majority of statutes require three elements for an act to be considered larceny. The perpetrator must (1) actually take or attempt to take (2) someone else's property, and (3) there must be criminal intent (*mens rea*) to take the property, knowing that it belongs to another. Larceny/theft is one of the four Part I property crimes reported yearly by the the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The FBI distinguishes larceny/theft from motor vehicle theft, as each crime encompasses its own definition within the UCR Program. The other two categories of Part I property crimes are burglary and arson.

Within the UCR Program definition, larceny encompasses many aspects of theft, including shoplifting, pickpocketing, and bicycle theft. Force is not used in cases of larceny-theft. When force is applied when taking property, the crime receives the more severe label of robbery or burglary. Although motor vehicle theft is not considered larceny, the theft of items within the vehicle or on the vehicle (e.g., car parts, stereos) would be considered larceny, as long as force was not applied. Less severe aspects of theft, including embezzlement, writing fraudulent checks, and other forms of forgery are not included within this definition of larceny-theft. Instead they occupy a place within the UCR Program's Part II crime list.

Types

Grand/Petit Larceny

The definitions of grand (big) and petit (little) larceny differ across jurisdictions. Each jurisdiction will set a monetary amount that signifies the point at which a crime's classification changes from petit larceny to grand larceny. Many jurisdictions will use the value of \$1,000 to make this determination. Larceny in which the value of what the perpetrator took or attempted to take is \$1,000 or more is labeled grand larceny. Thus if the value of the merchandise in question is less than \$1,000, the crime is considered petit larceny. The following forms of larceny-theft could be either grand or petit, simply depending on the worth of the goods.

Direct Taking

Shoplifting is the direct taking of merchandise from a retail store without paying for the goods. According to a recent *USA Today* report, occurrences of shoplifting continue to rise as economy struggles. Shoplifting is often one of the first forms of larceny/theft committed by young children. This can include taking penny candy from a grocery store or taking a toy at a garage sale. Other forms of direct taking include bicycle theft, pickpocketing, and taking motor vehicle parts.

Indirect Taking

Indirect taking is defined by the individual's actions immediately after obtaining the merchandise. It is the actions taken by the individual that determine whether the act should be labeled larceny. For example, finding a purse on the subway is not a crime. However, if the individual who finds the purse takes the money and credit cards from the purse, with the intent of using the funds for his or her own purpose, the act becomes larceny. Jurisdictions differ in their responses to indirect-taking crimes. Some choose to follow the common law model, stating that larceny occurs only if the individual intended to commit the crime (*mens rea*) after discovering the property in question. Other jurisdictions use the Model Penal Code, Section 223.5, which defines an act to be larceny if the individual does not attempt to return the merchandise to its rightful owner.

Deceptive Taking

Deceptive taking implies the use of deception to carry out larceny. The perpetrator may pretend to be someone else in order to coerce an individual into turning over his or her property. The perpetrator may also withhold information from the individual to get the property. If an individual willingly turns over or gives his or her property to the perpetrator, but the individual does so based on the deceit or deceptive promises of the perpetrator, larceny has occurred.

Prevalence

Although occurrences of larceny/theft are declining, this crime accounted for the largest percentage of property crimes committed in 2006. Approximately 66.6% of 2006 property crimes were larceny/theft. Furthermore, according to the UCR Program reports, \$5.6 billion worth of property was taken in instances of larceny/theft. The UCR Program distinguishes between types of larceny, but not between petit and grand larceny. Except for the "other" category, which encompasses 33% of larceny occurrences, the majority of larceny/theft occurrences were found to be from motor vehicles (26.5%). This does not include the taking of motor vehicle parts and/or accessories. Following theft from motor vehicles were shoplifting (13.2%), theft from buildings (12.6%), theft of motor vehicle accessories (9.7%) and bicycles (3.5%), purse snatching (0.6%), theft from coin-operated machines (0.5%), and pickpocketing (0.4%).

Larceny rates were reported to have declined from 2005 by 3.5%. Furthermore, in the past decade, larceny rates have declined 23.7%. The national average of reported larceny/theft was 2,206.8 per 100,000 people. This rate was found to be highest in cities outside a metropolitan area (2,864.6 per 100,000). The reported rate for both metropolitan statistical areas (2,303.1 per 100,000) and nonmetropolitan areas (992.1 per 100,000) was under the national average.

The prevalence of larceny/theft varies across United States geographical regions. The highest rate of larceny/theft occurs in the South (41.3%). The West is second (22.8%), followed by the Midwest (22.5%), and the Northeast (13.4%). Furthermore, the leading property crime in the South, Midwest, and Northeast is larceny/theft.

Larceny/theft is the lowest reported property crime in the West, however, trailing behind motor vehicle theft (36.8%) and burglary (23.1%).

Clearance/Arrest

In 2006, the UCR Program's reports showed that more cases of larceny/theft were cleared, either by arrest or other exceptional circumstances, than those of any other property crime except arson (18%). Larceny/theft cases were cleared 17.4% of the time. Although this is greater than the burglary (12.6%) and motor vehicle theft (12.6%) rates, it remains exceptionally low compared to the clearance rates of all violent crimes. Violent crime clearance rates in 2006 ranged from 25.2% (robbery) to 60.7% (murder). The Northeast has the highest rate of larceny/theft clearances (20.6%), followed by the South (17.6%), the Midwest (17.1%), and the West (15.7%).

In most jurisdictions, whether a crime is judged grand or petit larceny is what defines the crime as either a felony or a misdemeanor. Grand larceny is usually categorized as a felony and punishable with time in prison. Petit larceny is usually categorized as a misdemeanor, punishable by no more than one year in jail. However, punishments may vary, especially if the jurisdiction utilizes structured sentencing guidelines, which take into account not only the severity of the current offense, but the perpetrator's prior criminal history as well.

Supreme Court Cases

The United States Supreme Court, as well as lower courts, has repeatedly examined the issue of larceny/theft. A 1971 California case examined the idea of indirect taking in *People v Stay* (96 Cal. Rptr 651 [Cal. App. 1971]), in which the defendant was found guilty of grand larceny for collecting shopping carts and demanding that the store give him a "reward" for the return of the carts. The Court held that the carts were not lost and a reward was not justified.

The 2001 case of *People v Rohlfson* (Illinois Court of Appeals 752 N.E.2d 499) examined the concept of deceitful taking. A prisoner called an elderly woman from the prison phone, claiming to be her relative and asking her to send \$1,500 to the jail for him. Correctional officers intercepted

the check before it could be cashed, and the court found that the funds had been obtained through deception and charged the individual with larceny.

The United States Supreme Court debated the issue of ownership of property in a 1952 case, *Morrisette v. United States* (342 U.S. 246). The defendant claimed that he took scrap metal, believing it to be abandoned property. Abandoned property, or property without an owner, cannot be the victim of larceny/theft. The court held that ownership in this case could not be proven, and the defendant was cleared.

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See also Burglary; Identity Theft; Motor Vehicle Theft; Robbery; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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LAUTENBERG AMENDMENT

The Lautenberg Amendment is a protective measure for victims of domestic violence. The U.S. Congress enacted it to protect abuse victims, as the possession of a firearm by a chronically abusive partner greatly increases the chance that the victim will receive a fatal injury. In 1996, Congress passed the Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act of 1997, enacting the Domestic Violence Offender Gun Act in the process. Because the bill

was sponsored by Senator Frank Lautenberg (D) of New Jersey, the Domestic Violence Offender Gun Act became known as the Lautenberg Amendment. The Lautenberg Amendment made possessing, receiving, or shipping a firearm a federal crime for individuals who had been convicted on a misdemeanor domestic violence charge or had been convicted of child abuse. In addition, the Lautenberg Amendment made it illegal to sell or issue a firearm or ammunition to such an individual. It is considered an amendment to the Omnibus Crime Bill and Safe Streets Act of 1968, also known as the Gun Control Act (GCA) of 1968, as it did not provide exceptions that the GCA had included for law enforcement and military personnel, and it expanded the GCA list of persons who were prohibited to possess, receive, or ship firearms. The lack of exceptions for law enforcement and military personnel is the root cause for the extent of the controversy surrounding the Lautenberg Amendment.

Twentieth-Century Gun Control Legislation

During the 20th century, numerous gun control measures were enacted. The National Firearms Act of 1934 called for the registration and taxation of a specific classification of weapons (e.g., machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, silencers). In 1938, the Federal Firearms Act set certain policies for the sale of firearms and introduced the federal firearms license for businesses that sold or repaired firearms. The aforementioned GCA of 1968 provided an extensive set of regulations. The most notable of these regulations dealt with age requirements for purchasing a firearm; the prohibition of certain individuals from possessing firearms, namely felons; the prohibition of shipping firearms and ammunition through the mail system; and specific sentencing guidelines for offenders who used firearms during a crime. When the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act was passed in 1994, it was viewed as the next major gun control legislation. The Brady bill instituted the requirements for states to conduct background checks on handgun sales and a 5-day waiting period for the background check. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 outlawed the manufacturing of numerous types of assault rifles and high-capacity magazines that held more than 10 rounds of ammunition.

The Lautenberg Amendment strengthened the then recently passed Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994. The VAWA made it against the law for an individual under a restraining order to possess a firearm; however, like its predecessors, it provided exceptions for law enforcement and military personnel. Under the Lautenberg Amendment, individuals under a restraining order for domestic violence are prohibited from possessing a firearm, including those who would normally have the authority to do so under the auspices of law enforcement or military duties.

Arguments Against and For the Lautenberg Amendment

Anti-Lautenberg Amendment

A contingent of law enforcement and military officials opposed the Lautenberg Amendment on the grounds of constitutionality in the following areas: (1) its application to misdemeanor domestic violence and not to other misdemeanor crimes; (2) its lack of application to individuals who are convicted of felony-type domestic violence charges; (3) its unfair singling out of law enforcement. This anti-Lautenberg Amendment contingent complained that the amendment would cause job losses for both law enforcement and military personnel. Another concern for this group is the retroactive nature of the Lautenberg Amendment. The amendment applies to individuals convicted after the date of enactment as well as to individuals with domestic violence convictions dated before the law went into effect.

Pro-Lautenberg Amendment

Advocates of the Lautenberg Amendment, including certain law enforcement organizations, argue that upon receiving a conviction for domestic violence or child abuse, individuals who had been trusted with the duty and corresponding authority to protect society should be seen as having abandoned their posts and be identified as convicted abusers. According to the amendment's supporters, law enforcement or police duties do not afford convicted abusers extra rights or protection from the consequences of their convictions. Those in favor of the Lautenberg Amendment also

argue that since so many domestic violence and child abuse incidents are reported to the police every year, the victims reporting the abuse should not have to worry that the officers responding to their calls may be abusers.

Joshua Lawrance Balay

See also Brady Bill; Domestic Violence, Committed by Police and Military Personnel; Guns and Victimization; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions; Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

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LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION (LEAA)

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) was the first program of significant federal aid for state and local law enforcement and criminal justice efforts. Moreover, the Safe Street Act and LEAA began a new era of federal assistance to state and local governments that continues to this day. Thus the LEAA program, which was initiated in response to the social turbulence of the 1960s and continued through the 1970s, educated and trained thousands of criminal justice personnel.

The 1960s was one of the most tumultuous decades in American history. Serious crimes reported to the police nearly tripled. Robberies doubled. Violent crime rates soared. However, the serious crime conviction rate fell during this

period. Crime had reached epidemic proportions, but the criminal justice response to it was seriously flawed. Race relations turned contentious and deadly. Assassinations and random violence increased. In 1962, federal troops were dispatched to the University of Mississippi to enroll the first Black student, James Meredith. The next year federal troops were sent to the University of Alabama. Medgar Evers, an NAACP field secretary, was assassinated by a Ku Klux Klan member in June 1963. Then, in September, four young black girls were murdered in a racially motivated bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, by Klan members. Two months later, on November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Texas. The 1965 Watts race riot in Los Angeles left 34 dead. Malcolm X, a Black political activist, was assassinated in New York in 1965. In 1966, a sniper at the University of Texas at Austin shot 45 people, killing 14. There were massive race riots in 1967. The first, in Newark, New Jersey, lasted 26 days and left 26 dead. Then in Detroit, Michigan, a riot went on for 8 days and resulted in 43 deaths.

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. Then on June 6, presidential candidate Senator Robert Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles. Later that year, the police handling of the protests and resulting riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention marked the event as a “police riot.” In 1969, Charles Manson and his followers killed actress Sharon Tate and three others in Los Angeles. In the waning days of that year, political activist and deputy chairman of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party Fred Hampton was killed under suspicious circumstances by a police tactical unit. Opposition to the war in Vietnam resulted in massive political protests throughout the country, including the killing of four Kent State students at an antiwar demonstration in 1970.

When violence and social protests increased during the 1960s, leading to criminal acts, the need for a federal response became apparent. President Lyndon Johnson prodded Congress into creating the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the passage of the 1965 Law Enforcement Assistance Act. The act created the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance

in the Department of Justice to fund demonstration projects to improve the methods of criminal justice administration at state and local levels. This program existed until 1968, when its functions were transferred to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

The 1967 President's Commission's report, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, recommended that the federal government provide financial assistance to state and local governments for law enforcement purposes, broadly defined as all components of the criminal justice system. Congress responded in 1968 by passing the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. Title I of the act established the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The goals of LEAA were (1) to reduce crime and delinquency by encouraging and assisting states in developing comprehensive plans to fight crime, (2) to make block grants to states to provide funding to carry out these plans, (3) to conduct research in law enforcement, and (4) to provide leadership and guidance to state and local governments in their efforts to improve the criminal justice system. The planning assistance, grants, guidance, and leadership were made through state and regional planning agencies. The planning agencies developed comprehensive state plans to improve law enforcement and developed state and local programs and projects. It was a massive centralized federal effort for the decentralized planning, funding, and execution of criminal justice projects at the local level.

The act also established the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice as LEAA's research arm to make grants to public agencies, colleges and universities, and private organizations to conduct studies and research in criminal justice issues. After 1974 the institute also served as a national clearinghouse for the exchange of criminal justice information. In 1979, the functions of the institute were absorbed by the National Institute of Justice.

The program was not without criticism. Congress intended that all criminal justice components would receive grants; however, the law enforcement theme led many to believe it was a "police program." This misunderstanding caused funding problems, with the majority of monies allocated to law enforcement agencies. Block grants to the states were criticized for lax control

over the money. There were instances of wasteful use of funds. The program suffered from unrealistic expectations. It was assumed that money was the answer to reducing the crime problem and winning the "war on crime." However, after the expenditure of \$7.5 billion, critics pointed out that the program had no real impact on crime. There was one downturn in crime statistics in 1972; however, the reported violent crime rate continued to rise throughout the 1970s. The composition of the planning agencies reduced the transparency of state and local efforts and complicated police-community relations. The planning agencies were composed of only law enforcement agencies and local units of government, which minimized input from community and citizen groups, particularly minorities. The red tape involved was a nightmare for many grant recipients.

Many current criminal justice professors began their education with LEAA grants and loans. And many programs, or variants of these programs, begun with federal seed money are still in place. Thus LEAA demonstrated that the federal government can play a valuable role in helping state and local governments deal with the crime problem. The research emphasis of LEAA is ongoing. Criminal justice planning, analysis, and evaluation became important concepts as a result of LEAA.

Tom Barker

See also President's Crime Commission Report, 1967

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LIFESTYLE THEORY

In 1978, Michael Hindelang, Michael Gottfredson, and James Garofalo published *Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization*. In this book, the authors stated that people play a role in their own victimization by engaging in lifestyles and making certain lifestyle choices that make them more accessible to offenders and easier targets for crime. This assertion started a new line of inquiry in criminological theory by suggesting that the choices victims make either increase or decrease their chances for criminal victimization.

Heretofore, scholars had suggested that crime victims could be held at least partially responsible for their victimization due to characteristics they possessed. In the early years of victimology, these characteristics often were presented as typologies. For example, Benjamin Mendelsohn identified five types of victims: innocent victims, victims with minor guilt, victims as guilty as offenders, victims who were guiltier than offenders, and most guilty victims. Similarly, Hans Von Hentig expanded the idea of the victim typology by naming 12 types of crime victims: young, female, elderly, mentally defective, immigrants, minorities, dull normals, depressed, acquisitive, lonesome and heartbroken, tormentors, and blocked, exempted, and fighting. Finally, Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang developed a more generalizable list of victim types: primary victims, secondary victims, tertiary victims, and mutual victims. These typologies were helpful in the early stages of victimological research in that scholars could note and understand that criminal victimization was not an entirely random event, and that crime victims could be identified based on some personality or demographic characteristics they held. One problem with these typologies, though, was that many of the victim types represented individuals who had very low rates of victimization (e.g., youth, females, and elderly people). In addition, these typologies tended to suppose that victims were to blame for their own victimization. The emergence of the lifestyle theory of victimization allowed scholars to move beyond the victim-blaming issues and present a better understanding of the relationships between victims and offenders in the context of lifestyles and locations.

Lifestyle Constraints

The main assertion of lifestyle theory is that various lifestyles of individuals place them in greater proximity to criminal offenders, thus they themselves increase their odds of criminal victimization. Also, individuals with certain lifestyles may make better choices for offenders because of their value as individuals, their valuable possessions, or their unwillingness to protect themselves or their property adequately. Michael Hindelang and his colleagues define lifestyle as daily activities and leisure activities in which individuals participate on a routine basis. The concept of lifestyle includes choices individuals make freely and within imposed constraints, as well as behaviors influenced by societal structures and expectations.

To elaborate, lifestyle includes behavioral expectations of persons occupying various social roles. For example, we do not expect new parents to go out partying and drinking all the time after the birth of their child. We anticipate that they will stay at home and take care of their infant. At the same time, young single men and women are “allowed” more freedom to engage in alcohol-related leisure activities. They are unlikely to have important responsibilities at home and can, therefore, go out and have fun. Another example involves the behavioral expectations associated with employment. Those who are employed are usually expected to go to work in the morning, and then leave work in the early evening. They cannot travel across town to see movies whenever they want. It is only after their working hours that they can choose activities like joining a community theater group, playing on a soccer team, or going to happy hour with friends. These lifestyle impositions are attached to individuals who are parents or employees, for example, simply *because of* the social expectations we hold for the persons occupying these roles. Because much crime is committed on the street, parents staying home would be less likely to come into contact with criminally motivated others than the hypothetical young, single, partying men and women.

Another antecedent of lifestyle includes constraints on behavior by virtue of economic status, education, and familial obligations. An example of this type of limitation may be economic circumstances. An individual who wants to go out to

dinner is restricted to restaurants that fall within his or her price range. This individual may not have personal transportation and thus may be restricted to restaurants that are within walking distance of his or her home or can be reached by public transportation. However, the individual who is wealthy and does not have personal transportation may eat at any restaurant he or she wants and can take a cab there. If someone is restricted to eating at restaurants that are close to his or her home, then the amount of crime in that neighborhood and in the area of the restaurant influences the safety of that individual.

A final type of influence over individuals' lifestyles is the individual and subcultural adaptations to behavioral and structural constraints. Here an example could be an individual who, because of a worsening economy, has been laid off and has been unable to find another job. This individual could adapt to this increasingly difficult and depressing situation by drinking and becoming addicted to methamphetamines. Another individual in the same circumstances might take up ultimate fighting and use a punching bag to let out frustrations. Still a third individual might sink down into a deep depression and never get out of bed. Those belonging to various subcultures are likely to handle challenges and opportunities in ways that are similar to other members of the same subculture. To specify, members of highly religious affiliations may turn to prayer in order to get divine guidance on how to get through a difficult economic, jobless time, whereas members of outlaw biker gangs may turn to illegal activity to maintain an income in a tough economy. In these examples, obviously, the persons are more or less likely than each other to encounter criminals and criminal behavior, and, as such, more or less likely to become victims.

Michael Maxfield summarizes these differing lifestyle constraints (or lack thereof) and choices by pointing out that they ensure that criminal victimization is not a random event but a highly patterned and potentially somewhat predictable event. He hammers home his point by noting that middle-aged married women in professional occupations have widely differing and significantly lower risks for criminal victimization than unemployed single males in their early 20s.

Contexts Related to Victimization Risk

Some researchers have noted that lifestyle choices and restrictions shape personal victimization risks in the context of location. Thus there are high-risk locations and low-risk locations for criminal victimization, and the risks associated with these locations may vary, increase, or decrease depending on the type of crime examined. For example, a college student going to the library to study seems to be making a safe lifestyle choice when criminal victimization is considered. And, the library may, indeed, be quite safe when considering the risks for assault or murder. However, the campus library may be relatively risky when other crimes, such as theft, are considered. A library patron who is studying, takes a break to use the restroom, and leaves books and a backpack unattended is at a high risk for larceny. The library stacks may also be dangerous places for victimization by lewd exhibitionists. But, one is quite unlikely to be murdered in a library, particularly by a crazed heroin addict who is looking for money for another fix.

Time, according to Garafalo, is another context in which lifestyle and criminal victimization may intersect. According to this perspective, time of day may be highly significant when examining people's risks for criminal victimization. In this way, the social milieu of any particular location changes depending on the time of day and the regular activities that go on in that location at various times of the day. For example, in a large city, there may be a location where prostitutes solicit during the evening hours. This location may be near shops and restaurants. During the day, the shops are open, the restaurants are serving lunch to businesspeople, and there are no prostitutes. However, at night, the shops close, the restaurants are serving alcoholic drinks, and the prostitutes are soliciting drunken patrons as they leave the establishments. Individuals who frequent that location during the day are presumably relatively safe. But, patrons who hang around that location at night are relatively unsafe, particularly if their normal thinking and functioning is impaired by alcohol.

Additional Considerations

In a further exposition of lifestyle theory, Marcus Felson suggests that while criminal offenders do not need much skill, and criminal opportunities

are frequent and everywhere, criminals do try to minimize their risks for getting interrupted, injured, or caught. Some of the elements most offenders will consider are when homes are vacant, the amount of money individuals may be carrying with them, and the times the public transportation system is busy or relatively vacant. Other considerations may include the probability that any particular potential victim may fight back and try to thwart the ensuing robbery. Whether or not the liquor store owner has a gun under the counter and can readily grab it are lifestyle factors that would-be offenders may consider. In this way, individuals' lifestyles influence their chances for criminal victimization when their choices affect offenders' perceptions of their vulnerability or predictability.

Similarly, individuals may or may not consider the safety issues in particular locations and, as such, may or may not take necessary defensive measures. They may be unaware of their personal surroundings or may choose to ignore the factors that make certain locations dangerous. As Richard Sparks has noted, individuals may facilitate predation by routinely failing to take certain precautions. Thus exposure to offenders is not just a lifestyle but involves a certain amount of choice, which is influenced by individuals' perceptions of the likelihood of victimization. People choose to recognize or ignore the threat of crime when structuring their daily activities.

Much of the research on lifestyle theory of criminal victimization includes examinations of demographic characteristics. While demographics are not elements of lifestyle, *per se*, they are part of the lifestyle model because they tend to be indicators of the structural constraints and role expectations that shape individuals' lifestyle behaviors, activities, and choices. For example, research tends to find that married people do not go out at night for leisure activities as often as single, separated, or divorced people. Here, then, being married can serve as a proxy measure of exposure to offenders. Also relevant is the notion that most offenders victimize people who are like themselves. As such, young, poor, Black males are the most likely perpetrators of crime and they are also the most likely victims of such aggression.

Some scholars of lifestyle theory have delved into examinations of cities and neighborhoods. These scholars have noted that the lifestyles of the

residents in these locations tend to be similar to each other, and the "typical" lifestyle of the neighborhood (or a small town) can influence the amount of crime and victimization that occurs in that location. Here, then, the concept of lifestyle is expanded into a more macro notion. An example of this is a neighborhood where most residents know each other. In a location such as this, stealing would be hard to conceal. Personal items belonging to individuals are known to belong to these individuals, and if someone else took possession of an item, others in the neighborhood would know to whom that item belonged. So, the lifestyle of this type of community is one that involves frequent interaction with neighbors, and the fact that most residents of this type of community engage in that type of lifestyle solidifies the relative safety residents experience. Another example of a location with which specific lifestyles are associated is New York City. Many residents of New York City do not own cars because cars are expensive, there is not enough parking for them and the parking that is available is expensive, and the streets are constantly clogged with traffic. Further, the public transportation system is easy to use, cheap, and sufficient for the needs of most residents. As such, many residents of New York City take the subway or buses to get where they need to go. While this lifestyle is more dangerous than driving a car, most New Yorkers make this choice. Thus the residents of New York City have higher risks for criminal victimization than residents of the aforementioned smaller community, but that increased danger is just one of the characteristics associated with the lifestyle of the larger city.

Time, in the context of history, is also a relevant element in the examination of lifestyle and its relationship to criminal victimization. To elaborate, in the early years of settlement in the United States, walking around was the mode of transportation that most people adopted. Cars and other vehicles had not been invented, and horses were not available to all. Towns were sparsely populated, and residents were spread out across the prairie and farming lands. Walking from home to town was not practical and only happened infrequently when farmers traveled to the county seat to get supplies (or made some such similar trip). With the increase of horse ownership, the trip from home to town or home to home was speedier, thus, the amount of

stealing increased, as well as the stealing of horses. With the advent of cars and further increases in the number of horses and buggies, crime became much more of a problem, as getting away from the scene of the crime was easier and faster. In addition, cars, horses, and buggies were increasingly targets of theft. At the same time, with the advent of improved transportation came the industrial revolution, and cities continued to grow, people owned more and more of value, and populations were denser. At this point in history, crime increased due to the increased opportunities and the ability to hide in the crowd as well as the speed of escape. As is clear from this type of historical examination, lifestyle is an element of the historical process of city growth and industrialization.

Role in Understanding Victimization

Lifestyle theory provided an alternative path toward understanding criminal victimization. Previously, victims may have been blamed for the devastating events in their lives, and scholars' understanding of victims was limited to simple characteristics they possessed. The additional consideration of individual lifestyle has allowed scholars to understand that victimization is not a random event, but one that can be assessed and potentially predicted. Risks for victimization can be evaluated by considering the locational exposure of individuals to offenders and any precautions (or lack thereof) such individuals may take because of their perceptions of the safety of the locations they frequent. This theory gave rise to another theory of criminal victimization, routine activities theory, and to analyses of personal safety and effective safety precautions.

Elizabeth Ehrhardt Mustaine

See also Correlates of Victimization; Routine Activities Theory; Victimization, Theories of

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LIGHTING

Improved street lighting serves many purposes, one of them being the prevention of crime in public places. Street lighting improvements are not always implemented with the expressed aim of preventing crime; pedestrian and traffic safety may sometimes be viewed as more important aims. But while the notion of lighting streets to deter lurking criminals may seem too simplistic, it is relevant to the prevention of crime in urban centers, residential areas, and other places frequented by potential criminals and potential victims.

Explanations of the way that street lighting improvements could prevent crime can be grouped into two main perspectives: (1) a situational crime prevention measure that focuses on reducing opportunity and increasing perceived risk through modification of the physical environment, and (2) a method of strengthening informal social control and community cohesion through more effective street use and investment in neighborhood conditions. The first perspective predicts decreases in crime especially during the hours of darkness, while the second perspective predicts decreases in crime during both daytime and nighttime.

Background

Contemporary interest in the effect of improved street lighting on crime began in the United States during the dramatic rise in crime in the 1960s. Richard Wright and his colleagues note that many towns and cities embarked upon major street lighting programs as a means of reducing crime, and initial results were encouraging. This proliferation

of projects led to a detailed review of the effects of street lighting on crime by James Tien and his colleagues, funded by the National Evaluation Program of Law Enforcement Assistance Agency funding. Their report described how the 103 street lighting projects originally identified were eventually reduced to a final sample of only 15 that were considered by the review team to contain sufficiently rigorous evaluative information. With regard to the impact of street lighting on crime, Tien and his colleagues found that the results were mixed and generally inconclusive. However, each project was considered to be seriously flawed because of such problems as weak project designs, misuse or complete absence of sound analytic techniques, inadequate measures of street lighting, poor measures of crime (all were based on police records), and insufficient appreciation of the impact of lighting on different types of crime.

In the United Kingdom, very little research was carried out on street lighting and crime until the late 1980s. Kate Painter notes that there was a resurgence of interest between 1988 and 1990, when three small-scale street lighting projects were implemented and evaluated in different areas of London. In each location crime, disorder, and fear of crime declined and pedestrian street use increased dramatically after the lighting improvements. In a recent narrative review, Ken Pease notes that “the capacity of street lighting to influence crime has now been satisfactorily settled.” He also recommended that the debate should be moved from the sterile “Does it work or doesn’t it?” to the more productive “How can I flexibly and imaginatively incorporate lighting in crime reduction strategy and tactics?” (p. 72).

Evidence of Effectiveness

The best source for evidence of the effectiveness of lighting in preventing crime comes from systematic reviews carried out by Brandon C. Welsh and David P. Farrington. Systematic reviews use rigorous methods for locating, appraising, and synthesizing evidence from prior evaluation studies, and they are reported with the same level of detail that characterizes high-quality reports of original research. They include explicit objectives, explicit criteria for including or excluding studies, extensive searches for eligible evaluation studies from all

over the world, careful extraction and coding of key features of studies, and a structured and detailed report of the methods and conclusions of the review.

Studies were included in Welsh and Farrington’s systematic review if they met a number of criteria, including if improved lighting was the main intervention, if there was an outcome measure of crime, and if the evaluation design was of high methodological quality. A number of search strategies were employed to locate studies meeting the criteria for inclusion, including searches of electronic bibliographic databases, searches of literature reviews on the effectiveness of improved lighting on crime, and contacts with leading researchers. Thirteen studies met the inclusion criteria, eight from America and five from Britain.

From the 13 evaluations, it was concluded that improved street lighting had a significant desirable effect on crime, with a weighted mean odds ratio of 1.27. This means that crimes decreased by 21% in experimental areas compared with control areas.

Table 1 summarizes the results of all 13 studies. This shows the odds ratio for total crime in each study, plus its 95% confidence interval and statistical significance. It can be seen that only three studies (in Portland, New Orleans, and Indianapolis) had odds ratios less than 1, meaning that improved street lighting was followed by an increase in crime, and in no case was this increase significant. The other 10 studies had odds ratios greater than 1, meaning that improved street lighting was followed by a decrease in crime, and in 6 cases this decrease was significant (or nearly so, in the case of Atlanta). Therefore, the hypothesis that more lighting causes more crime can be firmly rejected.

American Studies

For the most part, residential neighborhoods were the setting for the eight American street lighting evaluations. Improved street lighting was considered to have a desirable effect on crime in four evaluations: those in Atlanta, Milwaukee, Fort Worth, and Kansas City. In all four cases, the odds ratio was 1.24 or greater, which corresponds to a 19% decrease in crimes or better. Improved street lighting was most clearly effective in reducing crimes in the Fort Worth evaluation. Crimes decreased by 22% in the experimental area and

Table 1 Meta-analysis results of improved street lighting evaluations

<i>Study Location</i>	<i>Odds Ratio</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>	<i>p-Value</i>
American N Studies			
Portland	0.94	0.75–1.18	n.s.
Kansas City	1.24	0.90–1.71	n.s.
Harrisburg	1.02	0.72–1.46	n.s.
New Orleans	0.99	0.83–1.18	n.s.
American ND Studies			
Atlanta	1.39	0.99–1.94	.055
Milwaukee	1.37	1.01–1.86	.044
Fort Worth	1.38	0.92–2.07	n.s.
Indianapolis	0.75	0.45–1.25	n.s.
British ND Studies			
Dover	1.14	0.58–2.22	n.s.
Bristol	1.35	1.16–1.56	.0001
Birmingham	3.82	2.15–6.80	.0001
Dudley	1.44	1.10–1.87	.008
Stoke-on-Trent	1.71	1.10–2.67	.017
Summary Results			
4 US N Studies	1.01	0.90–1.14	n.s.
4 US ND Studies	1.28	1.06–1.53	.010
5 UK ND Studies	1.62	1.22–2.15	.0008
8 US Studies	1.08	0.98–1.20	n.s.
9 ND Studies	1.43	1.19–1.71	.0001
All 13 Studies	1.27	1.09–1.47	.002

Note: N = only night crimes measured; ND = night and day crimes measured.

increased by 9% in the control area. In the other four evaluations, the improved street lighting was considered to have a null effect on crime (evidence of no effect). For example, in Portland, there was little evidence that improved street lighting had led to any reduction in nighttime crime. The results of the meta-analysis of all eight American studies yielded an odds ratio of 1.08, which was not significant. Overall, crime decreased by 7% in experimental areas compared with control areas.

The key dimension on which the eight effect sizes differed seemed to be whether they were based on data for both night and day (as in the Atlanta, Milwaukee, Fort Worth, and Indianapolis studies) or for night only (as in the other four studies). For the four night–day studies, the average effect size was a significant odds ratio of 1.28, meaning that crime decreased by 22% in experimental areas

compared with control areas. For the four night-only studies, the odds ratio was 1.01, indicating no effect on crime. Therefore, the eight American studies could be divided into two blocks of four, one block showing that crime reduced after improved street lighting and the other block showing that it did not. Surprisingly, evidence of a reduction in crime was only obtained when both daytime and nighttime crimes were measured, although this feature may be a proxy for some other aspect of the different evaluation studies.

Unfortunately, all the American evaluations (except that of Indianapolis) are now rather dated, since they were all carried out in the 1970s. More recent American evaluations of the effect of improved street lighting need to be conducted. British evaluations, which were all published in the 1990s, are discussed next.

British Studies

The five British street lighting studies were carried out in a variety of settings, including a parking garage and a market, as well as residential neighborhoods. All studies measured crime at night and during the day. Improved street lighting was considered to be effective in reducing crime in four studies (those in Bristol, Birmingham, Dudley, and Stoke-on-Trent). In the fifth study (done in Dover), the improved lighting was confounded with other improvements, including fencing to restrict access to the parking garage and the construction of an office near the main entrance.

In the Dudley study, crime was measured using before and after victim surveys in experimental and control areas. Large samples were interviewed—431 in the experimental area and 448 in the control area. The response rate was 77% in both areas before and 84% after (of those interviewed before). Substantial crime reduction benefits were achieved after one year of the improved street lighting scheme. In the experimental area, the prevalence of all crime decreased by one quarter (24%), while only a marginal decrease (3%) in the prevalence of all crime occurred in the control area. Also, the incidence (average number of victimizations per 100 households) of all crime decreased in both the experimental and control areas—41% and 15%, respectively. The decrease in the experimental area was found to be significantly greater than the decrease in the control area.

The Stoke study also used large victim surveys, with an 84% response rate before and an 89% response rate after (of those interviewed before). The incidence of crime decreased by 43% in the experimental area, by 45% in the adjacent area, and by only 2% in the control area. When differences in the pretest victimization rates (prevalence and incidence) in the areas were controlled, it was found that the changes in experimental and adjacent areas were significantly greater than in the control area. There was also evidence of diffusion of crime prevention benefits to an adjacent area that did not receive the lighting improvements.

When the odds ratios from the five studies were combined, crimes decreased by 38% in experimental areas compared with control areas (OR = 1.62). These more recent British studies agree in showing that improved lighting reduces crime. They did not

find that nighttime crimes decreased more than daytime crimes, suggesting that a “community pride” theory may be more applicable than a “deterrence/surveillance” theory.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that improved street lighting should be included as one element of a situational crime reduction program. It is an inclusive intervention benefiting an entire neighborhood, and it leads to an increase in public perception of safety. Improved street lighting is associated with greater use of public space and neighborhood streets by law-abiding citizens. Especially if well targeted to a high-crime area, improved street lighting can be a feasible, inexpensive, and effective method of reducing crime.

Brandon C. Welsh and David P. Farrington

See also Closed-Circuit Television; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Meta-Analysis

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M

MALE VICTIMS OF PARTNER VIOLENCE

Male victims of partner violence, which is a major health hazard in the United States, is defined as domestic abuse that is perpetrated by women against men or by men against men. Many people either have never heard of it or do not believe that it is possible for men to be abused. Generally, society defines intimate partner abuse (also known as domestic violence/domestic abuse/intimate partner violence) as women and children being abused—not men. Although males are not abused as frequently as female victims of domestic violence, it happens more frequently than most people realize. Approximately 35% of victims of intimate partner violence are male. However, women who are assaulted are nine times more likely than men to report it to the police and five times more likely to tell a friend or relative.

It is estimated that in the United States a woman is severely assaulted by her male partner every 15 seconds and that a man is severely assaulted by his female partner every 14.6 seconds. About 8%–10% of male-to-female partner violence is reported, whereas only 1% to 2% of female-to-male partner violence is reported. A woman is nearly twice as likely to use an object when she assaults a male partner, which can increase the level of potential injury. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control (NCIPC),

and the U.S. Department of Justice, each year women experience about 4.8 million intimate-partner-related physical assaults and rapes and men are the victims of about 2.9 million intimate-partner-related physical assaults. Intimate partner violence resulted in 1,544 deaths in 2004. Of these deaths, 25% were males and 75% were females.

More importantly, before any victim can be helped, one must be willing to believe in the possibility of abuse. Not all abused persons present with black eyes, bloody nose, swollen lips, missing teeth, or a willingness to talk about it. On the contrary, for many abused persons, intimate partner violence is difficult and embarrassing to discuss.

Types of Abuse

Physically abused victims are pushed, kicked, slapped, stabbed, cut, spat on, tripped, knocked down, shot, bitten, raped, stalked, and so on. Economically abused victims are not allowed to have money or to secure jobs. The abuser may give them an allowance, but the victim may have to show receipts for every penny spent. If the victim works, the abuser may control his or her paycheck. The abuser may buy everything the victim needs or may not buy any of the basic requirements of life in order for the victim to sustain life (food, clothing, medical care or assistance, etc.). In psychological abuse, victims are subjected to mental games to keep them confused and/or to make them feel inadequate or even mentally ill (i.e., victims may see or hear something, but the abuser will tell the victim the incident did not happen, when in

fact it has happened). After a while, victims may doubt themselves and believe everything they are told by the abuser. Many victims believe their abusers to be omnipotent and omnipresent. Often, intense counseling sessions are needed to assist victims in accepting their abusers as being simply men and women. For the sake of their emotional well-being, it is imperative for victims and survivors to regain their ego.

One of the abuser's most powerful weapons is isolation. Abusers discourage and threaten victims to keep them from associating with anyone without their consent and outside of their control. This includes the victim's family and friends. The cycle of violence comes in three stages. The tension-building stage is when the victim cannot do anything right to please the abuser. The abuser is extremely critical of everything the victim does and creates a lot of tension within his or her surroundings. The victim does everything to calm the abuser, but it is all to no avail. The second stage is the explosive stage when the victim is attacked. Refusing to take ownership of his or her actions, the batter attempts to justify the behavior by telling victims that the abuse is the victim's fault. If the victim had not done this or had not done that, they would not have "had" to hit them. The third stage is the honeymoon stage when the abuser may or may not ask for forgiveness and is very amorous saying he or she will never hurt the victim again. Victims are often nervous, afraid, and in pain but willing to give the abuser another chance. The honeymoon cycle will only last for a little while and then the cycles of abuse begin. It is estimated that the victim will leave his or her abuser between eight and ten times before he or she leaves for good—this is when the victim becomes a survivor.

Sexual abuse can also occur among male victims. According to local police authorities, females are not the only ones being forced into the sex trade. Many young men and boys, especially runaway teens and preteens, may be forced to perform several acts, including prostitution, drug dealing, stealing, and so on, under the threat of bodily harm or harm to their pets, family members, or other loved ones and friends—abusers are very capable of destroying their victims. Those who comply with the wishes of the abuser are readily abused to keep them under control, and many of those who do not are killed.

Characteristics of Abusers

A batter may feel remorse at first, but this can change quickly. Batterers are in control, and they choose the victim, time, place, violent tactics, and the severity of the assault. The batterer presumes to be entitled to control his or her partner and can become more and more violent with each subsequent event. The primary goal of abusers is absolute power and absolute control over their victims by any means necessary, including maiming and murdering. Even today, domestic violence is one of the best-kept personal secrets. It is a nondiscriminatory, albeit not always discrete, personal relationship hazard. It is multifaceted. It crosses all social, economic, and racial boundaries. Many victims will not talk about the abuse in their lives because of embarrassment, and they attempt to keep it a secret. Abusers can be pillars of the community and a great friend to neighbors and co-workers alike, but behind closed doors or in their own home, they can be very violent. One of the most underreported serious public health problems in the United States is still male intimate partner abuse. As stated, only 1% to 2% of female-to-male partner violence is reported.

Abusers are not mentally deranged people who cannot control themselves. One of the most infamous abuses of women was Henry Tudor, better known as King Henry VIII. He forced women to marry him and threw them away when he tired of them (e.g., he had six wives and murdered one of them by using a false charge of treason). Domestic violence is a learned behavior. It is learned through observation, experience, culture, and family. Boys who observe family violence are more likely to be violent toward their family when they become adults if they have remained in the family violence setting until they reach age 6 years or older—girls who observe family violence are more likely to accept violence toward themselves and the family when they become women if they have remained in the family violence setting until they reach age 10 years or older. A mentally ill person may be abusive, but the underlying cause of the mental illness is not the reason for the intimate partner violence. Each behavior must be addressed separately.

In relationships between males and females and males with males, the abuse techniques are basically the same. The primary goal is absolute power

and absolute control over the victim. In society, the male is perceived as the dominant force and he is usually in command of his surroundings. He is powerful, fearless, strong, invincible, and protective of the weaker people around him, but when he is afraid, he cannot show his fear. Just as women are afraid and/or embarrassed to let people know about the abuse they are experiencing, male victims of abuse present with these same fears and apprehensions as their female counterparts, with one major exception. Many people do not believe men when they identify—men may be laughed at for being afraid or showing fear. Men, girlfriends, and wives alike are the perpetrators of male partner abuse. The abusers are professionals and non-professionals, and absolutely no one is immune to abuse. Male partner abuse is not anything new, but it must be investigated and given credibility to protect the victims. Often men are not afraid of their abusers, but they simply tire of fending off the abuser and leave them in order not to hurt them.

Support for Victims

To provide support and safety for all people, it must be acknowledged that there is domestic violence/intimate partner abuse in various relationships, including in dating and marriage relationships and in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community.

Not all men who are abused are single men—some of these men are married to abusive women. Women publicly embarrass or humiliate their husbands; withhold affection; threaten to harm themselves, their children, or others; control family finances; and blame men for their behavior. Although the laws available for abused women and children are also available to men, the resources are not in place.

Homosexual men are, and can be, abused by their partner. The Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line reports the aforementioned victims complain about the lack of services (not always feeling comfortable and safe or feeling isolated and “different”), and discrimination is still a problem. Some court personnel and service providers in the domestic violence community still hold negative attitudes toward LGBT clients. Fifty-seven percent of the LGBT community complained about difficulties accessing community-based services and

50% of straight men complained about difficulties accessing community-based services. The Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line, the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence, and the Center for Urban Research and Learning state that 55 service providers have reported that straight males also complain about the lack of specific services, being taken seriously, and having to “jump through extra hoops” to prove themselves to be victims of abuse.

Regardless of one’s race, religion, or lifestyle preference, the Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line is available to help 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, by calling 1-877-863-6338, TTY 1-877-863-6339. The Help Line has access to a language bank for people who do not speak English. Those who are abused are not alone—they must be helped to realize, and accept, that they are not the “only” person in the world being abused. Many domestic violence service providers, volunteers, and survivors are waiting to help them. However, these service providers cannot find abused persons without help. Those abused must make the first step and reach out for help and support. Whether victims choose to leave or to stay with their abuser, service providers must support their autonomy. Counseling and safety planning must be made readily available, and their final decision, whatever it is, must be respected.

Cynthia A. HartKnott

See also Abuse, Spouse; Defendants’ Rights Versus Victims’ Rights; Developmental Victimology; Hate and Bias Crime, Statutory Response; Intimate Partner Violence, Risk Assessment

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MANDATORY REPORTING STATUTES

Problems with measuring the extent of child abuse and elder abuse, as well as with addressing the needs of such victims, begin with the need to identify the abusive activity. Unfortunately, statistics on both child and elder abuse are questionable for a variety of reasons. First, the actions involved are most often done out of the eyesight of the public and are easily hidden from agents who can intervene. Second, there has been a historic reluctance to intervene in activity that many view as a family matter. Third, many individuals who potentially see or know about such abuse do not know who to contact and how to proceed with making a claim of abuse. For these and other reasons, the figures on both child and elder abuse are open to question. One major effort to address the problems of reporting and measuring child and elder abuse is the enactment of mandatory reporting statutes that outline who is responsible for making reports, who is to receive the reports, the information that is to be collected, and what is to be done with the information. This entry examines these statutes.

At first glance, it seems reasonable to assume that mandatory reporting is a good first step in dealing with child and elder abuse. Interestingly, however, there has been a great deal of resistance to mandatory reporting and numerous criticisms of these efforts. Most states now have some form of mandatory reporting law for abuse. The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services mandates several procedures that facilities receiving federal funds and reimbursement for services must follow, and these regulations require reporting of elder abuse and neglect to state-level agencies.

A couple of important observations can be drawn from existing state statutes. First, mandatory reporting requirements are restricted primarily

to public employees or employees of agencies that would most likely have contact with potential victims. Examples of these individuals are social workers, teachers, physicians, mental health professionals, law enforcement personnel, hospitals, and nursing homes. Second, the specificity of who must report suspected abuse varies somewhat from state to state. Some states require attorneys, the clergy, banks, financial advisors, and others who could become aware of abuse to file reports. In Florida, bank employees and inspectors of public lodging establishments must report. In Ohio, the clergy and attorneys are required to report. Persons not included in these categories have no legal obligation to make a report of suspected abuse.

The advent of mandatory reporting statutes resulted in increased numbers of child and elder abuse cases coming to the attention of the authorities. Data on the extent of child abuse and elder abuse reveal generally increasing levels over time. This is at least partly a result of mandatory reporting statutes as well as of changes in the social perception that such abuse is unacceptable and that society has a right to intervene in what some consider a family matter.

The greatest criticism of mandatory reporting efforts has been that they do little more than encourage reporting. Often, these reporting laws fail to define abuse, fail to identify to whom abuse is to be reported, fail to impose penalties for failure to report abuse, and fail to outline what to do with the reports once they are made. Although many states have taken steps to address these gaps in the statutes (such as passing legislation outlining penalties for nondisclosure), many problems still exist in many jurisdictions.

Several other problems also have been identified with mandatory reporting statutes. First, the laws typically deal only with the reporting of abuse and fail to provide resources to follow up on the reports or to do something about the problem. Second, critics claim that these laws intrude into the privacy of the individual. This is particularly problematic in terms of elder abuse where the victim is a legal adult and may be making a choice not to contact the authorities about his or her victimization. Another example of the privacy concern involves laws requiring physicians to report suspected cases of abuse, which critics contend violates client-physician confidentiality. Third,

mandatory reporting in relation to elder abuse is perceived by critics as reinforcing ageism by focusing on the victim rather than on the offender. These laws identify the victim of abuse and often prompt reactions that may include removing the victim from the home or blaming the victim for the abuse, rather than focusing on the perpetrator. Similarly, these efforts place the elderly into a category with children, the mentally ill, and others who are incapable of making decisions for themselves. Critics contend that these laws, therefore, fail to treat the elderly as adults and, consequently, degrade the elderly victim.

Despite mandatory reporting laws, many reports are never made or are made after a lengthy delay. When events are not reported in a timely enough fashion, it is not uncommon for the receiving agency to determine that the event was unfounded. This may not be because there was no abuse. Rather it may be because abuse cannot be proven because of the delay in reporting. A prime example involves a General Accounting Office review of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, the oversight agency for nursing homes. Although the Centers mandate various reporting guidelines for abuse and neglect allegations, most state agencies are not promptly notified in accordance with regulations. Indeed, almost two thirds of the reports are made 2 or more days after the required deadline. This delay is problematic because it makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the investigating agencies to undertake a meaningful investigation. After a delay, it is often difficult to talk to witnesses, the witnesses or victims cannot recall the event clearly, or the evidence is no longer available for the police or other investigators.

Mandatory reporting statutes have been a major change in society's response to elder and child abuse. Despite any shortcomings of the legislation, the goal of identifying and addressing these forms of victimization is important. With the continued growing interest in elder and child abuse, these statutes will probably become stronger and more effective.

Steven P. Lab

See also Adult Protective Services; Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment: Mandatory Reporting; Child Protective Services; Elder Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment: Interventions for

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MASS MURDER AND SUICIDES IN CULTS

Although mass murders and mass suicides in new religious movements (popularly known as cults) have attracted media publicity, their occurrence is rare in proportion to the overall numbers of present-day religious organizations—at least 2,000 in the United States alone. This entry discusses some religious movements in which mass murders and/or suicides occurred and then assesses the commonalities among them.

Religious Movements

The Peoples Temple

The Peoples Temple was the first to attract publicity in recent times. Founded by James Warren Jones in California in 1955, it became affiliated with the mainstream Disciples of Christ. Jones was particularly concerned to promote interracial harmony. He also claimed miraculous powers, although most of his “miracles” were faked. Believing in an imminent nuclear holocaust, and facing mounting criticism, Jones and about 1,000 followers moved to Guyana in 1974, where they transformed 300 acres of tropical jungle into a self-sufficient community.

When his critics persisted, Jones came to regard suicide as the alternative to failure. He organized “white nights”—regular rehearsals for mass suicide, which took place at night. Congressman Leo Ryan visited Jonestown to investigate and was

shot dead by one of the Jones followers. Jones then ordered the mass suicide, instructing his aides to shoot anyone who tried to escape. In all, 919 people died.

Branch Davidian Waco

David Koresh (born Vernon Wayne Howell) gained control of the Branch Davidian Waco group, an Adventist group, in 1988, and most of the members lived in the compound near Waco, Texas, where he expounded the Bible for long periods, with particular reference to the Book of Revelation.

Koresh claimed exclusive rights to all the group's women and, allegedly, had sexual relationships with minors. He had expertise in firearms and was believed to have modified semiautomatic handguns into fully automatic ones. After four federal agents were killed in an unsuccessful attempt to serve a search warrant, Attorney-General Janet Reno authorized a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) assault on February 28, 1993. The siege lasted until April 19 when fire broke out. It is not known whether the fire was started by the FBI or by Koresh's followers. Seventy-four members were killed in the fire, and five died in the February confrontation.

The Solar Temple

The Ordre du Temple Solaire (OTS—Order of the Solar Temple) was a Templarist group, whose multiple deaths occurred in 1994, 1995, and 1997, in several different locations, the first of which were roughly simultaneous. The deaths seem to have formed part of a ceremony. On October 4, 1994, four adults and a child were found, having been stabbed and burned to death, at Morin Heights, Canada, in the home of OTS co-leader Joseph di Mambro. On October 5, just after midnight, 23 burnt bodies were discovered in Cheiry, Switzerland; the members had been shot and were arranged in a circle. At 03:00, another 25 bodies were discovered at Les Granges sur Salvan, Switzerland. An additional 16 Solar Temple members were found dead in similar circumstances, near Grenoble in France in 1995, and in 1997, five more members were found burned to death at St-Casimir, Quebec.

The organization's interests were eclectic, encompassing Egyptian death rituals, Rosicrucianism,

alternative medicine (co-leader Luc Jouret was a medical doctor), reincarnation, and belief in supernatural "Ascended Masters." The group may have regarded fire as the means of transition to the star Sirius, which featured largely in its thinking.

Aum Shinrikyo

In 1985, Aum Shinrikyo, founded by Shoko Asahara, gained notoriety when five followers released sarin gas into trains in the Tokyo subway on March 20, killing 12 people and injuring hundreds more. This incident was one of several violent acts perpetrated by the group. On May 5, 1995, a device was found at another subway station, designed to release hydrogen cyanide, with the potential to claim 20,000 victims. Asahara was arrested and subsequently sentenced to death.

A blend of Buddhism, Indian yogic practices, Japanese folk religion, and apocalyptic ideas derived from the Book of Revelation and Nostradamus, Asahara's teachings predicted an imminent apocalypse. Asahara's goal was to commission 30,000 *shukkesha*—renunciates who would survive Armageddon—and turn Japan into a paradise. The murders may have been *poa* (salvational murders), aimed at assassinating unbelievers, releasing them from evil *karma*.

Heaven's Gate

Some 39 members of Heaven's Gate were found poisoned in a large house on the outskirts of San Diego, California, in March 1997, apparently as a result of orchestrated suicides. Each member lay on a bunk bed, covered with a purple shroud, and wearing black trousers and Nike trainers. Each had packed a suitcase, as if embarking on a journey. Marshall Herff Applewhite, the leader, taught that extraterrestrials had come to collect them in a spacecraft, docked behind the Hale-Bopp comet, and which could be boarded by undergoing death.

The Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God

In 2000, more than 500 members of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God were found, having been burnt alive in a remote part of Uganda. The doors and windows of the church were barricaded from

the outside, preventing the congregation from escaping. Subsequent investigation revealed large numbers of bodies (possibly more than 1,000) buried in mass graves. The group was an African Independent Church, whose members claimed visions of the Virgin Mary and prescribed an austere lifestyle, aiming to heighten the standards of the Ten Commandments, in anticipation of an imminent apocalypse.

The reasons for the deaths are still unknown. The movement is largely undocumented, the local populace speaks little English, and little forensic evidence was collected. Members may have believed that immolation secured entry to heaven; alternatively, leaders may have wished to prevent dissatisfied members from reclaiming forfeited possessions.

Assessment

These organizations are diverse, with different religious antecedents. They are not predominantly “religions of the dispossessed,” often attracting well-educated, professional people. They were not principally youth movements; the average age of the Heaven’s Gate member was 47 years old. Common to all were apocalyptic expectations, in most cases associated with the turn of the millennium. All groups perceived advantages afforded by death, and their calamitous endings may relate to their worldviews, rather than to authoritarian leadership or “brainwashing.”

George D. Chryssides

See also Family Violence; Homicide and Murder; Victimology

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MEDIA COVERAGE OF VICTIMS

The focus of this entry is on media coverage of crime victims. Although there is not much research specifically on this topic, there is considerable published work on the media’s general coverage of crime. This research highlights the types of crime presented in the media, the processes used to construct these stories, and whether the nature of the coverage affects public perceptions or criminal justice decision making. It is within this body of research that one can begin to understand the key issues related to media coverage of crime victims. Two issues are discussed here. First, the role of the media in highlighting concerns about the treatment of crime victims is discussed. Second, concerns about the quality and the effects of coverage on crime victims are highlighted.

Concerns About Treatment of Victims

There is little doubt that the status of victims in the criminal justice system has changed dramatically during the last 30 years. Policy initiatives, special units, and financial resources have been created or designated to help improve the plight of victims generally. The victims’ rights movement strived to address many complaints voiced by crime victims, including that they were being retraumatized by a criminal justice system that was cold, uncaring, and unwilling to recognize the significant harm caused by crime. The media, both news and popular outlets, have played an important role in raising awareness and in creating opportunities for policy makers and advocates to address various grievances voiced

by crime victims. For example, the victims' rights movement generally, as well as efforts to help special classes of victims such as child, domestic violence, and hate crime victims, has benefited from media coverage that has highlighted issues related to improving the treatment of these victims.

The media have contributed to significant social change to help victims in multiple ways. The decisions media personnel make about covering certain issues and ignoring other issues can influence agenda priorities. Moreover, how an issue is covered helps to define the contours of the debate about an issue. The unfortunate reality is that there is a limited amount of bureaucratic, financial, and political resources available to address social problems. Priorities need to be set, and often it is the direct or indirect media coverage that determines what issues are given serious consideration. For example, the victimization of child, rape, and domestic violence victims was not considered an important policy issue until the 1970s. Although several factors contributed to recognizing the need to help these victims, media coverage helped to legitimize their concerns.

One way that the media have consistently brought national attention to concerns about victims is by publicizing the facts and circumstances of a specific high-profile case. Such cases then provide a window of opportunity to manufacture new legislative initiatives and strategies to improve the treatment of victims. Consider the creation and widespread adoption of Megan's Law. Megan Kanka was 7 years old when she was raped and murdered by a convicted sex offender. Her parents were outraged when they learned the perpetrator lived across the street, and they thought that they had a right to know that a convicted sex offender lived nearby. National media coverage of this case contributed to the development and adoption of statutes that required convicted sex offenders, when released from prison, to register with the police who then in certain circumstances notify neighbors. The federal government and nearly 20 states have adopted some version of Megan's Law since the case received publicity. The media's role in institutionalizing Megan's Law is only one example of how specific victim cases create opportunities for policy discussions and political change. Other cases include how media publicity of the Francine Hughes case, who

was brutally beaten by her husband for many years before killing him, contributed to policy initiatives to assist domestic violence victims; how the abduction and murder of Adam Walsh increased concerns about missing and exploited children; and how the murder of Matthew Shepard helped create bias-related crime legislation.

Not only did the media help to determine policy agendas by bringing attention to previously ignored harms to crime victims, it also specifically influenced the contours of policy debates about these topics. In his book *Sense and Nonsense About Crime*, Sam Walker discussed that although many policies introduced to support victims' rights would have no effect on crime and might harm the criminal justice system and victims, adopting many of the laws to assist victims were symbolically important. The important point here is that the media emphasized specific legislative initiatives and ignored others. Indeed, the initiatives that were emphasized were those that were much more likely to be consistent with a conservative, crime-control approach. Stuart Scheingold, Toska Olson, and Jana Pershing demonstrated this in their study examining the passage of Washington State's Community Protection Act. This legislation focused on addressing many issues, but the issue that was perhaps the most controversial and generated national media attention was its sexual predator provisions. Specifically, the legislation allowed authorities to bring convicted sex offenders who were being released from the criminal justice system into the civil system to be committed until they are no longer dangerous to the public. Although victim advocates and supporters of the legislation presented both punitive and preventive approaches to respond to sex offenders, it was the punitive measures that resonated in public debates and that were emphasized within the legislation that was passed.

Quality and Effects

Media coverage of specific policy issues have caused policy makers, media executives, and reporters to consider how they could better respond to the needs of crime victims. Numerous symposiums, conferences, and articles have been written that describe the harm caused by reporters when covering victims callously and unsympathetically.

The publication of body bags, bloody scenes, and graphic accounts of a crime may help boost ratings for media organizations but at the same time do considerable harm to crime victims and family members. The public forums that have been conducted on this topic have led to positive reforms in newsrooms and to improved coverage that better balances the public's right to know with an individual's right to privacy. Consider, for example, the Pulitzer Prize-winning story by a *Des Moines Register* reporter about the traumas caused by rape. Although it is media policy to not name a rape victim because of the risk of stigmatization, the victim agreed to be identified for this particular story and the story was a sensitive, gripping account that led to better public understanding about rape trauma. Importantly, the story and the identification of the victim resulted in a healthy debate within newsrooms and by victim advocates about the sensitive coverage of rape and naming rape and other victims in news stories.

During this same period of time, as policy advocates were able to harness media attention to open policy windows that produced significant social change, the media have been criticized for their coverage of crime victims on multiple fronts. The media have been criticized for misrepresenting the presentation of victimization in the news. Specifically, the media distorts the images of victimization presented to the public by emphasizing certain types of victims and ignoring others. Research indicates an inverse relationship between official and constructed realities of crime. For example, crimes that are least likely to occur, such as murder, are most likely to be presented in the news. Similarly, individuals at the greatest risk of becoming a crime victim are often the least likely to be presented in the news. One of the critical variables that influences the salience and prominence of a crime incident in the news is the race of the victim. Murders of African American and other minority victims are significantly less likely to be covered by the media and, if covered, receive much less space compared with crimes with murdered White victims. Specifically, crimes involving White victims may be as much as five times more likely to be covered compared with crimes involving minority victims. Moreover, not only are minorities deemphasized as victims, they tend to be overemphasized as defendants in the news.

Several other victim characteristics either increase or decrease the likelihood that a particular story is covered prominently in the news. First, age is an important variable. Although children and elderly victims are much less likely to be victimized compared with young adults and adults, their victimizations draw considerable media attention. These victims are deemed worthy of protection because of their innocence. Children and elderly victims are ideal victims and are emphasized in the news because it is assumed that they did not contribute to their victimization in any way. Second, the gender of the victim is also an important variable. Female victims are newsworthy, especially when victimized by violent crimes. A third characteristic reflects the status of a victim. Status may be identified in different ways, such as in the occupation of the victim, the community where the victim lives, or in past involvement in the criminal justice system. Crimes with victims from suburban and wealthy communities are much more likely to be covered in the media, and those involving victims with criminal histories are less likely to be covered.

Crime news is produced through a bureaucratic process where reporters develop routines that lead to the efficient production of news about crime. Crime stories are important news stories, and thus, a news organization must devote considerable resources to provide the public with multiple crime stories every day. On average, a newspaper may present ten crime stories. Among the key solutions that increase the efficiency of news production is the media's reliance on easily accessible and cooperative news sources. Specifically, research indicates that most of the sources cited in crime news stories are affiliated with a criminal justice agency. Police officers, especially departmental public information officers, are the most important source used by reporters because most media organizations emphasize the beginning stages of the criminal justice process. Reporters rarely contact crime victims for their perspective about a crime incident, and thus, their views are excluded from crime news coverage. If a story is a potentially important news story, however, reporters will make an effort to contact the victim to discuss the crime. If a victim cooperates, and is able to provide an emotional response to their questions, the story increases in importance.

Role in Understanding Victimization

This entry has highlighted two viewpoints about media coverage of crime victims. On the one hand, the media has, at times, been a champion for the cause of victims, has helped bring attention to previously ignored issues, and has influenced policy makers to consider implementing changes that will better assist victims. On the other hand, there are numerous concerns with the nature of media coverage as some victims are covered extensively, but many victims are ignored. The result is a limited understanding of victimization in society and policies are passed that help some but not all victims.

Steven Chermak

See also Crime Time Television Shows

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MEDICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

Victims of sexual assault and other bodily crimes have extensive post-assault medical needs, including

injury detection and care, medical forensic examination, screening and treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), as well as pregnancy testing and emergency contraception. Because of the traumatic nature of sexual assaults, victims may also develop mental health issues. This entry discusses the services available to victims for their post-assault medical and mental health needs.

Medical Services

Although most victims are not physically injured to the point of needing emergency care, traditionally, police, sexual assault crisis centers, and social service agencies have advised victims to seek treatment in hospital emergency departments for a medical forensic examination. The body of a victim is a crime scene, and because of the invasive nature of sexual assault, a medical professional, rather than a crime scene technician, is needed to collect the evidence. The “sexual assault exam” or “sexual assault kit” usually involves plucking head and pubic hairs; collecting loose hairs by combing the head and pubis; swabbing the vagina, rectum, and/or mouth to collect semen, blood, or saliva; and obtaining fingernail scrapings in the event the victim scratched the assailant. Blood samples may also be collected for DNA, toxicology, and ethanol testing.

Victims often experience long waits in hospital emergency departments because sexual assault is rarely an emergent health threat, and during this wait, victims are not allowed to eat, drink, or urinate so as not to destroy physical evidence of the assault. When victims are finally examined, they may get a cursory explanation of what will occur and it often comes as a shock that they have to have a pelvic examination immediately after such an egregious, invasive violation of their bodies. Many victims describe the medical care they receive as cold, impersonal, and detached. Furthermore, the examinations and evidence collection procedures are often performed incorrectly. Most hospital emergency department personnel lack training in sexual assault forensic examinations, and those trained usually do not perform examinations frequently enough to maintain proficiency.

Forensic evidence collection is often the focus of hospital emergency department care, but sexual assault victims have other medical needs, such as information on the risk of STIs/HIV and prophylaxis

(preventive medications to treat any STIs that may have been contracted through the assault). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and American Medical Association (AMA) recommend that all sexual assault victims receive STI prophylaxis and HIV prophylaxis on a case-by-case basis after risk assessment. However, Annette Amey and David Bishai point out that analyses of hospital records have shown that only 34% of sexual assault patients are treated for STIs. Yet, data from victims suggest much higher rates of STI prophylaxis: 57% to 69% of sexual assault patients reported that they received antibiotics during their hospital emergency department care. But not all victims are equally likely to receive STI-related medical services. Victims of nonstranger sexual assault are significantly less likely to receive information on STIs/HIV or STI prophylaxis, even though knowing the assailant does not mitigate one's risk. In addition, Rebecca Campbell and associates found that Caucasian women were significantly more likely to get information on HIV than ethnic minority women.

Post-assault pregnancy services are also inconsistently provided to sexual assault victims. Only 40% to 49% of victims receive information about the risk of pregnancy. The AMA and the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists recommend emergency contraception for victims at risk for pregnancy, but only 21% to 43% of sexual assault victims who need emergency contraception actually receive it. To date, no studies have found systematic differences in the provision of emergency contraception as a function of victim or assault characteristics, but hospitals affiliated with the Catholic Church are significantly less likely to provide emergency contraception.

In the process of the forensic examination, STI services, and pregnancy-related care, doctors and nurses ask victims many of the same kinds of questions as do legal personnel regarding their prior sexual history, sexual response during the assault, what they were wearing, and what they did to "cause" the assault. Medical professionals may view these questions as necessary and appropriate, but sexual assault victims often find them upsetting. As a result of their contact with emergency department doctors and nurses, most sexual assault victims have stated that they felt bad about themselves (81%), depressed (88%), violated (94%),

distrustful of others (74%), and reluctant to seek further help (80%). Only 5% of victims in S. E. Ullman's study rated physicians as a helpful source of support, and negative responses from formal systems, including medical, significantly exacerbate the posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptomatology of the victims. Victims who do not receive basic medical services rate their experiences with the medical system as more hurtful, which has been associated with higher PTSD levels.

Mental Health Services

The mental health effects of sexual assault are devastating; many victims experience this trauma as a fundamental betrayal of their sense of self, identity, judgment, and safety. Dean Kilpatrick and associates note that between 31% and 65% of sexual assault victims develop PTSD and 38% to 43% meet diagnostic criteria for major depression. These sequelae are largely from the trauma of the sexual assault itself, but as noted, negative responses from the legal and medical systems exacerbate victims' distress. Clearly, victims may *need* mental health services, but there has been comparatively less research on what services they actually receive and whether that care improved their psychological health. Victims may obtain mental health services in myriad ways (e.g., treatment outcome research, community clinics/private practice, and specialty agencies such as sexual assault crisis centers), and their experiences vary considerably as a function of treatment setting.

First, some victims receive mental health services by participating as research subjects in randomized control trial treatment outcome studies. This option is available only to sexual assault victims who live in communities where such research is being conducted, and who fit eligibility criteria. However, this kind of research is not intended to provide large-scale services; the goal is to establish empirically supported treatments that can then be disseminated for wider scale benefit. Indeed, the results of these trials suggest that cognitive-behavioral therapies, such as cognitive processing therapy and prolonged exposure, are effective in alleviating PTSD symptoms. The victims who participate in these trials receive high-quality treatment and benefit tremendously, but this is not the experience

of the typical sexual assault victim seeking post-assault mental health services.

A second, and more typical, way victims receive post-assault mental health services is community-based care provided by psychologists, psychiatrists, or social workers in private or public clinic settings. More victims receive mental health services in these settings relative to treatment outcome studies, but these are still highly underused with serious accessibility limitations. Most victims who seek traditional mental health services, for example, are Caucasian. Ethnic minority women are more likely to turn to informal sources of support (e.g., friends and family) and may not necessarily place the same value on formal psychotherapy. Victims without health insurance are also significantly less likely to obtain mental health services.

When victims do receive community-based mental health services, it is unclear whether practitioners are consistently using empirically supported treatments. Two state-wide random sample studies of practitioners suggest it is unlikely. Most practitioners report using cognitive-behavioral methods with victims of violence (including, but not limited to, sexual assault victims), but almost all practitioners stated they rarely use a single approach and intentionally combine multiple therapeutic orientations and treatments. As a result, it cannot be concluded that most victims receive empirically supported care in traditional, community-based mental health services. As is often the case in the efficacy-effectiveness-dissemination research cycle, it can take quite a while for evidence-based practice to become standard care.

Few studies have examined if and how victims benefit from community-based mental health services. In general, victims tend to rate their experiences with mental health professionals positively and characterize their help as useful and supportive. Whether positive satisfaction results in demonstrable mental health benefits is largely unknown, although Campbell and associates found that community-based mental health services were particularly helpful for victims who had had negative experiences with the legal and/or medical systems. Some mental health practitioners have expressed concern about whether their own profession works effectively with sexual assault victims: 58% of practitioners in a state-wide study felt that mental health providers engage in practices that would be

harmful to victims and questioned the degree to which victims benefit from services.

A third setting in which victims may obtain mental health services is specialized violence against women agencies, such as sexual assault crisis centers and domestic violence shelter programs. Sexual assault crisis centers help victims negotiate their contact with the legal and medical systems, and they also provide individual and group counseling. These agencies are perhaps the most visible and accessible source for mental health services for sexual assault victims as they provide counseling free of charge and do not require health insurance. As with traditional mental health services, there is still evidence of racial differences in service utilization as Caucasian women are significantly more likely to use sexual assault crisis center services than ethnic minority women.

Little is known about the therapeutic orientations and treatment approaches used in sexual assault crisis centers, but current data indicate a strong feminist and/or empowerment theoretical orientation (e.g., shared goal setting, focus on gender inequalities, and identification of sexual assault not only as a personal problem but as a social problem too). With respect to counseling outcomes, April Howard and associates compared self-reported PTSD symptoms precounseling and postcounseling among victims receiving sexual assault crisis center counseling services, and they found significant reductions in distress levels and self-blame over time and increases in social support, self efficacy, and sense of control. Because the studies did not examine the content of services or include comparison groups, it is unclear whether these observed improvements are attributable to the services provided.

Rebecca Campbell and Debra Patterson

See also Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Rape Crisis Centers; Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE); Sexual Assault Response Team (SART)

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MEDICAL EXAMINER RESPONSE TEAM (MERT)

A Medical Examiner Response Team (MERT) is a group of medical and law enforcement professionals charged with investigating certain fatalities. The goals of a MERT include identifying remains and determining the cause and manner of death. This entry discusses the medical examiner/coroner system in the United States, the death investigation performed by MERTs, the controversies involved with death investigations, and the future of forensic pathology.

Medical Examiner/Coroner System

The medical examiner/coroner system originated in the English crowner system of the 900s. The “crowner” was a public official who collected duties for the king on deaths, hunting, and other events. In 1860, in the United States, Maryland began requiring a physician be present at coroner proceedings. This was the start of a shift in the United States toward the medical examiner system where physicians certified deaths rather than sheriffs and other public officials. In the United States today, fewer than 10 states retain coroner systems with the remaining having medical examiners. A contemporary medical examiner is a physician but not necessarily a specialist in pathology.

The medical examiner/coroner office (ME/C) is responsible for issuing death certificates recording the identity of the deceased, the time of death, the cause of death, and the manner of death. The *cause of death* can be a disease, injury (e.g., firearm), or poison, and there can be primary and contributing causes of death. The mechanism of death is not always listed but is the physiological cause of death such as hemorrhage from a firearm injury. The *manner of death* has limited options: natural, accidental, homicide, suicide, unclassified, or undetermined. A classification of homicide means only one person killed another and does not

mean a crime occurred (e.g., self-defense). The determination of murder is made by a court of law.

Local and state law classifies deaths that must be reported to the ME/C. Generally the following deaths are reportable: violent, sudden, or unexpected deaths; fatal injuries; poisonings; fires; and deaths in police custody, after a medical procedure, or involving transportation.

There are multiple goals of the medical examiner investigation. A primary goal is to identify remains to permit family notification. Other goals are determination of cause and manner of death, interval from injury to death, injury documentation, and recovery of evidence. ME findings support prosecution of perpetrators of homicides.

Death Investigation

After a death is reported, the medical examiner begins a death investigation. The procedures after a reported death vary according to the number of deaths at the scene and other circumstances. The investigation might include an on-scene investigation or an autopsy. A death certificate is signed, and in complex cases, a report may be prepared. If there is a legal proceeding, the medical examiner often testifies as an expert witness.

Autopsy

An autopsy performed by an ME/C is a medicolegal autopsy. It is similar to an autopsy performed in a hospital in that it includes both an external and internal examination of the body as well as a microscopic examination of the organs and testing of body and body fluids such as blood, urine, bile, and vitreous (eye fluid). A medicolegal autopsy differs from a hospital autopsy in that a pathologist can collect and interpret physical evidence relating to the manner of death (e.g., metal shavings). As part of an autopsy, a forensic pathologist reviews the deceased's personal history, medical records, toxicology, and laboratory information.

Scene Investigation

A scene investigation is usually completed in suspected homicides and suicides. The size and specialties of a MERT vary depending on the number of reported fatalities, the size and nature of the event, and the condition of the remains.

Scene investigators at a firearm homicide might include a medical examiner, autopsy technician, and forensic photographer/crime scene photographer. Crime scene technicians and/or death investigators collect evidence. These persons might be either law enforcement personnel or medical examiner personnel. Medical examiner and death scene investigators typically handle remains, whereas police investigators handle other physical evidence such as personal possessions.

In contrast, a mass fatality event such as a plane crash or a school shooting would require a larger mass fatality MERT or even aid from the federal Disaster Mortuary System (DMORT system).

Typical members of a mass fatality response team include the following:

- Forensic pathologist
- Forensic odontologist (dentist)
- Police crime scene investigator/death scene investigator—investigate scene; collect and preserve evidence while maintaining chain of custody
- Forensic photographer
- Fingerprint examiner and technician
- DNA analyst
- Radiologist or technician (X-ray)
- Laboratory scientist/toxicologist/microbiologist/trace evidence technician
- Autopsy technicians/morgue staff
- Forensic anthropologist—examines biological characteristics of the deceased and bones; determines age at death, sex, race, and stature; as well as aids ME in determining circumstances surrounding death. Identify antemortem pathology or abnormalities such as healed fractures or disease and perimortem trauma.

Controversies

The primary goal of a MERT is identification of remains. Medical examiners have a professional guideline to identify remains using scientific standards such as dental records or DNA, which can take days. This can be frustrating for families or public officials who might want quicker identification of remains using nonscientific methods such as visual identification or circumstantial information (pocket contents or seating charts). Unlike a hospital autopsy, permission of next of kin is not

required for a medicolegal autopsy. In many jurisdictions, a judge can order an autopsy despite a family's objection.

Future

The availability of DNA technology has brought new questions to the field. Although some states have DNA databases of convicted felons, there is nothing comparable with existing fingerprint databases and there is debate about the legality and constitutionality of a DNA database. In addition, a national backlog of forensic DNA evidence remains.

An emerging international trend is to use the results of forensic pathology in advancing public health. For example, multiple state medical examiner systems are now members of the Violent Crime Reporting System for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and report aggregate data on child deaths.

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See also Death Notification; Homicide and Murder

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National Association of Medical Examiners: <http://www.thename.org>

MEGAN'S LAW

Washington State was the first to pass a law in 1990 authorizing the authorities to notify the public when sex offenders are released into the community. In 1994, the federal government passed the Jacob Wetterling Act, which required all states to develop a registry of sex offenders who had targeted children. The 1996 Megan's Law amendment to this act forced all states not only to register sex offenders but also to notify the community of their presence. Megan's Law was named after 7-year-old Megan Kanka, a New Jersey girl who was raped and murdered by a twice-convicted sex offender who was residing in her neighborhood. Megan's parents argued that had they known their neighbor was a dangerous sex offender who targeted children, they would have taken steps to protect their daughter. Community notification, for better or worse, seems to be with us for the foreseeable future.

It has long been believed that sex offenders, more than other types of criminals, pose a high risk for repetition. In addition, sex offenders often target women and children (who are less able to defend themselves), and their crimes are considered to be particularly offensive. Consequently, the State—which has a duty to protect its citizens—has chosen community notification as one way to discharge this obligation. The government has evidently concluded that the privacy rights of convicted sex offenders are less important than public safety.

The type and method of notification varies widely between and within states, so that not all sex offenders are handled similarly. Distinctions are made between the dangerousness of the offender and the method of notification. For example, New Jersey—which to some extent serves as a model for the rest of the country—uses a three-tier system

that differentiates offender risk and guides the method of notification. Here, convicted sex offenders' level of risk is assessed using the Registrant Risk Assessment Scale, developed by a task force of mental health and criminal justice professionals under the auspices of the New Jersey Attorney General's Office.

The New Jersey model uses a graded system of notification, with those offenders found to be at the highest risk receiving the broadest form of community notification. Here, the county prosecutor's office performs door-to-door notification—within a geographic radius of home and work addresses—of all individuals with whom the offender is likely to come into contact. Sex offenders found to pose low risk must only register with the police at least once per year, depending on the jurisdiction. And, for those offenders in the middle third (moderate risk), the local prosecutor's office notifies administrators at facilities dealing with women or children (depending on the offender's historical victims) within a given geographic area. Recently, identifying information for moderate- and high-risk offenders has been placed on the State Police Web site, thus to some extent eliminating the relative benefit (to the offender) of being found moderate as opposed to high risk.

New Jersey's risk assessment scale is an empirically guided instrument that includes both historical, unchangeable risk factors (referred to as static factors) and current, changeable risk factors (referred to as dynamic factors). New Jersey's scale is more heavily weighted toward static risk factors, with the majority of the points derived from items related to offense history; other risk assessment scales focus more on dynamic factors, such as the offender's current and recent adjustment. In assessing a sex offender's risk, both factors need to be included.

Since the introduction of Megan's Law, many concerns have been identified. For example, it is unknown if the notification programs actually work. Some have even suggested that Megan's Law is a "feel good" remedy that may not prevent future crime. In fact, there has been no empirical validation that establishes the preventive value of the programs. There have also been several cases of vigilantism where citizens have taken it upon themselves to use all sorts of (illegal) tactics to get offenders to move; and in several instances, the wrong person was targeted. In addition, the cost of

the program and the negative impact on real estate values have been cited as unanticipated consequences of the law, whereas the implications of notification through the Internet have yet to be studied. Moreover, several constitutional issues (e.g., rights of privacy and treating different groups of criminals differently) have been raised, with several cases currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Controversy has also developed regarding the handling of several subtypes of sex offenders, specifically juveniles, incest offenders, and cases where the sexual encounter was consensual. Because juveniles are a protected class, releasing their identities to communities seems to undermine the foundation of the juvenile justice system (which generally keeps names of minors sealed). And if the names and addresses of incest offenders are made public, the identities of the victims (who, in many cases, have the same last name and address) also become known. Here, the victims lose their confidentiality, which results in revictimization. In addition to adolescent and incest offenders, some "statutory rape" cases—where a minor has had consensual sex with an adult—have also raised concerns. For instance, should an 18-year-old high-school senior, who had consensual sex with his 14-year-old freshman girlfriend, be subjected to community notification? But despite the many problems associated with several aspects of Megan's Law, the public has been overwhelmingly in favor of this type of program. One can only hope that applied social science researchers begin to determine whether the various community notification laws have the desired effect of lowering recidivism, since at present, the value of these laws has little or no scientific support.

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See also AMBER Alert; Central Registry; Pedophilia

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MENTAL ILLNESS AND VICTIMIZATION

The victimization of persons with mental illness has both historical significance and contemporary relevance. Because of the nature of mental illness, persons with psychiatric disorders are vulnerable to unfair treatment, including discrimination, stigma, and neglect. This entry situates the complex forms of victimization specific to this population in broader historical perspectives, then critically explores the scope of contemporary forms of mistreatment, and finally turns to the social policies and institutional reforms put in place to protect and to better serve the needs of mentally ill persons.

Historical Perspectives on Victimization

There are three major historical perspectives on the maltreatment of persons with mental illness in American society. First, a major shift in the social management of the mentally ill occurred during the industrial revolution. The shift from family care to institutional care transpired with the decline of rural agricultural communities and the rise of populated urban areas. Many mentally ill people, left adrift without supportive networks, were warehoused in jails and prisons. Championed by Dorothea Dix, the development of mental hospitals was an outgrowth of the modern industrialized society's desire to provide a therapeutic environment for persons in need of psychiatric care. Second, although the number of mental health hospitals grew progressively, they were overcrowded and inadequately staffed. Proponents of patient rehabilitation argued that long-term stays in psychiatric wards had a detrimental effect on the ability of individuals to reintegrate into society. The negative effects of institutionalization were echoed by social labeling theorists who claimed that as a by-product of being labeled "mentally ill," patients suffered depersonalization, a loss of status, and alienation, which exacerbated their symptoms of illness. Patients in mental hospitals were also subjected to various forms of medical experimentation, including electroconvulsive therapy (shock treatment) and psychosurgery (lobotomies). According to many reports, some patients suffered from the results of unsuccessful

surgeries, such as brain damage and other unintended side effects, including, in some cases, death.

A third major development in the mistreatment of the mentally ill occurred as a consequence of the shift from institutionalized care to community-based care, which is referred to as deinstitutionalization. However, despite its positive intentions to improve the lives of persons with mental illness, this public policy failed in many respects. The community mental health movement was underfunded and fragmented. A lack of coordinated care between state hospitals and community agencies meant that former hospital patients were "dumped" into low-income areas without the necessary psychiatric, medical, or social resources to transition successfully back into the community. The systemic failure of deinstitutionalization was particularly harmful for the severely mentally ill. For example, some agencies participate in "creaming" practices whereby they prioritize treatment for people deemed most likely to respond positively to their services rather than those most impaired.

Contemporary Scope of Victimization

Many scholars argue that massive fiscal cutbacks in public mental health services shifted responsibility to law enforcement agencies to manage mentally ill persons. Scholars assert that an apt depiction of this phenomenon is transinstitutionalization. The number of people with mental illnesses in the criminal justice system has increased progressively in recent years; county jails and prisons have become de facto psychiatric institutions at great human cost as well as at public expense. Recent studies report that approximately 16% to 22% of jail and prison inmates suffer from a form of mental illness. Researchers and policy analysts surmise that deinstitutionalization led to the "criminalization of the mentally ill," meaning that individuals with untreated mental illnesses are more prone to police contacts as a result of their disorderly or deviant behaviors. A misguided public perception exists that mentally ill persons are prone to commit violent acts and that police must detain them in the interest of public safety. As a result, those most in need of psychiatric attention, including the homeless, persons with chemical dependency, and those who live in poverty, are more likely to be arrested than to receive care.

Policies, Treatment, and Prevention

Important developments have been aimed at reducing the discriminatory practices against persons with mental disorders. During the community mental health movement, advocacy groups championed the right to treatment by patients as well as their right to refuse treatment. Many states passed legislation to amend the vague and capricious commitment laws. Grassroots organizations, such as the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill, sponsored public education campaigns to increase awareness and fight social stereotypes that portray mentally ill persons as unstable, irrational, and violent. The criminal justice system has also institutionalized reforms to address the needs of mentally ill offenders. Nationwide, jurisdictions are adopting jail alternative programs, including mental health courts, to facilitate in-custody psychiatric assessments and coordinate continued treatment in the community upon release. These trends, however, are not without controversy. Some critical criminologists, for example, argue that these programs widen the net of social control over marginalized populations and raise the specter of coerced treatment.

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See also Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Homeless, Violence Against; Medical and Mental Health Services; Pathways to Prevention; Substance Use and Victimization

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META-ANALYSIS

Meta-analysis is a systematic literature review technique that uses explicit methods to identify a set of relevant primary studies, followed by objective methods to synthesize results quantitatively from this collection of studies. The approach differs from a traditional narrative literature review, in which findings from multiple studies are discussed and considered qualitatively but are not combined numerically. As an example, a meta-analysis would be a very useful approach to summarize quantitatively evidence on the effects of school-based programs designed to reduce juvenile delinquency, or to synthesize the research on predictors of violent behavior in women. This entry provides a basic overview of the technique of meta-analysis, including its strengths and weaknesses as a form of systematic literature review, as well as provides key steps in the meta-analytic process.

Strengths and Weaknesses

When compared with narrative review, meta-analysis has several advantages. The approach is considerably more objective than a traditional literature review, in part because meta-analysis requires a systematic search for relevant literature and the determination of explicit criteria for study selection into the analysis. A narrative review usually does not implement such criteria and may involve hidden biases because of selecting studies by convenience or through a less systematic search. Furthermore, because a meta-analysis involves explicit, transparent criteria for study identification, selection, and integration, a straightforward

replication of the research is possible. It is much less likely that independent narrative reviews will reach identical conclusions.

Meta-analysis also enables greater precision in estimating the outcome or effect in question. This precision is achieved via the specific techniques used to extract results from studies and to convert these results to common metrics, and the explicit manner by which the individual study results are combined into a single pooled effect estimate. In comparison, a narrative literature review might group study results into general themes or use a more basic quantitative approach such as vote-counting the number of studies that report statistically significant versus nil effects. Vote-counting is a preliminary method of summation, because it does not take into account the magnitude of the effects found across studies or any differences in sample sizes. Because sampling error is a function of sample size, because low-power studies with small samples are less likely to find statistically significant effects than are studies with large samples (given the effects of a similar magnitude). Furthermore, because the meta-analysis algorithm assigns greater weight to larger studies when estimating the pooled effect across studies, the meta-analysis estimate has considerably more statistical power than do the individual studies that compose the estimate.

Another advantage of meta-analysis is its ability to summarize large amounts of information across a set of studies, while also allowing for the examination of potential causes of between-study variation in effect magnitude. Narrative reviews face considerable challenges in effectively summarizing large bodies of literature, in particular with consideration to mediator or moderator effects of research design, treatment style, or treatment effectiveness with different populations.

The most frequent criticism of meta-analysis is that analyses may pool together studies that are incommensurate. In other words, it is meaningless to produce a summary effect for studies that are conceptually (or statistically) dissimilar. Another criticism of meta-analysis is the issue of publication bias. This bias occurs when studies with statistically significant findings are selected for publication more frequently than are studies with nonsignificant findings. The extent to which this is true will serve to bias the results of systematic literature searches, because electronic databases and

other such sources will fail to identify nonpublished, nonsignificant studies.

General Procedure

1. Specifying the Research Question and Form of Research Findings

A meta-analysis begins with the specification of the research question to be assessed. Because the raw data in a meta-analysis consist of the results from independent studies, it is essential that the collection of studies in the meta-analysis examine the same relationship. More specifically, the individual study outcomes should be comparable with respect to conceptual nature, study design, and statistical form.

2. Determining Study Eligibility Criteria

Next, a protocol is developed that contains specific criteria by which studies will be assessed for inclusion in the analysis. Each potential study is examined along these criteria to determine whether the study is eligible for inclusion. For example, a criterion might require the sample to contain at least 100 subjects or the evaluation to include a control group. Studies might be excluded for reasons such as publication in a non-peer-reviewed source or publication outside a particular date range.

3. Systematic Literature Search and Report Retrieval

A systematic search is undertaken, usually with the goal to uncover the entire pool of eligible studies on a given topic. The search often involves key terms searched in multiple bibliographic databases (e.g., PsycInfo and Criminal Justice Abstracts), hand searches of relevant journals, government databases, and bibliographies of studies that meet inclusion criteria, and queries to experts in the field. From the list of studies identified in the literature search, each potentially eligible study is evaluated based on the inclusion criteria to determine whether it will be included in the meta-analysis.

4. Coding and Extracting Data

For inclusion in a meta-analysis, all study findings are transformed into the same format so that

pooling across studies is possible. This format is the “effect size,” which is a standardized index that represents both the magnitude and the direction of the outcome. The derivation of each study’s effect size based on the particular quantitative outcomes presented in the research report allows for a consistent interpretation of findings over the different types of measures and variables.

5. Computing Effect Size Statistics

Several types of effect size measures exist; most of which have more than one method of computation. Commonly used effect size measures include the standardized mean difference (such as Cohen’s *d* or Hedges’s *g*), the odds-ratio, the correlation coefficient, the proportion difference, and the relative risk. The choice of effect size measure used in a meta-analysis depends on both the research question of interest as well as on the data reported in the study.

6. Analysis

The meta-analysis algorithm for determining the pooled mean effect size weights the set of effect sizes by their inverse variance weights, as follows:

$$\overline{ES} = \frac{\sum_i^k (w_i * ES_i)}{\sum_i^k w_i},$$

in which each study’s effect size (*ES*) is multiplied by its inverse variance weight (*w*), summed across all studies *i* through *k*, and divided by the sum of the inverse variance weights for studies *i* through *k*.

The statistical significance of the meta-analysis mean effect size is tested with a Z-test:

$$Z = \frac{\overline{ES}}{SE_{\overline{ES}}},$$

where the standard error is defined by

$$SE_{\overline{ES}} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{\sum_i^k w_i}},$$

and the upper and lower bound 95% confidence intervals are as follows:

$$95\% \text{ C.I.} = \overline{ES} \pm 1.96(SE_{\overline{ES}}).$$

The confidence intervals indicate the precision of the pooled mean effect size; if the confidence interval does not cross zero, then the null hypothesis of no effect is rejected. In other words, the pooled finding across the set of included studies is determined to be statistically significant.

Meta-analysis is a powerful tool for aggregating the findings across a set of studies in a given body of literature, enabling a systematic, objective estimate of a treatment effect across a set of primary studies with potentially conflicting findings.

Jennifer S. Wong

See also Methodological Issues in Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention

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METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN COUNTING VICTIMS

Counting victims of crime has methodological difficulties that can result in an inaccurate portrayal of the number of victims that exist. This is caused by various concerns that originate with the nature of victims as well as with data collection and statistical representations of victims. This entry provides an overview of the general methodological concerns of counting victims as guided by the use of crime/victim counting mechanisms in the United States of the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Finally, some recommendations are provided to enhance the ability of calculating a truer number of crime victims in the United States.

General Methodological Concerns

This entry provides the main reasons why victims are difficult to count. It addresses the concerns with determining the absolute number of victims, type of data collection, gaining access to victims, and statistical concerns of counting victims.

Determining the Absolute Number of Victims

The absolute number of crime victims in the United States has never been captured as the true number of victims is impractical and improbable to determine. It would require researchers to survey each and every individual of the United States, and each individual would have to be completely honest in reporting and recalling his or her victimization. Understandably, such efforts would consume much time and resources, which for the most part are unneeded as it is not as important to know an absolute number as it is to obtain the relative number of victimization instances that occur. Relative numbers or approximations still allow for policies, researchers, and scholars to understand general crime patterns. The concern thus rests on how relative numbers can be gathered to not include too much error or inaccuracies. Two means to obtain relative numbers of victimization are the UCR Program and the NCVS.

Type of Data Collection

One major drawback on the ability to collect information on all crime victimization is that researchers or the government are rarely interested in gathering information on all types of illegal behaviors. For instance, the UCR Program collects information from law enforcement on Part I Index crimes of murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Similarly, the NCVS gathers information on crimes of rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, theft, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Furthermore, single researchers usually only collect information on the specific crime(s) of interest.

A second concern of crime collection is that jurisdictions define crime differently and that no standardized definitions exist from one locale to another. When crime is defined differently, it adds

to the confusion and inability to use formal records as a measure of victims. Lastly, data collections methods such as the UCR Program are not difficult to use in counting victims as it focuses on counting crime, not victims.

Gaining Access to Victims

As stated, the task of counting and collecting information on all victims is improbable and more than likely impossible. Thus, no source exists that contains a proper sampling frame or list of all victims. For this reason, samples must be used to determine the relative number of crime victims. When samples are correctly gathered, data can be used to infer or generalize findings to the population providing a relative number of crime victims. The main concern of gaining access to victims is how access can be accomplished to gain the proper amount and type of crime victims without being too limiting or exclusionary. To illustrate this concern, the UCR Program uses formal records of law enforcement and only reports crimes known to police officers. If a victim fails to report an offense, he or she would not be counted as a possible victim and would not be included in the sampling frame.

The NCVS is a more accurate resource than the UCR Program to tabulate the relative number of crime victims since it directly pertains to victims. One concern is that it does not sample individuals and instead samples households. Thus, those who do not live in typical residences (e.g., inmates and the institutionalized) or are homeless will not be in the sample. Additionally, the NCVS completes most of its data collection using telephones, a method that excludes those who do not own telephones. Thus, it is difficult to count victims as it is hard to gain access and appropriate samples that fully represent the population of the United States.

Statistical Concerns of Counting Victims

When there is an inability to gather information on a whole population, such as crime victims, samples are used to build statistical models that allow for inferences to be drawn to the population. The process of inference simply allows for the findings of the sample to be generalized to the population. For instance, if 7% of the sample were victims of auto thefts it could be concluded that roughly

7% of the population were victims of auto theft. Yet, for this conclusion to be accurate, numerous concerns must be accounted for, including coverage error, sampling error, measurement error, and nonresponse error. The *coverage error* suggests that all individuals of the population who were intended to be studied were not in the sample (e.g., a study counting the victims of property crimes fails to include victims of auto thefts). *Sampling error* is unavoidable as it is the natural error that accumulates when using a sample and not the whole population, which is normally set at 5% in the social sciences (e.g., for the auto theft example above, the population could have 2% to 12% of auto thefts because of the 5% of sampling error). The *nonresponse error* occurs when respondents have failed to respond and nonrespondents systematically differ from respondents (e.g., respondents have an average age of 36 years, but nonrespondents have an average age of 20 years). Finally, *measurement error* suggests that data collection is not accurate because of the way the researcher operationally defined the variables of interest (e.g., the definition for victims of rape more accurately describes sexual harassment). Thus, to count victims properly, samples and measurement must be carefully designed to decrease limitations and methodological concerns.

Suggested Improvements and Refinements

Irrelevant of the inability to detect the absolute number of victims in the United States, improvements can be suggested to allow for data to be more representative of victimization. First, more offenses could be regularly counted in the UCR Program and NCVS to include less serious offenses such as vandalism. Second, the NCVS could expand by different collection methods (e.g., mail surveys) or samples (e.g., juveniles, college students, homeless, and prison inmates) to allow previously unexamined individuals to be included into NCVS. Additionally, a mixed-method approach could be used to check the reliability and validity of data collection methods. Finally, more attention could be brought to cultural differences in the population of the United States to ensure that respondents understand all terms being used.

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See also Calculating Extent of Victimization: Incidence, Prevalence, and Rates; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Victimless Crimes

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Web Sites

- National Crime Victimization Survey: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/cvict.htm>
- Uniform Crime Reporting Program: <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm>

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN EVALUATING EFFECTIVENESS OF CRIME PREVENTION

Studies evaluating the effectiveness of crime prevention vary in methodological quality, and the most weight should be given to the best studies. It is essential to develop methodological quality standards for evaluation research that can be understood and easily used by scholars, practitioners, policy makers, the mass media, and systematic reviewers.

Discussions about methodological quality standards, and about inclusion and exclusion criteria in systematic reviews, are inevitably contentious because they are perceived as potentially threatening by some evaluation researchers. People whose projects are excluded from systematic reviews correctly interpret this as a criticism of the methodological quality of their work. In systematic reviews of the effectiveness of improved street lighting and closed-circuit television (CCTV) by David Farrington and Brandon Welsh, referees considered that the excluded studies were being "cast into outer darkness."

Methodological quality standards are likely to vary according to the topic being reviewed. For example, because there have been many randomized experiments on family-based crime prevention, it would not be unreasonable to restrict a systematic review of this topic to the gold standard of randomized experiments. However, no randomized experiments have been designed to evaluate the effect of either improved street lighting or CCTV on crime. Therefore, in systematic reviews of these topics by Farrington and Welsh, the minimum methodological standard for inclusion required before and after measures of crime in experimental and comparable control areas.

This standard was also set as the minimum design that was adequate for drawing valid conclusions about “what works” in the book *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention* by Lawrence Sherman and his colleagues, which was based on the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS). An important issue is to what extent it is desirable or feasible to use a methodological quality scale to assess the quality of evaluation research and as the basis for making decisions about including or excluding studies in systematic reviews. And if a methodological quality scale should be used, which one should be chosen?

Methodological Quality Criteria

According to Thomas Cook and Donald Campbell, methodological quality depends on four criteria: statistical conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity, and external validity. According to William Shadish and his colleagues, “validity” refers to the correctness of inferences about cause and effect. From the time of John Stuart Mill, the main criteria for establishing a causal relationship have been that (1) the cause precedes the effect, (2) the cause is related to the effect, and (3) other plausible alternative explanations of the effect can be excluded. The main aim of the Campbell validity typology is to identify plausible alternative explanations (threats to valid causal inference) so that researchers can anticipate likely criticisms and design evaluation studies to eliminate them. If threats to valid causal inference cannot be ruled out in the design, they should at least be measured and their importance should be estimated.

Descriptive validity, or the adequacy of reporting, has been added as a fifth criterion of the

methodological quality of crime prevention research. To complete a systematic review, it is important that information about key features of the evaluation be provided in each research report. The CONSORT statement specifies rules for the reporting of randomized trials in medicine, but there is no equivalent specification for crime prevention evaluation research.

Statistical Conclusion Validity

Statistical conclusion validity is concerned with whether the presumed cause (the intervention) and the presumed effect (the outcome, usually crime or offending) are related. Measures of effect size and their associated confidence intervals should be calculated. Statistical significance (the probability of obtaining the observed effect size if the null hypothesis of no relationship were true) should also be calculated, but in many ways, it is less important than the effect size. This is because a statistically significant result could indicate a large effect in a small sample or a small effect in a large sample.

The main threats to statistical conclusion validity are insufficient statistical power to detect the effect (e.g., because of small sample size) and the use of inappropriate statistical techniques (e.g., where the data violate the underlying assumptions of a statistical test). Statistical power refers to the probability of correctly rejecting the null hypothesis when it is false. Other threats to statistical conclusion validity include the use of many statistical tests (in a so-called fishing expedition for significant results) and the heterogeneity of the experimental units (e.g., the people or areas in experimental and control conditions). The more variability there is in the units, the harder it will be to detect any effect of the intervention.

Internal Validity

Internal validity refers to the correctness of the key question about whether the crime prevention method really did cause a change in the outcome, and it has generally been regarded as the most important type of validity. In investigating this question, some kind of control condition is essential to estimate what would have happened to the experimental units (e.g., people or areas) if the

intervention had not been applied to them—termed the *counterfactual inference*. Experimental control is usually better than statistical control. One problem is that the control units rarely receive no treatment, but instead, they typically receive the usual treatment or some kind of treatment that is different from the experimental intervention. Therefore, it is important to specify the effect size “compared with what?”

The main threats to internal validity were identified by Cook and Campbell but often do not seem to be uniformly well known:

Selection—the effect reflects preexisting differences between experimental and control conditions.

History—the effect is caused by some event occurring at the same time as the intervention.

Maturation—the effect reflects a continuation of preexisting trends (e.g., in crime rates or in normal human development).

Instrumentation—the effect is caused by a change in the method of measuring the outcome.

Testing—the pretest measurement causes a change in the posttest measure.

Regression to the Mean—where an intervention is implemented on units with unusually high scores (e.g., areas with high crime rates), natural fluctuation will cause a decrease in these scores on the posttest, which may be mistakenly interpreted as an effect of the intervention. The opposite (an increase) happens when interventions are applied to low crime rate areas or low scoring people.

Differential Attrition—the effect is caused by differential loss of units (e.g., people) from experimental compared with control conditions.

Causal Order—it is unclear whether the intervention preceded the outcome.

In addition, there may be interactive effects of threats. For example, a selection-maturation effect may occur if the experimental and control conditions have different preexisting trends, or a selection-history effect may occur if the experimental and control conditions experience different historical events (e.g., where they are located in different settings).

In principle, a randomized experiment has the highest possible internal validity because it can rule out all these threats, although in practice differential attrition may still be problematic. Randomization is the only method of assignment that controls for *unknown* and *unmeasured* confounders as well as those that are known and measured. The conclusion that the intervention really did cause a change in the outcome is not necessarily the final conclusion. It is desirable to go beyond this and to investigate links in the causal chain between the intervention and the outcome, the dose-response relationship between the intervention and the outcome, and the validity of any theory linking the intervention and the outcome.

Construct Validity

Construct validity refers to the adequacy of the operational definition and measurement of the theoretical constructs that underlie the intervention and the outcome. For example, if a project aims to investigate the effect of interpersonal skills training on offending, did the training program really target and change interpersonal skills and were arrests a valid measure of offending? Whereas the operational definition and measurement of physical constructs such as height and weight are not contentious, this is not true of most criminological constructs.

The main threats to construct validity center on the extent to which the intervention succeeded in changing what it was intended to change (e.g., to what extent there was treatment fidelity or implementation failure) and on the validity and reliability of outcome measures (e.g., how adequately police-recorded crime rates reflect true crime rates). Displacement of offending and diffusion of benefits of the intervention should also be investigated. Other threats to construct validity include those originating from a participant's knowledge of the intervention and from problems of contamination of treatment (e.g., where the control group receives elements of the intervention). To counter the Hawthorne effect, it is acknowledged in medicine that double-blind trials are needed, where neither doctors nor patients know about the experiment. It is also desirable to investigate interaction effects between different interventions or different ingredients of an intervention.

External Validity

External validity refers to the generalizability of causal relationships across different persons, places, times, and operational definitions of interventions and outcomes (e.g., from a demonstration project to the routine large-scale application of an intervention). It is difficult to investigate this within one evaluation study, unless it is a large-scale, multisite trial. External validity can be established more convincingly in systematic reviews and meta-analyses of numerous evaluation studies. Shadish and his colleagues distinguished generalizability to similar versus different populations, for example, contrasting the extent to which the effects of an intervention with males might be replicated with other males as opposed to the extent to which these effects might be replicated with females. The first type of generalizability would be increased by carefully choosing random samples from some population as potential (experimental or control) participants in a crime prevention evaluation.

The main threats to external validity listed by Shadish and his colleagues consist of interactions of causal relationships (effect sizes) with types of persons, settings, interventions, and outcomes. For example, an intervention designed to reduce offending may be effective with some types of people and in some types of places but not in others. A key issue is whether the effect size varies according to whether those who carried out the research had some kind of stake in the results; for example, if a project is funded by a government agency, the agency may be embarrassed if the evaluation shows no effect of its highly trumpeted intervention. Boundary conditions may exist within which interventions do or do not work or “moderators” of a causal relationship in the terminology of Reuben Baron and David Kenny. Also, mediators of causal relationships (links in the causal chain) may be effective in some settings but not in others. Ideally, theories should be proposed to explain these kinds of interactions.

Descriptive Validity

Descriptive validity refers to the adequacy of the presentation of key features of an evaluation in a research report. Systematic reviews of the effectiveness of crime prevention methods can only be carried out satisfactorily if the original evaluation

reports document key data on issues such as the number of participants and the effect size. A list of minimum elements to be included in an evaluation report would include at least the following:

- Design of the study: How were units allocated to experimental or control conditions?
- Characteristics of units and settings (e.g., age and gender of individuals as well as sociodemographic features of areas).
- Sample sizes and attrition rates.
- Causal hypotheses to be tested, and theories from which they are derived.
- The operational definition and detailed description of the crime prevention method (including its intensity and duration).
- Implementation details and program delivery personnel.
- Description of what treatment the control condition received.
- The operational definition and measurement of the outcome, before and after the intervention.
- The reliability and validity of outcome measures.
- The follow-up period after the intervention.
- Effect size, confidence intervals, statistical significance, and statistical methods used.
- How independent and extraneous variables were controlled so that it was possible to disentangle the impact of the intervention, or how threats to internal validity were ruled out.
- Who knows what about the intervention.
- Conflict of interest issues: Who funded the intervention and how independent were the researchers?

It would be desirable for professional associations, funding agencies, journal editors, and/or the Campbell Collaboration to get together to develop a checklist of items that must be included in all research reports on impact evaluations.

The Maryland Scientific Methods Scale

The most influential methodological quality scale in criminology is the Maryland SMS, which was developed by Sherman and his colleagues for large-scale reviews of what works or does not work in preventing crime. The main aim of the SMS is to communicate to scholars, policy makers, and practitioners in the simplest possible way that studies

evaluating the effects of criminological interventions differ in methodological quality. The SMS was largely based on the ideas of Cook and Campbell.

In constructing the SMS, the main aim was to devise a simple scale measuring internal validity that could be communicated easily. Thus, a simple 5-point scale was used rather than a summation of scores (e.g., from 0 to 100) on several specific criteria. It was intended that each point on the scale should be understandable, and the scale is as follows:

Level 1: Correlation between a prevention program and a measure of crime at one point in time (e.g., “areas with CCTV have lower crime rates than areas without CCTV”).

This design fails to rule out many threats to internal validity and fails to establish causal order.

Level 2: Measures of crime before and after the program, with no comparable control condition (e.g., “crime decreased after CCTV was installed in an area”).

This design establishes causal order but fails to rule out many threats to internal validity. Level 1 and Level 2 designs were considered inadequate and uninterpretable by Cook and Campbell.

Level 3: Measures of crime before and after the program in experimental and comparable control conditions (e.g., “crime decreased after CCTV was installed in an experimental area, but there was no decrease in crime in a comparable control area”).

This was considered to be the minimum interpretable design by Cook and Campbell, and it is regarded as the minimum design that is adequate for drawing conclusions about what works in the book *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention* by Sherman and his colleagues. It rules out many threats to internal validity, including history, maturation/trends, instrumentation, testing effects, and differential attrition. The main problems with it center on selection effects and regression to the mean (because of the nonequivalence of the experimental and control conditions).

Level 4: Measures of crime before and after the program in multiple experimental and control units, controlling for other variables that influence crime (e.g., “victimization of premises under CCTV surveillance decreased compared to victimization of control premises, after controlling for features of premises that influenced their victimization”).

This design has better statistical control of extraneous influences on the outcome and, hence, deals with selection and regression threats more adequately.

Level 5: Random assignment of program and control conditions to units (e.g., “victimization of premises randomly assigned to have CCTV surveillance decreased compared to victimization of control premises”).

Providing that a sufficiently large number of units are randomly assigned, those in the experimental condition will be equivalent (within the limits of statistical fluctuation) to those in the control condition on all possible extraneous variables that influence the outcome. Therefore, this design deals with selection and regression problems and has the highest possible internal validity.

A New Methodological Quality Scale

Although the SMS, like all other methodological quality scales, can be criticized, it has the virtue of simplicity. It can be improved, but at the cost of simplicity. It does seem useful to use some kind of index of methodological quality to communicate to scholars, policy makers, and practitioners that not all research is of the same quality and that more weight should be given to higher quality crime prevention evaluation studies. It also seems highly desirable for funding agencies, journal editors, scholarly associations, and/or the Campbell Collaboration to get together to agree on a measure of methodological quality that should be used in systematic reviews and meta-analyses in criminology. A similar measure should also be used in systematic reviews of studies of the causes of offending (see Murray, Farrington, & Eisner, 2009).

David Farrington's suggestion, put forward tentatively to stimulate discussions, is that a new

methodological quality scale might be developed based on five criteria:

1. Internal validity
2. Descriptive validity
3. Statistical conclusion validity
4. Construct validity
5. External validity

Farrington has placed the criteria in order of importance, at least as far as a systematic reviewer of impact evaluations is concerned. Internal validity—demonstrating that the intervention caused an effect on the outcome—is surely the most important feature of any evaluation research report. Descriptive validity is also important; without information about key features of research, it is hard to take account of the results in a systematic review. In contrast, information about the external validity of any single research project is the least important to a systematic reviewer, because the main aims of a systematic review and meta-analysis include establishing the external validity or generalizability of results over different conditions and investigating factors that explain heterogeneity in effect sizes among different evaluation studies.

Conclusion

It is important to develop methodological quality standards for crime prevention evaluation research that can be used by systematic reviewers, scholars, policy makers, the mass media, and the general public in assessing the validity of conclusions about the effectiveness of interventions in reducing crime. Hopefully, the development of these standards will help to upgrade the quality of evaluation research. All research should not be given equal weight, and criminal justice policy should be based on the best possible evidence. The main conclusion is that new methodological quality scales should be developed, based on statistical conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity, external validity, and descriptive validity.

David P. Farrington

See also Cost-Benefit Analysis and Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention Initiatives, International

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MINNEAPOLIS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE EXPERIMENT AND REPLICATION

Appropriate police response is a critical component of any attempt to control the problem of domestic violence. Historically, however, law enforcement agencies found the determination of what constituted an appropriate response to be somewhat challenging. As a result, clear, consistent policies regarding the handling of domestic violence calls were rare. Most police officers relied on their discretion and handled domestic calls on a case-by-case basis. The *Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment*, conducted by Lawrence Sherman and Richard Berk for the Police Foundation, provided evidence that clearly indicated that one approach (i.e., the arrest of the aggressive party) was most effective in reducing future involvement in domestic violence. Consequently, law enforcement agencies across the United States adopted policies mandating arrest in the event of a domestic incident. This entry describes the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and its results, discusses attempts to replicate the study, and examines its implications for long-term policy regarding law enforcement response to domestic violence.

The Study

Historical Background

In the late 1960s, some evidence was produced that suggested that a nonpunitive law enforcement approach to domestic violence involving the use of psychology might be more effective than traditional approaches in reducing additional violent incidents. However, by the late 1970s, both law enforcement and victim advocates began to question the effectiveness of this approach. Consequently, states began to pass legislation that allowed officers to arrest suspects in domestic violence calls, even when the officers themselves

had not witnessed the domestic violence or when no visible evidence was found that a felony had been committed. This movement was largely a response to the need to provide better protection for victims of domestic assault. Evaluation of this stronger approach to determine whether it did, in fact, better serve victims was the next logical step.

In 1980, the Police Foundation received funding from the National Institute of Justice to evaluate the deterrent effect of arrest in cases of domestic violence. Sherman and Berk obtained permission from the Minneapolis Police Department to conduct the study, which commenced in 1981.

Research Design

The study was conducted using classic experimental design. Eligible domestic violence calls occurring during the study period were randomly assigned to one of three police responses: (1) arrest, (2) separation of the parties for a period of 8 hours, or (3) advising in any way deemed appropriate by the officer. Random assignment occurred at the point in time in which the call was determined to be eligible. Eligible calls had the following characteristics: There was probable cause to arrest for misdemeanor domestic assault within the last 4 hours, the victim and offender were clearly defined, no valid order of protection was currently in force, the victim did not insist that the offender be arrested and was not seriously wounded, the officer was not assaulted, and there was no immediate risk of additional violence if an arrest was not made. Each officer was provided with a set of randomly assorted, color-coded report forms that determined the action to be taken in an eligible call. Ineligible calls were handled by officers according to their discretion.

The experiment began on March 17, 1981, and ended on August 1, 1982. During that time period, data were collected on 314 eligible domestic violence calls. The data suggested that the experiment was largely implemented as designed. An arrest was made in nearly all of the cases in which arrest was the assigned response (99%). The percentages were somewhat lower for the calls in which separation or advising was the assigned response, 73% and 78%, respectively.

After the initial encounter with the police, biweekly follow-up interviews were conducted with the victims for a period of 6 months. This portion of the experiment was less successful than the researchers would have liked. The completion rate for the initial interview was only 62%, and only 49% of the victims completed all 12 follow-up interviews. The interviews were supplemented with police reports of repeat domestic violence committed by the suspect during the 6-month follow-up period.

Findings

The results of the experiment were dramatic. Data from both police records and victim interviews indicated that arrest was the most effective option. In fact, arrest reduced the rate of subsequent assaults by nearly 50%. Moreover, arrest was the most effective police action regardless of the suspect's race, employment status, educational level, criminal history, or the length of confinement upon arrest. Furthermore, although there is strong evidence in favor of arrest in most domestic violence cases, the authors were careful to indicate that the evidence does not suggest that a mandatory arrest policy would necessarily be the best approach to the problem.

Results regarding the separation and advisement options were mixed. Official records suggested that separation was the worst option, whereas the interview data indicated that offenders who were advised were the most likely group to reoffend.

Limitations

Like all studies, the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment was limited in ways that may have had an impact on the ability of the researchers to draw valid conclusions. As mentioned, the study was not implemented exactly as designed in that not all of the calls were handled as specified in the color-coded report forms. Although arrest was carried out in nearly all of the cases in which it was required, compliance with the separation and advisement options was not complete. The researchers believed that the lesser compliance in the latter two options was caused by a lack of cooperation from the suspects, which led officers to fall back

on arrest as a last resort. They argued that using arrest as a fallback position should have made arrest *less* likely to be the most effective option, because more of the arrested suspects would have been uncooperative. The fact that arrest turned out to be the most effective police action is a testament to the power of this response.

It is also possible that officers did not follow the randomization system. That is, officers may have used their discretion to determine which of the three response options were most appropriate in a particular case and then pulled the report sheet that fit their decision. In such a case, random assignment would not have occurred, thereby undermining the ability of the researchers to compare the data from the three experimental groups. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the extent to which officers may have failed to follow the experimental process.

Another issue is the fact that most of the domestic calls in the study were handled by a relatively small number of officers. Three officers produced 28% of the cases, and 200 of the 314 cases were produced by only 12 officers. It is clear that not all officers in the Minneapolis Police Department were willing to participate in the study. However, the researchers believed that the lack of participation on the part of officers did not have a significant effect on the results produced by the study, because each officer's cases were randomly assigned to the treatment conditions. Consequently, lack of participation by any given officer would not have affected the random assignment and thus should not have had a significant impact on the results produced by the study.

The small size of the final sample for which interview data are available (fewer than 100 cases) is also a potential threat to the validity of the study. Often, a small sample size is an indication that the experimental groups are not as comparable as they should be. As a result, the findings may not hold true in the general population. However, the researchers pointed out that this limitation may not be as serious as it first seems. Although many victims either refused to complete the interviews or could not be located to do so, the proportion of victims in each group completing the interview process was approximately the same. This fact rules out the possibility that victims whose aggressors were arrested may have

been intimidated by the suspects into reporting less violence.

Replications of the Experiment

It is well known that the results of one study alone are not definitive proof that the hypotheses are correct. Therefore, it is good scientific practice for research to be replicated in other sites in order to determine whether the relationships found in the original research will also be supported in different places and under varying conditions. This is the process by which scientific knowledge is developed.

It is especially important to replicate studies when the results of the research may have a substantial impact on policy, as in the case of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment. Therefore, it is no surprise that the study was repeated in several sites. This section examines these additional studies, particularly those studies that were part of the Spouse Abuse Replication Project (SARP).

Nonexperimental Replications

The first attempts to replicate the results of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment involved reanalyzing the original data. As might be expected, these analyses consistently found a deterrent effect caused by arrest. However, the strength and nature of that relationship varied depending on the source of the data (victim vs. official records) and the length of time between arrest and the interview.

Studies also employed statistical analyses of police records in numerous jurisdictions in order to determine whether arrest resulted in a reduction of reported violence. These studies consistently found that arrest had a deterrent effect. However, some of these studies found that the deterrent effect might be more complex than suggested by the findings of the original study.

Spouse Abuse Replication Project

Research Design

SARP replicated the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment in five sites around the country: Charlotte, Dade County, Colorado Springs,

Milwaukee, and Omaha. All five studies involved a classic experimental design similar to that employed in the original study. However, the project leaders felt that the original design was flawed in ways that should be corrected in the replications. Consequently, the replications differed from the original study in the following ways:

1. Officers determined whether a case was eligible to be included in the experiment prior to receiving randomized instructions as to how to proceed. In the Minneapolis study, officers carried color-coded report forms that had been randomly mixed prior to their receipt by the officer. The replication researchers believed that completing the random assignment after the officer had determined the eligibility of the case would prevent officers from ignoring experimental protocols.
2. Victim interviews were conducted twice. The first interview occurred within a month of the incident, and the second was conducted at the end of 6 months. The original experiment attempted to interview victims by phone every 2 weeks during the study period. The leaders of the replication believed that the large number of interviews may have resulted in the low number of victims who actually completed the interview process.
3. The measures of repeated aggression on the part of the suspect were more sophisticated. The researchers in the replication recognized that domestic violence may be more complex than simply whether the suspect repeated the behavior. Consequently, several measures of aggression were employed.
4. Arrest was compared with seven different police interventions in recognition of the broad range of alternative actions police officers might take in any given situation.
5. A set of common measures about suspects, victims, treatments, and outcomes was employed to enhance uniformity across the experimental sites.

Across the six replication sites, data were collected on 4,032 incidents of domestic violence. Response rates were high across all sites. Nearly

63% of the victims completed both follow-up interviews.

Findings

Initial analyses of the SARP studies found mixed results. Only Dade County reported a deterrent effect associated with the arrest option, based on analyses of police records. Colorado Springs and Dade County found similar results in the victim interview data, but both sites had lower response rates than the other four locations. It is possible that the result might be a sampling artifact. Omaha, Charlotte, and Milwaukee found that although arrest seemed to deter offenders at first, over time arrest actually resulted in an escalation of the violence committed against the victim.

Three sites (Milwaukee, Colorado Springs, and Omaha) discovered that the effects of arrest may vary with the characteristics of the offender. Data in all three cities indicated that employment status is an important factor. Employed suspects were less likely to repeat the offense, whereas unemployed suspects became more violent. In addition, Milwaukee found similar results for marital status. Arrest was less successful when the suspect was unmarried. In fact, unemployed, unmarried suspects were the most likely group to escalate violence after arrest.

It is unclear why the findings from these studies differed so much from each other and from those reported in the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment. One potential explanation lies in differences in the demographic characteristics of the sites. It is true that the race of the suspects did vary a lot across the sites, although not consistently across the sites that did or did not find a deterrent effect. Other characteristics thought to be important were consistent across the sites, however, limiting the utility of this explanation.

Although the SARP project leaders strove for consistent implementation of the experiment, it is also possible that the protocols were not exactly the same across sites. For instance, only Milwaukee kept precise records regarding how long a suspect was held after arrest. Omaha relied on informal polls of officers to measure this variable. Other sites defined the term differently. Consequently, trying to compare conclusions about the effect of length of time in custody from each of the sites is

like trying to compare apples and oranges. This effect may be compounded when comparing the results with the Minneapolis study, which clearly employed different protocols. Some support for this explanation is found in a later analysis of the SARP data across all five sites, which used only those measures that were consistently defined across all locations. The analysis found that victim interviews indicated a reduction in aggression associated with arrest. However, the analysis could not find similar results in the official data. Although a reduction in aggression seemed to occur after arrest in the official data, the relationships were not statistically significant, leaving the question open for additional research.

It is also possible that the effect of specific police actions on future violent incidents is more site specific than generally expected. That is, it is possible that domestic violence is not only a more complex phenomenon than originally expected, but it may also vary across different social contexts. If so, the lack of consistency in the results would reflect true differences across the various locations rather than the limitations of the study designs. That would suggest that a national policy of arrest in domestic violence cases would not be wise.

Policy Implications

The effect of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment on law enforcement policy is somewhat unclear. Clearly, states were already moving toward the enactment of legislation, giving police more authority to make arrests in domestic violence cases prior to the experiment. Thus, it is impossible to say that the results of the study were the foundation of this movement. However, it is also clear that for many police departments, the experiment provided the evidence they required to adopt a proarrest policy. A 1984 poll of police departments found that more than a third of the respondents indicated that the published results of the study were instrumental in their decision to enact such a policy. Moreover, the 1984 Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence relied on the experiment in its recommendation that arrest be the preferred policy in these cases. Therefore, it is certain that the experiment played a significant role in the development of this policy across the nation.

Yet, it is also certain that what we learned from the study is not as clear as it originally seemed. The fact that replications of the study were not able to produce consistently the same results as the Minneapolis experiment is problematic. Furthermore, the finding in some sites that arrest might actually result in an escalation of the violence is troubling, particularly given the current situation in which pro-arrest policies have been adopted in virtually all law enforcement agencies around the country. Given the politically sensitive nature of this issue, it would be difficult, if not impossible, at this juncture to modify the policies in such a way as to encourage officers to tailor their approach to the specific situation without leaving victims feeling as if they were abandoned by law enforcement.

Perhaps the best lesson to be learned from the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and its replications is that a single study should not serve as a primary basis for policy decisions. In this instance, a perfect confluence of events—the right study results combined with the right political and social context—led to policy that may or may not be the best solution to the problem. The wisest course of action would have entailed waiting until the study had been replicated and the findings had been demonstrated to be supported consistently prior to making a policy decision.

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See also Abuse, Spouse; Deterrence; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Family Violence; Methodological Issues In Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention; Police and Victims

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MISSING, EXPLOITED, AND MURDERED CHILDREN

Children are society's weakest and most vulnerable group, and crimes perpetrated against them—such as kidnappings, sexual exploitation, and murder—evoke strong feelings in most of the public. Hence, a study of the serious and multifaceted problem of missing, exploited, and murdered children is vital for law enforcement, society at large, and the victims themselves.

Risk Factors

Victimology has become a large subsection of criminology, and many would say its own discipline. Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson, in their famous routine activities theory, stated that all that was needed for victimization to take place (and this is especially germane to many crimes against children) is an available target, a lack of a capable guardian, and the presence of a motivated offender. In many crimes against children, of course, this is the case. Adding to his original routine activities work, Cohen sought to establish a theoretical link between routine activities theory and both lifestyle and proximity theories. Cohen looked at the following five factors that he felt might explain victimization:

1. The exposure of victims to those who may offend against them.
2. The presence of a crime-preventing guardian.
3. The proximity between the residences of the potential victims and the potential offenders.
4. The “attractiveness” of targets.
5. The definitions of any given crime and the difficulty of that level of crime.

When looking at victimology and children, it is important to consider that child molestation is probably the most common crime against the person in the United States today, and 25% of girls and 10% of boys (it is estimated) will experience some kind of sexual abuse during their lifetime; in addition, girls are more likely to be abused from inside the family and boys are more likely to be abused from individuals outside the family.

Recent research has shown that most missing children are not the result of custodial disagreements resulting in kidnapping by parents. Rather, common causes are as follows, in order from most frequent to least frequent:

1. Runaways
2. Family abductions
3. Lost, injured or otherwise missing children
4. Nonfamily abductions (in these cases, the child is at greatest of injury or death)

One study developed a risk factor analysis for victimization in girls and presented the following as potential predictors:

1. Living with a stepfather
2. Living without a biological mother
3. Not close to mother
4. Mother never finished high school
5. Sex-punitive mother
6. No physical affection from (biological) father
7. Family income under U.S.\$10,000 (in 1980 dollars; U.S.\$26,000 in 2006 dollars)
8. Two friends or fewer in childhood

This study found that if a girl had none of the above predictors, her chance of victimization was virtually zero; if a girl had five of these predictors in her life, then the chance of victimization rose to 66%.

Scale, Nature, and Typology

To study the issue of missing, exploited, and murdered children, it is important to quantify its

nature and size. According to the Department of Justice statistics, 797,500 children under the age of 18 years were reported missing in a 1-year period; family members abducted 203,900 of these, non-family abductions accounted for 58,200, and 115 children were the victims of *stereotypical kidnapping*. The remaining missing children were due to benign reasons not related to a criminal act. Stereotypical kidnappings are defined as involving someone the child does not know or someone of slight acquaintance, who holds the child overnight, transports the child 50 miles or more, kills the child, demands ransom, or intends to keep the child permanently. One study found that cases of abducted and missing children being murdered were rare; approximately 40 to 150 such incidents occurred each year. This figure represents less than half a percent of all discovered murders carried out each year. A more disturbing finding was that 76.2% of those children not discovered safely within 3 hours of abduction had been murdered within that time.

The 76.2% figure is based on data garnered from nonfamily-abducted children; however, this figure is posited to be much lower in "family abduction" situations where the child is generally taken by another parent in situations of custodial disagreement. Family abduction can be severely psychologically damaging to the child abductee as he or she may be told by the familial kidnapper that the other parent no longer wants or cares for them. In addition, the child may be forced to live life as a fugitive never settling in a residence or school, thereby limiting the normal developmental and social skills to be achieved.

Child pornography, a form of sexual exploitation, is defined by Stephen T. Holmes and Ronald M. Holmes as underage children who have been used in various media to arouse those who chose to view them. Holmes and Holmes also discovered in their extensive research that when pedophiles are arrested and their belongings are inventoried, there is almost always some type of child pornography present. Children can become involved in the production of this material in a variety of ways. Sometimes parents are involved in "sporting clubs," which are groups of like-minded individuals who share indecent photographs or videos of their children among each other. Some of these victims engage in pornographic acts because they

are intimidated by authority figures such as a parent, teacher, or relative. LeRoy Schultz discovered another method to involve children in these acts; couples were taking "street kids," some as young as 6 months, into their home, ostensibly to care for them, and then forced these children either into child pornography or prostitution. Furthermore, the Illinois Legislative Investigative Committee in 1980 found a summer camp being used as a front for enticing children into child pornography.

Empirical Analysis

According to some studies, there may well be more than 30,000 children involved in the production of child pornography, and of those 30,000, as many as 10% (under the age of 14 years) were in the greater Los Angeles area. Some question the accuracy of many of these studies and want to approach the problem from a qualitative as opposed to a mainly quantitative issue of the problem. Holmes and Holmes report that many of these studies found some common characteristics in children who had become involved and victimized by the phenomenon of child pornography. These are as follows:

1. Involvement in childhood prostitution
2. Runaway
3. Product of a broken home
4. Typical age between 8 and 17 years
5. Underachiever in school or at home
6. No strong moral or religious affiliation
7. Poor social development
8. Parents physically or psychologically absent

In their more quantitative methodology in Kentucky, interviewing juveniles who had self-reported involvement in child pornography, Holmes and Holmes also discovered that less than 15% of the Kentucky victims had parents who were married and that about 20% reported some form of family discord, lack of a loving environment, and a remoteness from both parents and siblings (if any were present). All the children questioned used alcohol or drugs, and approximately 80% stated that they were runaways.

As repugnant as the loss, kidnapping, or sexual exploitation may be, surely another terror in the hearts of most parents is that of their child being the victim of a kidnap-homicide.

In the empirical analysis of Holmes and Holmes, the victimology involved in kidnap-homicide was broken into groups:

1. Females represented 69% of the victims, whereas males represented 31%.
2. By age, the highest at risk group was 12 to 14 years (38%). Half that figure, 19%, was made up of 0- to 5-year-olds.
3. Whites and blacks were overrepresented in victimization, whereas Hispanics were underrepresented.
4. Seventy-one percent of the perpetrators were strangers as opposed to "slight acquaintances."
5. In 86% of the cases, the perpetrator was male.
6. Only 11% of the identified perpetrators were more than 40 years of age as opposed to 57% being between 20 and 39 years of age.

Katherine Brown and her colleagues discovered females to be greatly overrepresented in child murder than in all murders (38%–74%) and males to be underrepresented in child murders than in all murders (26%–62%). They also found that, contrary to popular belief, children 6 years old and younger represented only 10% of all child murders. The idea of street kids being more vulnerable to such attacks was also debunked by this study as the friends of the victims described more than two thirds of them as "normal," 16.9% as "street-kids," and 13% as "runaways." Females represented 55% of all child murders as opposed to 38% of all murders (an overrepresentation); males represented 45% of all child murders and 62% of all murders.

According to the Department of Justice, many children had the misfortune to encounter a motivated offender randomly (i.e., stranger). In all, 50.5% were abducted in urban areas and 47.2% were incapacitated via direct physical assault. Strangulation was the leading cause of death in 33.2% of the cases; 23.9% were caused by blunt force trauma; and 23.3% by stabbing or cutting.

Initiatives

Among the most successful initiatives is the Child Abduction and Serial Murder Investigative Resource Center, which is run under the auspices of the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program through the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In addition, the number of states that use AMBER (America's Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response) Alerts is increasing. This program recovered 90 children in 2003 alone. In a 2004 Department of Justice press release, John Ashcroft stated, "When a young child is taken by the violent and predatory, we cannot stand idle. We demand accountability. We demand justice. . . . Today is the day to remember those who are gone, but whose imprint on our lives is still felt. It is a day to reflect on our calling as a free people to forge a nation that protects the lives of the most vulnerable."

Gavin Lee

See also Child Death Review Team; Homicide, Children and Youth; Kidnapping; Pedophilia

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AMBER Alert: <http://www.amberalert.gov>
Federal Bureau of Investigation. Investigative Programs

Critical Incident Response Groups. National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime: <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/isd/cirg/ncavc.htm>

International Centre for Missing & Exploited Children: <http://www.icmec.org>

National Center for Missing & Exploited Children: <http://www.missingkids.com>

U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov>

MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

Among the major crime types, auto theft is possibly the most ubiquitous. Motor vehicles are to be found just about anywhere, and as such, they are particularly interesting to crime prevention practitioners and researchers alike. Property crimes—such as those involving vehicles—are often overlooked in planning circles, despite their important impacts on the public perceptions of safety and levels of satisfaction with our respective justice systems.

Definitions

Auto theft is the common term in North America for the taking of a motor vehicle without consent. Subtle, but important, distinctions should be made when attempting to compare auto theft data internationally. Vehicle theft data for both Canada and the United States are similar in counting procedures. Canada, unlike the United States, includes in its motor vehicle theft counts the unauthorized taking of farm and construction equipment; instead, the United States counts these incidents as larcenies. More importantly, each vehicle that is stolen is counted once for both nations, with the exception of thefts from automobile dealerships, which, perhaps curiously, is counted once in the Canadian system. Estimates of the impact of these differences is less than 1%, with the Canadian numbers showing a slight undercounting relative to the U.S. data. England and Wales data are also comparable with their North American counterparts.

Motor vehicle thefts are broken into completed and attempted thefts. Victimization surveys in North America as well as in England and Wales include richer data about household experiences but

not about commercial motor vehicle theft. Such surveys also include a potentially larger set of “vehicles” that may not be captured in police data or in all countries. Vehicle-related thefts are counted separately from successful and attempted thefts of the vehicle itself. As a result, concerns regarding counting develop, as it is often hard to distinguish between a “theft from” and a “theft of” situation where the perpetrator was interrupted in the process of stealing the vehicle. In England and Wales, theft of a motor vehicle is broken into five categories under the heading “offences against vehicles.” The first is similar with the North American experience; this category includes theft and attempted theft, but it requires that the theft be of a permanent nature. Stealing a vehicle for resale or use of parts would be common examples. These forms of theft are more often linked to more or less organized crime groups. This category is the least likely to be recovered, as the vehicles tend to be modified quickly, “parted-out,” and sold. Vehicle theft “rings” often distort or falsify vehicle identification numbers to evade notice or recovery. In some cases, stolen vehicles are moved one or more jurisdictions or even countries to facilitate reuse. The second form involves the unauthorized taking of a vehicle for temporary use or enjoyment (such as “joy riding”). Such vehicles are typically recovered within a short period of time and with few suspects, but those that are known to police tend to be younger males. Aggravated vehicle taking involves dangerous driving or is involved in an accident. The final two forms cover thefts, successful or otherwise, of vehicle contents, and interfering with a motor vehicle, which often includes attempted thefts where intent is not clear regarding permanency.

Trends

National data collected by police and findings from the 2004–2005 International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) show declining rates for auto thefts in the United States, England and Wales, Australia, and Canada. These reductions also follow increases of incidents known to the police in the 1960s and 1970s for both North America and England and Wales. Improvements have been made to physical security, such as installation of more sophisticated door and window locks as well as alarm systems. Researchers have noted, however, that despite a

doubling of officially recorded offenses, the general consensus is that better counting and record-keeping procedures on behalf of police and increased willingness of citizens to report victimization experiences account for much of the swing in Uniform Crime Reporting Program rates. It should be noted, however, that despite recent discussions of changing/upgrading licensing and registration protocols, it is not yet clear what empirical benefits might be expected—if any—over current practices.

Like burglary, auto theft is trending downward per capita in police statistics and reported victimization, although as several researchers point out, the costs to its victims remain significant, especially as auto thefts have an inherent risk of accidents occurring during the aftermath of the offense. The 2004–2005 ICVS data suggest that for the 30 reporting nations, approximately 1% of respondents experienced auto theft. Researchers cite improved general advancements in protecting the envelope of vehicles and to better electronic immobilization technologies as the main reasons that these offenses are occurring less frequently than in the past, as these improvements have the greatest impact on crimes of opportunity. Nevertheless, it seems that thieves are adapting to less easily exploitable door locks and immobilizers. Some thieves are using keys obtained fraudulently from car dealers, by finding extra copies of keys inside the home or garage, or even in the car itself. Between 1998 and 2001, for example, the use of keys in England and Wales rose from 7% to 12% of all car thefts, showing that even new vehicles and those fortified with immobilization devices and technology remain vulnerable.

Young males are more likely to steal cars than older males or girls or women of any age. Sophisticated and/or highly skilled vehicle thieves still operate and are thought to be more representative of the “professional,” for-economic-profit, criminal who sends the vehicle to a “chop-shop” where it will be stripped for parts or modified to avoid discovery. In addition to black market demand, more organized thieves target vehicles to assist in the commission of other offenses such as burglaries.

Spatio-Temporal Clustering

Long-term parking facilities, such as parking lots near major commuter transit stations, for example,

serve as attractors for vehicle crime. Targets are plentiful, and car owners are unlikely to return for many hours. Thefts in this setting happen during the day, whereas in residential areas, they tend to occur during the night. Vehicles parked near bars or nightclubs, or at sports venues, are plentiful, easy to assess for target suitability, and often provide enough time to assess likely risks of being caught if an attempt is made.

J. Bryan Kinney

See also British Crime Survey (BCS); Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Victimization Surveys

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is a developmental process. Although exceptions exist, most high-rate juvenile and adult offenders initially manifest conduct problems early in life that are recognized by parents, teachers, and peers. These youngsters experience the early onset of delinquent activities and of serious criminal offenses. They are disproportionately at risk of being incarcerated in a juvenile facility or adult correctional institution.

This recognition that the origins of crime extend to childhood and early adolescence has important policy implications. Until recently, treatment programs have largely targeted older juveniles and adults already in the criminal justice system. Findings revealing the childhood roots of crime, however, challenge this exclusive focus on those who already have embarked on a criminal career. Instead, the logic of life-course criminology suggests that at-risk youths can be identified and reformed starting in childhood and early adolescence, with care extending as the youth ages.

Unfortunately, most serious juvenile offenders do not receive meaningful treatment services until they reach the justice system. This gap in the delivery of services to at-risk youngsters has led to a call for the expansion of early intervention programs. Opinion polls show that the public strongly supports such attempts at “child saving.” The more pressing challenge is what programs might be implemented that can intervene with youths who are destined to be entrapped in a life of crime.

Developed in the late 1970s by Scott Henggeler, multisystemic therapy—commonly known by the acronym of MST—is one of the most important early intervention programs that has emerged to address this problem. It is estimated that MST programs serve approximately 10,000 youths annually and can be found in more than 30 states and 11 nations. These programs have been evaluated rigorously, and their effectiveness has been assessed. MST promises to be an important early intervention program aimed at high-risk adolescents for the foreseeable future. The target population includes persistent, violent, or substance-abusing juveniles between the ages 12 and 17 years and their families.

This entry first discusses why MST represented a new paradigm or way of thinking about intervening with at-risk youths. It then explores in

MULTISYSTEMIC THERAPY

Since the late 1980s, scholars have increasingly documented that becoming a predatory offender

more detail what the MST intervention involves. The issues of the effectiveness of MST in reducing wayward behavior and cost-effectiveness as a public policy are also examined. The discussion ends by considering the future of MST.

A New Paradigm

The traditional psychotherapeutic model required troubled youths, and perhaps their parents, to come weekly to an office for an individual session lasting an hour. The length of treatment was open ended and could last months, if not years, on end. Recalcitrant youngsters were candidates for placement in a residential facility. This approach often proved costly, was ineffective in reducing antisocial conduct, and often failed to reach inner-city youths.

Scott Henggeler was part of a community psychology movement that eschewed this individualistic, more psychodynamic approach to counseling wayward adolescents. Instead, he embraced the social-ecological model, which portrays the reciprocal exchange between the individual and familial and community contexts. More concretely, youths not only have individual traits and reside in particular families, but also they are affected by other social systems: peers, schools, and community. In short, they live in multiple systems.

Empirical research has demonstrated that along with individual traits, each of these systems can expose a child or adolescent to criminogenic risk factors that increase the likelihood of law-breaking conduct. For example, a family risk factor might include ineffective parental discipline, a peer risk factor might involve contact with antisocial friends, and a school risk factor might be low achievement. For each troubled youth, the particular set of risk factors underlying his or her misconduct is likely to be unique. The intervention, thus, must be aware of this fact and be flexible enough to address risk factors drawn from different social domains.

Informed by the social-ecological model, MST offered just such an innovative therapeutic paradigm. Again, it is sensitive to the reality that troubled youths are situated in multiple systems that, to a greater or lesser extent, may contribute to their offending. The specifics of this intervention are conveyed in the next section.

The MST Intervention

As Henggeler noted, MST is a holistic intervention that targets the variety of factors that are related to the causes of problem behavior. MST staff members are not office based but deliver services in home or in community settings (e.g., school). Each clinician has a small caseload that is limited to about five families, each of which receives 2 to 15 hours of intervention each week. Recognizing the uncertain timing of crises, clinicians are available 24 hours, 7 days a week. The MST intervention is intended to be intense but also time-limited (about 4 to 6 months), which is a factor that contributes to its cost-effectiveness.

Staff members are given a 5-day orientation regarding MST's treatment model. To ensure quality-of-service delivery thereafter, they receive supervisory visits at least once a week. A special MST expert also consults with the treatment team and provides booster training.

When initiating the intervention, the MST clinician and supervisor take the responsibility to engage or "hook" the youth and family in the treatment. An important task is to diagnose the risk factors or problematic relations that are contributing to the youngster's misbehavior. This might involve persistent conflict with parents, drinking with friends, and truancy. The intervention attempts to build on individual (e.g., high IQ) and system (e.g., a supportive teacher or coach) strengths in a positive way. Services are individualized to meet the unique needs of each troubled youngster. The specific interventions used by clinicians are adapted from empirically supported treatment modalities, such as strategic family therapy, structural family therapy, behavioral parent training, and cognitive behavioral therapies. More broadly, in the *Blueprints for Violence Prevention* series, Henggeler presents the following nine central principles of MST:

1. The primary purpose of assessment is to understand the fit between the identified problems and their broader systemic context.
2. Therapeutic contacts emphasize the positive and use systemic strengths as levers for change.
3. Interventions are designed to promote responsible behavior and to decrease irresponsible behavior among family members.

4. Interventions are present focused and action oriented, targeting specific and well-defined problems.
5. Interventions target sequences of behavior within and between multiple systems that maintain identified problems.
6. Interventions are developmentally appropriate and fit the developmental needs of youth.
7. Interventions are designed to require daily or weekly effort by family members.
8. Intervention effectiveness is evaluated continuously from multiple perspectives, with providers assuming accountability for overcoming barriers to successful outcomes.
9. Interventions are designed to promote treatment generalization and long-term maintenance of therapeutic change by empowering caregivers to address the needs of family members across multiple system contexts.

Effectiveness

Although questions have been raised about the quality of the evidence favorable to MST, a mounting body of evaluation studies exists that suggest that MST may be an effective intervention for a multitude of problem and criminal behaviors. In a meta-analysis of 11 studies conducted by Nicola Curtis, Kevin Rolan, and Charles Borduin, MST was found to reduce criminal behaviors significantly with an average effect size of 0.50. Specifically, MST was associated with a reduction in the number of arrests for all crimes, number of arrests for substance abuse crimes, seriousness of arrests, number of days incarcerated, and self-reported delinquency and drug use.

Studies using randomized experimental designs also provide much support for the effectiveness of MST with serious juvenile offenders. When comparing juvenile offenders placed in MST versus individual therapy, Borduin and his colleagues found that MST was more effective in reducing rearrests than individual therapy. Specifically, 71.4% of the individual therapy youths were rearrested within 4 years, whereas only 26.1% of the MST youths were rearrested.

Not only is MST an effective intervention with serious juvenile offenders, but it is also effective

with juvenile sex offenders. Compared with individual therapy, MST is more effective in reducing rearrests for both nonsexual and sexual offenses. Concerning nonsexual offenses, 25% of the youths treated with MST were rearrested within 3 years, whereas 50% of the youths treated with individual therapy were rearrested. Examining sexual offenses, 12.5% of the MST group was rearrested compared with 75% of the individual therapy group.

Evidence also exists that MST is cost effective. This is an important policy consideration because of the need to show a return of the investment made by the public in an intervention. The cost-effectiveness of MST extends from its demonstrated ability to use a time-limited, community-based intervention to reduce crime among serious offenders who otherwise would have received services for a much longer period or been incarcerated in a residential facility. Henggeler found, for example, that whereas the cost of "usual services" was \$17,769, the cost for MST per offender was \$3,500. More recent studies have shown similar cost savings.

Future Challenges

MST has emerged as an important early intervention program for adolescents at risk of criminal careers. Much of its credibility derives from its fidelity to evidence-based practices. The intervention targets for change empirically established risk factors for crime; MST clinicians use evidence-based intervention treatments; and from its inception, the programs based on MST principles have been subjected to rigorous evaluation by Henggeler and his colleagues.

The special challenge for MST is whether the program can be disseminated widely and still maintain its effectiveness. Evidence exists that when the principles of MST are adhered to closely, the resulting interventions are successful in reducing serious offending and in improving the lives of children and their families. However, the reverse is true as well: Failure to follow MST principles produces ineffective programs. Still, MST has procedures in place to license interventions and to increase the possibility that program integrity will be sustained. If this strategy proves meaningful, MST could serve as a significant

crime prevention resource in communities into the foreseeable future.

Cheryl Lero Jonson and Francis T. Cullen

See also Family Nurturing Programs; Family Therapy; Youth Violence, Interventions for

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Web Sites

MST Services: <http://msts services.com>

MUNCHAUSEN SYNDROME BY PROXY

It is estimated that about 6 million cases of child abuse or neglect occurred in 2006. Although this number is high, many additional incidents of child abuse and neglect go undetected and some forms of abuse are masked by what seem to be common ailments. One such type of child abuse is Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy (MSBP). MSBP is a form of abuse that occurs when a caregiver fabricates or induces an illness in the person being cared for, typically a dependent child. MSBP was first noted in a medical journal, *The Lancet*, in 1977. In this article, Roy Meadow, a pediatrician in the United Kingdom, detailed two case histories of MSBP. The term *Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy* stems from historical accounts of German mercenary officer Baron Karl von Munchausen (1720–1797). He was infamous for telling false stories about his adventures and conquests throughout Europe. Since MSBP is the fabrication of an illness, Munchausen’s name was attached to the behavior.

MSBP is not only difficult to detect, it is equally as puzzling to understand. MSBP may be perpetrated by men or women; however, offenders are most often females in a caregiver role, typically the mother. However, she may be an aunt, au pair, babysitter, or foster parent. Victims are usually the child of the offender, but any child for whom the abuser cares for can fall prey to MSBP. Illnesses that are commonly fabricated include sleep apnea, personality changes, vomiting, seizures, diarrhea, and unconsciousness. MSBP manifests itself through the simulation or production of symptoms, or a combination of both. Simulation of symptoms, a quarter of all cases, involves fabrication about the illness by either the caregiver (particularly for young victims who cannot talk or articulate the problem) or the victim (who may have been coerced into lying). The production of symptoms, about half of all cases, involves purposeful infliction of harm to the victim by the offender. The child may be physically beaten, suffocated, orally poisoned, have his or her blood injected with toxins or medications, or have necessary medications withheld to worsen an already existing medical

problem. In older children, the production of symptoms may result from somatization (i.e., the psychological onset of an illness or physical disturbance). Victims may be taught by the offender to reproduce ailments on demand. About 25% of all cases involve both simulation and production of symptoms.

In cases of MSBP, the caregiver seeks medical attention for the victim's "illness." Victims are often taken to the hospital, and the offender may tell the physician or attending medical personnel that there is no known cause for the child's symptoms. Ensuing physical examinations may yield no visible signs of sickness, results from medical tests and X-rays may be normal, and patients may not respond to medicines or surgeries. Victims who do not respond to a battery of tests may be hospitalized for continued observation. If the physical abuse and production of symptoms has not occurred before the victim was admitted to the hospital because it was feigned, it will likely begin once the victim is admitted so that medical attention and care will continue and the MSBP offender can maintain control over the situation and victim.

Offenders

Offenders are likely to be seemingly normal and attentive parents. They are often well educated, possibly having attained some medical knowledge either formally through school or being self-taught, and may be fluent in medical terminology. Offenders are often knowledgeable about medical procedures and feel comfortable in a medical setting. They may offer advice or suggestions to the physicians and nurses who are trying to determine the type and cause of the child's illness. They will likely welcome or suggest medical tests that may be painful to the child.

Part of the lure for offenders committing MSBP is the attention and sympathy they receive because their child is sick or the recognition and praise from others, including medical staff, for being an attentive and doting mother who cares for the child. Most MSBP occurs as a result of psychological motivations. They assume the role of a sick person through the dependent child, and this fills a psychological need that varies by offender. Many offenders suffer from psychological problems such as low self-esteem or simply loneliness, and they

may thrive on the "martyr" role and attention they receive from the abuse. Perpetrators may meet a need for dependency or symbiosis by victimizing the dependent child. Other possible reasons for the abuse include the perceived need for control over the victim and an outward manifestation of their inability to care appropriately for the child.

The nonoffending parent, often the father, usually has little involvement in the child or family's life. This lack of attention and care toward the mother and children may allow the abuse to occur and may be causally related in some cases. For instance, the offender may commit MSBP to garner the attention they desire from the noninvolved party.

Psychological Factors

Being an MSBP offender does not by definition constitute mental illness, nor is MSBP caused by mental illness because offenders are not psychotic or dissociative from reality when abusing their victims. However, perpetrators may suffer from psychological disorders such as depression, compulsive lying, and/or borderline, narcissistic, histrionic, or avoidant personality disorders. These disorders may contribute to the abuse because they affect normal coping mechanisms. The term used by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* for MSBP is Factitious Disorder by Proxy. *DSM-IV* does not classify MSBP as a mental illness. However, it is listed in the manual's appendix as a category requiring more study. The following *DSM-IV* criteria must be met for a diagnosis of MSBP: intentional production or feigning of physical or psychological distress in an individual under the care of the offender, the motivation of the offender is to assume the sick role by proxy, no external incentives exist, and no other disorder better explains the behavior.

Munchausen syndrome, a disorder related to MSBP, occurs when individuals fabricate or induce an illness affecting not another person but themselves. Similar to MSBP, those presenting with Munchausen syndrome desire the attention and sympathy that accompanies treatment for an illness. Munchausen syndrome is considered a mental illness, whereas MSBP is a medical diagnosis. MSBP occurs "by proxy," and offenders do not typically

suffer from Munchausen syndrome. Instead, they project the behavior onto their victims. In doing so, they indirectly assume the role of a sick individual who is purportedly in need of treatment.

Victims and the Effects of MSBP

The victims of MSBP can be either male or female. Age of onset for abuse typically begins shortly after the first birthday, and most victims are younger than 6 years old. Siblings of MSBP victims are at increased risk for abuse because many offenders abuse more than one of their children. As many as 25% of MSBP cases involve more than one victim in the family.

Child victims of MSBP are often prevented by the abuser from engaging in normal contact with people outside the family. Their education may be interrupted because of repeated visits to doctors' offices and hospitals, which can also limit interaction with others. The abuser may often speak for the child or limit the child's relations with peers. Because of the control offenders have over their victims, victims of MSBP may feel more comfortable talking with outsiders (e.g., medical personnel, police, and case workers) when the offender is not around.

Victims of MSBP may suffer physical and psychological damage resulting from the abuse. Psychological manifestations of abuse can appear in the victim such as posttraumatic stress disorder, irritability, aggressiveness, withdrawal, dependency, and depression. Victims may have nightmares, they may be fearful, or their sleep cycles may be disrupted. The victims may learn to accept the illness and symptoms as real, through conditioning, and may learn the art of manipulation themselves. Developmental delays such as immaturity and separation anxiety may also occur. Additionally, children who suffer from any child abuse, not only MSBP, are at increased risk for engaging in violent behavior later in life.

Tragically, victims may even be killed by their abuser. Studies report that the mortality rate for MSBP victims ranges from 9% to about 30%. This wide range shows the difficulty in properly identifying victims of MSBP. The death of a victim may not directly result from homicide, but it may be the result of numerous unnecessary medical procedures having been performed in attempts to pinpoint a cause of the mysterious symptoms. Cases of MSBP

may also be misdiagnosed as sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS). In cases of SIDS, children suddenly die without sufficient explanation, even after a thorough investigation and autopsy, as to why the death occurred.

Identification and Prosecution of MSBP

MSBP is not, in and of itself, a violation of the law. However, in the course of MSBP, many offenders commit acts that are consistent with child abuse. Therefore, investigations into MSBP cases must be handled as a criminal investigation. Suspicion should be heightened if any symptoms that the victim presents upon admission to the hospital disappear or lessen once the caregiver has left the child, or if offenders resist separation from the child. Victims are often unresponsive to treatment or may improve drastically once released from the hospital or removed from the care of the offender. The victim may feel better when the offender is not around—what is known as a positive separation test.

MSBP can go undetected simply because it is difficult to imagine that a mother would place her child in danger. Identification and prosecution of MSBP often requires input from various agencies. This input may include medical personnel, law enforcement and attorneys, child protective services, and social services. Physicians may be the most qualified persons to make a diagnosis of MSBP because they have direct access to the medical records of victims and will have interacted with the caregiver directly when trying to determine the cause of illness. However, the field of medicine typically relies on self-report or parental input to assist in determining the cause of the illness and other medical history.

Such a diagnosis is not obligatory before an arrest can be made. However, sufficient evidence must be gathered before the suspect can be formally charged and arrested. Law enforcement officials must make an evidence-based judgment using profiling techniques and taking into account the suspect's personality and history (including any history of having a similar illness as the child), as well as the physical evidence to support an arrest. Investigators should determine whether there is a history of other children having died while under the care of the suspect. Once sufficient evidence is gathered, MSBP offenders may be charged with

child endangerment, child abuse, child neglect, or homicide if the victim dies as a result of the abuse.

Treatment for Offenders and Victims

MSBP offenders can be resistant to psychotherapy treatment. They frequently deny that they are responsible for any ill-will or abuse toward their victim. However, it has been documented that some perpetrators who were confronted by medical personnel have stopped the abuse. To treat victims effectively, psychologists need to determine baseline measures of emotional and psychological functioning, cognitive ability, and other developmental abilities. Victims need to learn to develop trust and deal with any emotions stemming from the abuse such as anxiety. Also, the self-image of victims may be fractured. They may continue to see themselves as the “sick” child who is in need of attention and medical care. Play therapy among young victims seems promising. If children are removed from the home and placed either with another family member or in child protective services, such as foster care, any visitation should be strictly supervised to prevent additional abuse by the offender.

Eileen Ahlin

See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment; Family Violence; Infanticide

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MUTUAL BATTERY

Mutual battery is a term that is used to describe intimate partners who both use violence against each other. It is a controversial term that disguises many of the complexities of intimate partner violence. *Mutual* implies two equal individuals who inflict the same level and form of injury for the same reasons. *Battery* is a legal term that describes physical assault. Research on intimate partner violence suggests the limitations of each of these terms and of *mutual battery* for understanding and developing effective interventions for intimate partner violence.

Research Findings and Controversies

Much of our knowledge of intimate partner violence is derived from general social surveys. With some variation, these surveys rely on measurement tools, primarily the Conflict Tactics Scale and Conflict Tactics Scale 2, which ask people to report how often they have been victims or perpetrators of violence in their intimate relationships. Across a range of studies, men and women report about equal levels of violence perpetration in their relationships. However, these surveys do not provide data on the context of, and reasons for, violence. Qualitative studies that rely on interviews with victims and perpetrators drawn from agency and clinical samples suggest that the dynamics of intimate partner violence vary depending on the context and motivation for violence. These studies also find that mutual battery is rare and that men are far more likely to engage in intimate partner violence that is part of a pattern of coercive control. Michael Johnson developed a typology of intimate partner violence that addresses the differences in findings between quantitative general surveys and qualitative, nonrandom studies. Johnson argues that the gender symmetry revealed in general surveys describes “situational couple violence.” In this form of intimate partner violence, both members of a couple use violence as a response to a specific conflict. It may be a serious level of violence, but it is not part of a larger pattern of abuse. On the other hand, he describes the primarily male perpetrated violence described in qualitative studies as “intimate terrorism.” This

violence is motivated by a desire to control a partner coercively and is only one strategy in a pattern of abusive behaviors that also includes emotional, verbal, economic, and sexual abuse. Situational couple violence is often termed “mutual battery.” Intimate terrorism may also be mutual, with both partners engaging in violence and coercive control, or what Johnson refers to as “mutual violent control.” However, this form of intimate partner violence is unusual and has not been studied in any depth. The term *mutual battery* does not encourage the kind of nuanced understanding of intimate partner violence that has developed in research and scholarship since the 1990s.

Implications for Policy and Treatment

The institution of mandatory and presumptive arrest policies for intimate partner violence has led to increases in dual arrests of both partners. Law enforcement officers who respond to a domestic violence call rarely have access to the history and context of violence. When there is evidence of violence by both parties, it is therefore common for both people to be arrested. Some jurisdictions have instituted primary or principle aggressor language to guide officers in situations where both parties have been violent. These guidelines, however, do not eliminate the difficulties of determining the nature of the abuse and the potential risks to each partner. Criminal law is not designed to regulate the dynamics of intimate relationships but to protect citizens from criminal acts. Most actions that distinguish mutual battery, situational couple violence, and intimate terrorism are not criminal offenses and are not visible to responding officers. These actions include isolating a victim from family and friends, controlling personal decisions and movements, using threatening looks, and denigrating value of a partner, among other techniques of coercive control. The presence of violent actions by both parties may lead to legal decisions that categorize a situation as mutual battery when in fact one partner is perpetrating intimate terrorism and the other is responding with defensive violence.

Most jurisdictions now offer diversion of misdemeanor domestic violence offenses to batterer intervention programs. These programs were developed for male offenders, and many concentrate on issues of power and control. Women who are arrested for engaging in situational couple

violence or defensive violence often do not receive appropriate treatment in these groups.

In the civil realm, the presence of domestic violence is one factor that is considered in evaluations of the best interests of children in marital dissolutions. Many states have rebuttable presumption statutes that presume it is not in the best interests of a child to be placed in sole or joint custody with a parent who has perpetrated domestic violence. Claims of mutual battery have become increasingly common in family courts. Judges and family evaluators thus must carefully consider the context of these claims and determine whether violence between parents was truly mutual or was some variation of intimate terrorism, situational couple violence, or violent resistance to abuse. Since nearly half of separating and divorcing couples report abuse in their relationships, determination of the nature and type of abuse and its potential ongoing harm to victims and to children is both complex and essential. The National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, Family Violence Department, sponsors ongoing training and support on evaluating claims of mutual battery in child custody cases.

Continued research on intimate partner violence is needed that attends to the variations that differentiate mutual battery from other forms of violence and abuse in relationships.

Kathleen J. Ferraro

See also Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Risk Assessment; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of; Male Victims of Partner Violence; Women's Use of Aggression

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For information:



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2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320
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1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
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Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
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SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of victimology and crime prevention/edited by Bonnie S. Fisher, Steven P. Lab.
v. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4129-6047-2 (cloth)

1. Victims of crimes—United States—Encyclopedias. 2. Crime prevention—United States—Encyclopedias. 3. Victims of crimes—Encyclopedias. 4. Crime prevention—Encyclopedias. I. Fisher, Bonnie, 1959- II. Lab, Steven P.

HV6250.3.U5E55 2010

362.880973'03—dc22

2009031780

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

10 11 12 13 14 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

<i>Publisher:</i>	Rolf A. Janke
<i>Assistant to the Publisher:</i>	Michele Thompson
<i>Acquisitions Editor:</i>	Jim Brace-Thompson
<i>Developmental Editor:</i>	Carole Maurer
<i>Reference Systems Manager:</i>	Leticia Gutierrez
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<i>Production Editor:</i>	Tracy Buyan
<i>Copy Editors:</i>	Jamie Robinson, Sheree Van Vreede
<i>Typesetter:</i>	C&M Digitals (P) Ltd.
<i>Proofreaders:</i>	Rae-Ann Goodwin, Sandy Zilka Livingston
<i>Indexer:</i>	Mary Fran Prottzman
<i>Cover Designer:</i>	Gail Buschman
<i>Marketing Manager:</i>	Amberlyn McKay

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NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY (NCVS)

Since the early 1970s, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and its predecessor the National Crime Survey (NCS) have provided detailed information about the nature and extent of personal and property victimization in the United States. Much of our current understanding about crime, including but not limited to the extent of reporting to police, how predictors of victimization differ across victim populations, the proportion of crime involving weapons, and the types of injuries sustained in violent crimes comes from analysis of the NCS and NCVS. Throughout its rich history, data and findings from the NCVS have educated the public, guided policy makers, and have informed researchers across a wide variety of disciplines.

The NCVS serves as a model for victimization surveys implemented throughout the world because it incorporates many innovative methodological protocols that enhance its ability to produce reliable estimates of the nature and extent of criminal victimization. These methodological techniques combined with the large sample size and the extensive details collected by the survey on crime events are reasons that many view the NCVS as the most complete and systematic survey of victims in the United States.

This description of the NCVS proceeds in the following fashion. First, an overview of the NCVS is described. Next, details about the complex

methodology of the survey are presented. This includes information regarding eligible sample units, the three basic survey instruments, how crimes are identified, and series victimizations. Finally, this entry concludes with an outline of the advantages and disadvantages of the NCVS.

Brief History

The survey originally named the National Crime Survey was first fielded in 1972. The survey was designed to serve several purposes. First, the NCS served as a benchmark for the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics on crime reported to police. The NCS gathered data on violent crimes, including rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Data on the nonviolent personal crimes of purse snatching and pocket picking were also collected. And finally, information on property crimes, including motor vehicle theft, burglary, and property theft, was obtained. A second purpose of the survey was to measure the “the dark figure of unreported crime.” That is, crime that does not come to the attention of police. And a third purpose of the NCS was to collect detailed information on characteristics of crime not available in the UCR Program.

The survey functioned well, although it was quickly clear that there was room for improvement. Therefore, beginning in 1979, a thorough redesign of the NCS was started with the purpose of improving the ability of the survey to measure victimization in general, as well as other difficult-to-measure

crimes, such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. The post-redesign survey measured the identical set of crimes but now included data on sexual assault. In addition, the redesigned survey paid more attention to the victim and offender relationship. The redesign was fielded in 1992 using a split sample design. The first full year of NCVS data based on the redesign was available in 1993. It is at this time that the NCS became known as the NCVS.

Methodology

The NCVS is collected using a stratified, multi-stage, cluster sample, with a rotating panel design of households. Because the NCVS sample is composed of addresses, the composition of some of the households changes through relocation, marriage, divorce, death, and/or changes in roommates. Regardless of individual-level changes in household composition, all persons living in the sampled household who are age 12 years or older are interviewed at each of the seven enumerations. A sample household stays in the NCVS sample for 3 years and is interviewed a total of seven times at 6-month intervals. After enumeration 7, a new sample household is rotated into the sample. Based on this design, each household and person in the NCVS is treated independently and is not linked across interviews. As a result, trend analysis must take into account the correlation between enumerations when calculating variances and other statistics.

Survey Instrumentation

The NCVS does not depend on a simple question format to allow the respondent to determine whether he or she were victimized (e.g., “Have you been a victim of a crime?”). Nor does it rely on the field representative’s view as to whether a crime, or what type of crime, was committed. Rather, the NCVS uses a multistage instrument process to determine whether a crime occurred and, if so, what type of crime. This process involves the use of three basic survey instruments: the Control Card (NCVS 500), the Basic Screen Questionnaire (NCVS 1), and the Incident Report (NCVS 2).

Control Card

The Control Card is the basic administrative record for each sample unit. It contains the address

of each sample unit and the basic household data, such as the names of all persons living there, as well as their age, race, sex, marital status, education, and so on. Household income, tenure of the unit, and pertinent information about noninterviews are also included on the Control Card. The Control Card serves as a record of visits, telephone calls, interviews, and noninterview reasons. The Control Card information is updated as needed during each enumeration.

The Basic Screen Questionnaire

The Basic Screen Questionnaire is used to determine—or screen—whether any crimes were committed against the household or against an individual household member during the 6-month reference period. Respondents are prompted to report an incident “even if they do not believe it was a crime.” One example of an NCVS 1 screening question follows:

I’m going to read some examples that will give you an idea of the kinds of crime this study covers.

As I go through them, tell me if any of these happened to you in the last six months, that is since (fill in date).

Was something belonging to YOU stolen, such as

- (a) Things that you carry, like luggage, a wallet, purse, briefcase, book
- (b) Clothing, jewelry, or calculator
- (c) Bicycle or sports equipment
- (d) Things in your home—like a TV, stereo, or tools
- (e) Things outside your home such as a garden hose or lawn furniture
- (f) Things belonging to children in the household
- (g) Things from a vehicle such as a package, groceries, camera, or cassette tapes

OR

- (h) Did anyone ATTEMPT to steal anything belonging to you?

If a respondent answers “yes” to any screener question on the NCVS 1 instrument, an Incident Report (NCVS 2) is completed.

The Incident Report

One incident report is completed for each incident revealed during the screening process. The incident report gathers detailed information on every aspect of the victimization, which includes (but is not limited to) whether there were bystanders, resistance used by the victim, if the victim is insured, time of incident, number of offenders, and location of incident. Although all details of an incident are important, certain incident characteristics are especially significant in the NCVS because they are used to ascertain if, and what type of, crime occurred. These incident details include the following:

- Whether the victim was attacked
- Whether the victim was injured
- The severity of any injuries
- Whether a weapon was present
- Length of any hospital stays
- Whether property was stolen

After the data are collected, they are sent to the Census Bureau (the collector of the data), where a computer program evaluates these specific incident characteristics and determines whether a crime occurred. Furthermore, if a crime occurred, the protocol then classifies the victimization into the appropriate type of crime category. The classification scheme is hierarchical, meaning that an incident is classified into the most serious crime category in which it fits. The crime hierarchy order used in the NCVS is as follows:

- Rape/sexual assault
- Robbery
- Aggravated assault
- Simple assault
- Personal larceny
- Burglary
- Motor vehicle theft
- Property theft

In some instances, a respondent cannot provide the details of each incident. For example, an individual may have been assaulted repeatedly by her spouse

(e.g., about 45 times) during the preceding 6-month reference period. Or a student may be beaten up and harassed by the school bully daily during the reference period. NCVS methodology requires an Incident Report be filled for *each of these events*. However, it is often the case in repeat victimization situations like these that the respondent cannot provide the details of every incident. And without these details, the determination of a crime or the type of crime is impossible. For circumstances like this, a “series victimization protocol” is used. In cases in which there are six or more incidents of a similar nature in which the respondent cannot provide details of each, details of only the most recent incident in the series of incidents is recorded in the Incident Report. This incident is recorded as “series victimization.”

Periodically, additional information on crime-related topics is collected by the NCVS. These supplements are conducted for many different purposes and are often sponsored by other federal agencies. Usually supplements are administered to targeted subsamples of the NCVS sample. Supplements fielded since 1992 include the School Crime Supplement, the Police Public Contact Survey, the Workplace Risk Supplement, and a Stalking Supplement. Data gathered using these supplements are archived as separate data sets at the ICPSR.

Advantages

The NCVS offers many benefits for exploring the extent and characteristics of criminal victimization. One advantage is that the survey is very large. Currently, approximately 43,000 households and 86,000 individuals age 12 years or older are interviewed twice a year. Given this large sample, the survey is characterized by small sampling errors allowing power to make inferences about the population. A second advantage of the survey is that it offers a broad scope of variables associated with criminal victimization, including information about crime victims (e.g., age, gender, race, Hispanic origin, marital status, income, and educational level), criminal offenders (e.g., gender, race, approximate age, drug/alcohol use, and victim–offender relationship), and the characteristics of the crime (e.g., time and place of occurrence, use of weapons, nature of injury, and economic consequences). Third, the survey has a history of high response rates. In general,

household response rates have varied between 90% and 96% of eligible households and between 89% and 92% of eligible individuals. And finally, an advantage of the NCVS is that it provides information on victimization that was both reported and not reported to the police. Research demonstrates that many crimes are not reported to the police, and reporting rates differ across crime type and victimization characteristics. The NCVS asks respondents about crimes they experienced and whether the crimes were or were not reported to the police.

Disadvantages

Like all data, the NCVS has some limitations. First because the survey is designed to generate *national* estimates of victimization, it cannot be used to inform about cities, counties, or states. One can disaggregate to the region level (e.g., Northeast, South, Midwest, and West), although this level of aggregation has limited value. A second limitation is that the survey does not collect information on persons age 11 years and younger. Third, because one must live in a housing unit or group quarter to be eligible for this survey, homeless persons, prisoners, or other institutionalized individuals; members of the armed forces living in military barracks; and crews of vessels are excluded from the NCVS sample. And finally, the NCVS collects data on a limited assortment of crime (noted above). This coverage excludes crimes such as white collar crime, crimes against businesses, arson, and kidnapping. Related, because the methodology requires speaking directly to the victim of the crime, the NCVS does not offer information on homicide.

Callie Marie Rennison

See also National Crime Victimization Survey, Supplements; National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Repeat Victimization; Victimology

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NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY, SUPPLEMENTS

Throughout its more than 35-year history, and especially since it was redesigned in 1992, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) has provided a platform for additional studies related to various aspects of crime. These studies, commonly called supplements, are of three types: those that fill informational gaps about offenses not measured in the NCVS, those sponsored by federal agencies to meet legislative mandates or programmatic informational needs, and those conducted to inform on topics related to crime and safety. They have covered a variety of subjects and have provided a relatively economical approach for obtaining information about crime, public perceptions of safety, and the criminal justice system not provided by the ongoing NCVS.

Supplements to the NCVS have been initiated in several ways. In some instances, such as the Workplace Risk Supplement (WRS), a federal agency contacted the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) about conducting the survey. In other cases, BJS has identified a perceived informational need and either fielded the study itself or worked with other agencies to do so.

NCVS supplements have always been administered after the regular interview with each respondent and have been conducted as independent studies rather than as extensions of the NCVS. Only one, the WRS, used information collected during the regular NCVS interview (other than respondent age) to screen in respondents to the supplement. The WRS was administered to persons age 16 years and older who said during the NCVS interview that they were employed. A fundamental reason supplements to the NCVS have not made use of information collected during the regular interview is that until 2006, the NCVS was primarily a paper and pencil survey, which is a mode of interview that does not facilitate incorporating information into a supplemental data collection. Because the survey is now conducted using computer-assisted interviewing, it would be feasible for

future supplements to build on the information collected during the regular NCVS interviews to examine issues in more depth or expand the scope of the ongoing survey.

Supplements provide many advantages to staging completely separate data collections. It is far less expensive to add a battery of questions to an ongoing survey than to field a completely new data collection. The NCVS sample is large and therefore provides a robust platform for conducting additional studies. Data from most supplements can be linked to data on victimization from the NCVS, enabling, for example, how victimization experience may be related to the supplement's subject area. The primary disadvantage to conducting supplements is that they increase the burden on respondents and may inhibit future participation in the ongoing survey. NCVS supplements have historically resulted in somewhat higher rates of noninterview than the regular NCVS, as some respondents who participated in the NCVS interview decline to be interviewed for the supplement. With the exception of the Victim Risk Supplement, all supplements to the NCVS have been conducted during 6-month periods to use the full NCVS sample.

NCVS supplements have covered a broad range of topics. Some have been conducted repeatedly. The School Crime Supplement has been conducted biannually since 1995, and the Police-Public Contact Survey has been conducted four times since 1996. As with the ongoing NCVS, the data sets for supplements are archived at the National Criminal Justice Archive and Information Network once initial estimates have been released by the sponsoring agency to enable secondary analysis of the data.

Supplements

National Survey of Crime Severity (NSCS) (1977) was the largest survey ever conducted to assess how the public ranks the severity of a wide range of offenses. Each of the 60,000 respondents was asked to rank a subset of 25 of a total of 204 specific descriptions of criminal events. The ratings were combined, and overall severity scores were produced for all 204 events. The highest score was for "A person plants a bomb in a public building. The bomb explodes and 20 people are killed." The lowest score was for "A person under 16 years old plays hooky from school."

Victim Risk Supplement (VRS) (1984) was conducted in February 1984 and collected information about perceptions of the safety and crime measures people take to prevent crime at home and at the workplace.

School Crime Supplement (SCS) (1989, 1995, biannually since 1999) is a periodic supplement funded by the National Center for Education Statistics to obtain information related to crime and safety in our nation's schools. Respondents are juveniles 12 to 18 years of age who attended a public or private school during the 6 months prior to the interview. The SCS asks students about their experiences with, and perceptions of, crime and violence that occur at school, about the presence of weapons and drugs at school, about preventive measures schools and students take concerning crime, and about their attitudes related to fear of victimization.

Police-Public Contact Survey (PPCS) (1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008) is a periodic supplement conducted to address the mandate established by the Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 to collect, evaluate, and publish data on the use of excessive force by law enforcement. The supplement collects data on the extent and nature of public contacts with the police and includes questions about police-initiated use of force and stops for routine traffic violations.

Workplace Risk Supplement (WRS) (2004) was funded by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health to provide data to improve workplace violence prevention efforts. It included questions that replicated those on the 1983 VRS but with a focus on the workplace environment. It also included questions related to employee knowledge of workplace violence prevention policies, practices and training, as well as security measures in place in the workplace.

Special Victimization Study (SVS) (2006) was conducted with funding from the Office on Violence Against Women to provide comprehensive estimates of the prevalence, characteristics, and consequences of stalking in the United States. The supplement was administered to all persons age 18 years and older in the NCVS sample.

Identity Theft Survey (ITS) (2008) was a collaborative effort of agencies within the Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs and the Federal Trade Commission. The ITS is built on

previous BJS and FTC efforts to measure the prevalence and characteristics of identity theft, and it is the largest fielded survey of this offense that has been conducted.

Michael Rand

See also Identity Theft; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; Stalking, Measurement of; Victimization Surveys; Workplace Violence, United States

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NATIONAL INCIDENT-BASED REPORTING SYSTEM (NIBRS)

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) is the new format used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to collect crime data from law enforcement agencies as part of its Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. NIBRS is replacing the previous format for reporting UCR Program data known as “the summary reporting system.” For the summary reporting system, law enforcement agencies submitted aggregate crime counts. In contrast, NIBRS collects crime information at the incident level. This change results in data that can provide insights into victimization reported to the police in a way previously not possible. As such, NIBRS data are useful to researchers and policy makers concerned with criminal victimization.

Origins

Although the FBI has collected aggregate crime data from law enforcement agencies since the 1930s, changes in technology and criminology necessitated more sophisticated information. Specifically, recent improvements in technology enabled the collection of more detailed crime information, and modern developments in the understanding and explanation of criminal offending and victimization generated a demand for such data. In response to demands for improved police data, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) and the FBI commissioned a team to reevaluate the UCR Program. This study resulted in the *Blueprint for the Future of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program* or *The Blueprint*. *The Blueprint* described an incident-based crime collection system that would eventually become today’s NIBRS. After several years of piloting and finalizing this new system, South Carolina became the first state to submit its crime data to the FBI in NIBRS format in 1991.

Information Collected

NIBRS encompasses several substantial changes for UCR Program data as compared with the summary reporting system. NIBRS covers a wider variety of offenses than the 8 Index offenses captured by the summary reporting system. These 8 Index offenses included murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. NIBRS collects incident-level details for 46 Group A offenses, which include the former 8 Index offenses. Examples of these additional crimes range from kidnapping and forcible sex offenses beyond rape (such as sodomy and sexual assault with an object) to vandalism, gambling offenses, and fraud offenses. NIBRS also compiles a count of 11 Group B offenses. Although Group A offenses are those known to police, Group B offenses are only counted if an arrest is made. Group B offenses are comparable with the Part II offenses in the summary reporting system and include crimes such as disorderly conduct, driving under the influence, and curfew violations.

In addition to expanding the number of crimes reported to the UCR Program, NIBRS captures general characteristics not included in the summary reporting system. NIBRS distinguishes

between attempted and completed crimes. NIBRS also adds the category of “crimes against society” to the existing classifications of crimes against persons. This new classification allows the collection of vice crimes like prostitution, gambling offenses, and drug offenses, which are often referred to as so-called victimless crimes. For each criminal incident, NIBRS collects information on up to 10 offenses. This information eliminates the need for NIBRS to continue the Hierarchy Rule of the summary reporting system, which only counts the most serious crime in a multi-offense incident.

The main difference between NIBRS and the summary reporting system, however, is the collection of incident-level data. For the Group A offenses, NIBRS collects detailed information within six segment levels: administrative, offense, property, victim, offender, and arrestee. Overall NIBRS can collect up to 53 distinct data elements to describe each criminal incident. Thirteen of these elements are required for all criminal incidents. Examples of these characteristics include incident date, location of the incident, and type of victim. Thirty-six of the other data elements are mandatory but only if they are relevant to a particular crime. For example, a weapon must be reported for a personal crime like murder but not for a property crime like theft. Up to 13 data elements can be used to describe individual victims. Depending on the crime, these elements include victim demographics, injury, victim–offender relationship, and circumstance codes for aggravated assaults and homicides. NIBRS can collect data for up to 999 victims per criminal incident; however, most incidents involve one or two victims.

The summary reporting system does allow for incident-level details as part of its Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR), but the SHR is much more limited than NIBRS. The SHR only collects incident details for homicides. The SHR also collects fewer incident details than NIBRS. Finally, the SHR, like the rest of the summary reporting system, does not provide any unique incident identifiers. This omission restricts the SHR’s ability to update data to include, for example, subsequent clearance information.

Using NIBRS Data to Study Victimization

NIBRS data only recently have been used by criminologists and other researchers to study crime

issues. This limitation is partly because these data have been publicly available to researchers since 2000. NIBRS data are generating increased attention and interest because these data are collected at the incident level and permit the study of criminal victimization. Currently, researchers have most commonly used the data to study victims of violent crimes such as homicide, rape, and assault. Within this scholarship, particular consideration has been given to child victims as well as to elderly victims. Issues concerning intimate partner violence have been given attention using NIBRS data. Incident-level details have yielded new insights regarding patterns of intimate partner violence for opposite-sex couples as well as for same-sex couples. Victims of offenses like hate crimes also have been studied using NIBRS data. In addition to focusing on particular types of victims and patterns of victimization, researchers have investigated the efficacy of victim-oriented policies. For example, researchers have used NIBRS data to examine the effectiveness of mandatory arrest policies on domestic violence incidents in different cities. Current studies only have begun to explore the ability of NIBRS data to inform victimization issues.

Limitations

NIBRS data have several benefits, especially over the traditional summary reporting system, with regard to the study of victimization. These data, however, also have certain limitations that restrict their utility. One limitation stems from the fact that NIBRS data derive from official police records. As such, like any crime data generated from police records, the data exclude nonvictims and victims who do not report crimes to the police. Other sources such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) do provide information on nonvictims for comparisons. Researchers such as Lynn A. Addington and Callie Marie Rennison have attempted to use NIBRS and NCVS data in a complementary way to address this limitation.

Another current limitation with NIBRS data is that it lacks nationwide coverage, and those law enforcement agencies that do participate are not a nationally representative sample. As with the summary reporting system, participation in the UCR Program remains voluntary under NIBRS. Unlike the summary reporting system, law enforcement

agencies must be certified before they are eligible to submit data in NIBRS format. The certification process is complex and can take years to complete successfully. As a result, the conversion process has been gradual. As of 2007, 30 states are NIBRS-certified and NIBRS agencies cover 25% of the U.S. population according to information collected by the Justice Research and Statistics Association. The states and law enforcement agencies that have implemented NIBRS do not constitute a representative sample of U.S. law enforcement agencies or states. Within the 30 NIBRS-certified states, not all agencies submit data in NIBRS format. Only 10 of these states are 100% NIBRS-reporting; the others report in varying levels of less than full participation. In general, law enforcement agencies that participate in NIBRS tend to represent smaller population areas. As of 2007, no agency covering a population of more than 1 million participated in NIBRS. As a result, victimization research that uses NIBRS data is limited in its wider generalizability, especially with regard to the largest jurisdictions.

Lynn A. Addington

See also Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR); Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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NATIONAL VICTIMIZATION AGAINST COLLEGE WOMEN SURVEYS

A countless number of studies have reported consistently that college women are a high-risk group for sexual victimization, especially at the hand of an acquaintance or date. Most of these studies have been executed at a single campus with a convenience sample of students. The Bureau of Justice Statistics published two special reports in 2003 and 2005 on the violent victimization of college students using data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Noteworthy is that the NCVS sample is not a national representative sample of college students generally or college women specifically. The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) is characterized by the same sampling limitation.

To date, only four studies have used a nationally representative sample of college women to examine the extent and nature of their victimization. This entry describes each of these four studies and highlights their methodology and major findings.

The National Survey of Inter-Gender Relationships

In the early 1980s, the National Institutes of Health, with administrative assistance from the Ms. Foundation, funded the National Survey of Inter-Gender Relationships; Mary Koss was the principal investigator. The study was conducted during the 1984–1985 academic year and involved a post-master's level psychologist administering a self-report questionnaire in classroom settings. The psychologist administered the survey to 6,159 women and men enrolled in 32 private, public, or

religious 2- and 4-year post-secondary institutions with 1,000 or more enrolled students. Military and graduate schools with no undergraduate affiliation were excluded. The survey included more than 300 questions about such topics as sexual experiences and their characteristics as well as demographic information. The response rate was 98.5%.

Sexual aggression and victimization data were collected using the 10-item Sexual Experiences Survey (SES). Responses to the SES items were used to estimate women's reports of experiences and men's reports of perpetrating rape, attempted rape, sexual coercion, and sexual contact, including the prevalence rates since the age of 14 years and of incidence during the previous year.

The results revealed that since the age of 14, more than half of the college women (53.7%) reported some form of sexual victimization. Furthermore, 15.4% of women had been raped, 12.1% had experienced attempted rape, 11.9% were sexually coerced, and 11.4% had experienced sexual contact. Their results also showed that the rape estimates from the two official sources of victimization rates, Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the National Crime Survey (NCS), underestimated the extent of rape. The work highlighted the "hidden" nature of sexual victimization, in part, because the results showed that the offender was someone known to the victim, and thus, the incident went unreported to law enforcement.

This study was the first national study to estimate the extent of sexual victimization among college women. It also advanced the measurement of sexual victimization with its use of the SES items that used behaviorally specific language to describe sexual acts. Even today, the 1987 publication of the article by Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski reporting the prevalence estimates from the SES is among the most cited articles in the field of college women's sexual victimization. Given its established validity and high reliability, the SES also is among the most widely used instruments to measure the scope of sexual victimization experiences. In 2007, Koss and her colleagues revised the SES.

The National College Women Sexual Victimization Study

Almost a decade went by before the next national study of the sexual victimization of college women

was completed. Funded in the mid-1990s by the National Institute of Justice, Bonnie Fisher and Francis Cullen built from the work of Mary Koss, Dean Kilpatrick, Pat Tjaden, and Nancy Thoennes to design the National College Women Sexual Victimization (NCWSV) study. The goals were to update and advance the current state of knowledge about the extent and nature of sexual victimization of college women.

The NCWSV study was a computer-aided telephone survey of a randomly selected, national sample of 4,446 women who were enrolled in 233 2- or 4-year post-secondary institutions during the fall of 1996. The sample was limited to schools with at least 1,000 students. Trained female interviewers employed by Abt Schulman, Ronca, and Bucuvalas Inc. (Abt SRBI, New York, NY) administered the survey via computer-aided telephone interviews between late February and early May 1997. The response rate was 85.6%.

Similar to the NCVS, the NCWSV used a two-stage measurement process that included behaviorally specific screen questions followed by a detailed incident report. If a respondent answered "yes" to any of the screen questions, she was then asked how many times the act was experienced since school began in the fall of 1996. For each number of times, the interviewer completed an incident report. This report asked questions about the nature of the events, including its location and things that occurred prior to (e.g., drinking alcohol), during (types and degree of sexual contact, self-protective action), and after the incident (injury, reporting to the police). The survey also asked questions about respondents' demographic characteristics, lifestyles or routine activities, living arrangements, and prior sexual victimizations. The NCWSV measured the incidence of types of completed and attempted sexual victimization that included rape, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual contact with and without force or threat of force. Also measured were stalking and visual (e.g., someone exposed their sexual organs to them) and verbal (e.g., sexist remarks and cat calls) sexual victimization.

The major findings revealed that across rape, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual contact, 15.5% of college women had experienced at least one victimization incident. During the 6- to 7-month reference period, close to 3% of college

women were raped. Slightly more than 13% of women indicated that they had been stalked during this time, with an average stalking lasting 60 days. Most students experienced verbal sexual victimization. Visual sexual victimization was less common. Supportive of Koss's pioneering work, most victims know the person who sexually assaulted them, with several victimizations happening while on a date. College women were victimized both on and off campus, with off-campus locations being more common. Most victimizations were not reported to law enforcement; however, most victims told a friend about their incident. Supportive of past research, risk factors across the various types of sexual victimization included (1) frequently drinking enough alcohol to get drunk; (2) being unmarried; (3) having been a victim of prior sexual assault before the current school year began; and (4) for on-campus victimization, living on campus.

Among the NCWSV's contributions to the college women victimization field includes being the first national study of the stalking of college women. Also, its two-stage methodology showed that the NCVS methodology could be adapted to a college population. The NCWSV also affirmed that the sexual victimization of college women was a growing national issue in need of prevention and intervention strategies. The NCWSV data have been used in several other published works by Fisher and her colleagues to examine reporting behavior, the effectiveness of self-protective behaviors, and recurring victimization.

The National College Women Violent Victimization Study

Funded by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Bonnie Fisher and Francis Cullen designed The National College Women Violent Victimization (NCWVV) study to explore the extent to which female college students experience specific types of violence (e.g., rape, sexual assault, unwanted sexual contact, robbery, and simple and aggravated assault) and nonviolence more broadly defined (e.g., verbally harassed, larceny, vandalism, and burglary) since school began in the fall of 1996. To arrive at these victimization estimates, the NCWVV study employed the two-stage measurement methodology (victimization screen questions with follow-up

incident report) used by the NCVS redesign Phase III and NCWSV study. Questions on the NCVS main survey and incident report were revised for use with a college women sample.

The NCWVV employed the same criteria for sample inclusion, sampling design, and survey administration as the NCWSV study. A total of 4,432 female students enrolled at 233 two- and four-year post-secondary institutions participated in the study. The field period lasted from the end of March to mid-May 1998. The response rate was 90.7%.

The data revealed several interesting findings. Most victimization experienced by female students is nonviolent. Although one quarter of the college women experienced a nonviolent victimization, the percentage of the sample experiencing a violent victimization was about 7%. The most common violent crime experienced by college women is simple assault. Consistent with the NCWSV results, most violent victimizations occur among people who know one another, in private settings (living areas), and in the evening or late night hours, and they are perpetrated by single offenders who are using alcohol or drugs. Most violent victimizations, especially sexually related assaults, are not reported to police officials. Adding to the well-established debates about the measurement of sexual victimization, especially Koss's accusation about the limitations of the NCVS, the NCWVV study showed that estimates of rape/sexual assault victimization using the NCVS are lower than estimates derived from studies using alternative ways of measuring this type of victimization.

A National Study of Drug-Facilitated, Incapacitated, and Forcible Rape

Funded by the National Institute of Justice, Dean Kilpatrick and his research team identified how many women had ever been raped or sexually assaulted during their lifetime and within the last year. For comparison purposes, the study had two samples: (1) a national telephone household sample of 3,001 women and (2) a college sample of 2,000 women who were attending 253 different 4-year post-secondary institutions. Abt SRBI employed female interviewers who used computer-aided telephone interviewing to administer the surveys between late January and late June 2006. The survey asked women questions about five

areas: (1) demographic information, (2) opinions about reporting rape to police and disclosure to others, (3) questions about different forms of rape, (4) questions about the rape experience (e.g., victim–offender relationship and medical care), and (5) questions about women’s mental health histories (e.g., posttraumatic stress disorder, major depression, alcohol use and abuse, and drug use and abuse). They measured three forms of rape: (1) drug and alcohol-facilitated rape in which the perpetrator deliberately gives a victim substances without her permission or tries to get her drunk and the victim is passed out or awake but too drunk to consent to sexual contact; (2) incapacitated rape in which the victim voluntarily uses drugs or alcohol and is passed out or awake but too drunk to consent to sexual contact; and (3) forcible rape in which the victim experiences force, threat of force, or sustains injury during the assault.

Key findings from Kilpatrick’s study revealed that college women had a much higher prevalence of rape in the past year than women in the general population. Slightly more than 5% of college women were raped in the past year compared with nearly 1% of women in the general population. Drug and alcohol-facilitated rape (DAFR) and incapacitated rape (IR) were more prevalent than forcible rape. DAFR and IR were nine times more prevalent among college women than among the general population of women. Classmates, friends, and boyfriends were the offenders in most forcible rapes, and friends, classmates, and strangers were the offender in the most DAFRs/IRs. Victims of DAFR/IR were less likely to report to law enforcement than were victims of forcible rape.

Conclusion

Separately and collectively these four national studies of the sexual victimization of college women have contributed to our understanding of the extent and nature of the victimization of college women. Each collected a unique, yet rich, data set that has been used in numerous publications that are well cited among researchers, policy makers, and practitioners who are interested in not only the extent and nature of the victimization of college women but also in developing effective prevention and interventions.

Bonnie S. Fisher

See also Campus Crime, College and University; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of; Sexual Victimization; Stalking; Victimization Surveys

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NATIONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY (NVAWS)

The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) is a telephone survey that was conducted by the Center for Policy Research with funding from the National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The goal of the survey was to increase understanding of violence perpetrated against women in the United States. To provide a context for this understanding, the survey sampled both women and men. Thus, the survey provides comparable

data on the experiences of women and men as victims of violence.

Survey Methods

The NVAWS consists of telephone interviews with 8,000 U.S. women and 8,000 U.S. men 18 years of age and older. The survey includes both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking respondents. The sample was drawn by random-digit dialing of households with landline telephones in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Interviews were conducted from November 1995 to May 1996 using a computer-assisted telephone interviewing system.

Respondents to the survey were queried about their general fear of violence and their ways of coping with that fear; psychological and emotional abuse they experienced by current and former spouses and cohabiting partners (same-sex and opposite-sex); physical assaults they experienced as children by adult caretakers; and rape, physical assault, and stalking they experienced over their lifetime at the hands of all types of perpetrators. Respondents disclosing victimization were asked detailed follow-up questions about their relationship to the perpetrator; the frequency and duration of the violence; situational factors surrounding their victimization; the extent and nature of injuries sustained; their utilization of medical and mental health services; their involvement with the justice system; and the amount of time they lost from routine activities, such as work, school, and household chores.

To protect the confidentiality of the information being collected, interviewers were required to sign a confidentiality agreement specifying that they would not share any information generated from the survey with persons outside the research team. In addition, only a ten-digit telephone number was used to link the respondent to the interviewer. Once the survey was completed, the last four digits of the telephone number were deleted from the database.

Protocols were established to minimize the potential for inflicting additional trauma on victims. Before fielding the survey, interviewers were given extensive training on the content of the survey, the effects of violent victimization, and appropriate

ways to respond to disclosures of victimization. Respondents who showed stress during the interview were given telephone numbers of rape and/or domestic violence crisis centers in their area.

To minimize the potential for placing victims in jeopardy of continued violence, during initial contact with household members, the survey was introduced as a survey on "personal safety" rather than on violent victimization. In addition, respondents were given the opportunity to call back and finish their interview at a time when no one else in their household could overhear their responses.

Major Findings

Rape

The NVAWS found that 18% of surveyed women and 3% of surveyed men were raped at some time in their lives, whereas 0.3% of surveyed women and 0.1% of surveyed men were raped in the 12 months preceding the survey. Among victims raped in the previous 12 months, women averaged 2.9 rapes and men averaged 1.2 rapes.

Nearly all of the female rape victims (99.6%) and 85% of the male rape victims were raped by a male. Overall, women tended to be raped by a current or former intimate partner, whereas men tended to be raped by an acquaintance.

Among victims raped as adults (since their 18th birthday), 32% of the women and 16% of the men sustained some type of physical injury. Of the women injured, 36% received medical treatment for their injuries. Only 19% of the women and 13% of the men who were raped since their 18th birthday said their rape was reported to the police.

Stalking

Using a definition of stalking that required victims to feel a high level of fear, the NVAWS found that 8% of surveyed women and 2% of surveyed men were stalked at some time in their lifetime, whereas 1% of surveyed women and 0.4% of surveyed men were stalked in the 12 months preceding the survey. Overall, 78% of the stalking victims identified by the survey were women, and 87% of

the stalkers were men. Among all stalking victims, 77% of the women and 64% of the men knew their stalker. Despite the high level of fear required, less than half of the victims were directly threatened by their stalker.

About half of all stalking victims said their stalking was reported to the police. In addition, 28% of the female victims and 10% of the male victims obtained a protective/restraining order against their stalker.

Intimate Partner Violence

The NVAWS found that 22% of surveyed women and 7% of surveyed men were physically assaulted by a current or former intimate partner at some time in their lifetime, whereas 1.3% of surveyed women and 0.9% of surveyed men were physically assaulted by a current or former intimate partner in the 12 months preceding the survey. Overall, female victims experienced more chronic and injurious physical assaults by intimate partners: Female victims averaged 6.9 physical assaults by the same partner, whereas male victims averaged 4.4 assaults. Female victims were twice as likely as male victims to be injured (42% vs. 20%). About a quarter of female victims reported their victimization to the police, compared with 14% of male victims.

Patricia G. Tjaden

See also International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS); Intimate Partner Violence; Psychological/Emotional Abuse; Rape; Stalking; Victimization Surveys

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NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH PROGRAMS

Neighborhood Watches are grass-roots, community-based, crime-reduction organizations, normally operated in partnership with the police and sometimes also including collaboration with local authorities. The terms *Block Watch* and *Home Watch* are sometimes used as alternatives to Neighborhood Watch. Activities associated with Neighborhood Watch typically include meetings of members, erection of street signs indicating that Neighborhood Watch operates in the area, decals on the windows of individual members, and more or less regular liaison with local police. Other activities can range from property marking to street patrol to improvements in security. The main purposes of Neighborhood Watch are to provide protection to members, in particular from residential burglary, although other crimes may be of concern also, to reduce fear of crime, and to improve the supply of intelligence to the police in order that they can better detect crime.

History

Community involvement in crime prevention has a long history. Citizen collaboration with and participation in policing activities likewise has a long history. Both go back before the dawn of professional policing. In this sense, formal Neighborhood Watch programs describe efforts to reengage and regularize community members in crime control. The first Neighborhood Watch programs were operated in the United States in the early 1970s and seemed to bring promising results. Since that time, Neighborhood Watch programs have expanded rapidly and are now widely found, especially in the English-speaking world. The first was set up in the United Kingdom in 1982 and in Australia in 1983.

Theoretical Basis

Neighborhood Watch has high face validity in regard to its various purposes. As a vehicle for improving crime detection and prevention,

- Neighborhood Watch recognizes that the police are poorly placed either to detect or to prevent crime on their own. Community cooperation and collaboration are needed.
- Crime detection generally turns, at least in part, on the supply of information from members of the public, and conviction often depends on the willingness of citizens to provide evidence in court. One of the main planks of Neighborhood Watch is that members act as the “eyes and ears” of the police, reporting suspicious activities so that the police can take action.
- The improvements in detection that may be expected to result from Neighborhood Watch might then help prevent crime through the incapacitation or deterrence of the offenders caught and convicted.
- Crime might also be prevented by the perceived increases in risk to offenders who are made aware of the operation of the program through the signs and stickers alerting them to its presence in certain areas. The offenders are alerted to the relatively high level of vigilance of residents and decide that they will not commit the crimes they would otherwise engage in.
- The property marking and security improvements that are often encouraged through Neighborhood Watch reduce the opportunity for crime and members are thereby expected to benefit from reduced risks.
- Enhanced community functioning as members come to know and trust one another is expected both to facilitate mutual guardianship and hence risks of crime and to provide for better opportunities for informal social control as residents come to recognize and be recognized by potential miscreants who will thereby be inhibited from criminal activity.

As a vehicle for reducing fear of crime and increasing public confidence in the police,

- Neighborhood Watch provides a vehicle through which concerned members of the public can exert control and feel they are exerting control over their local conditions. Members are therefore less dependent on the police and less vulnerable to predatory offenders in relation to whom they would otherwise feel more at risk and more helpless to do anything.

- Neighborhood Watch provides a vehicle through which the police can communicate with the public, to convey to them reassuring messages when these are needed, and to correct misapprehensions about levels of crime and crime risk.
- Neighborhood Watch provides a mechanism through which the police can gauge community concerns and priorities, in order that they can deliver services that are attuned to reducing sources of anxiety about crime and disorder.

Research Findings

Presumably because of its high face validity, Neighborhood Watch has enjoyed widespread public support. Schemes promise to provide access to the police and protection from crime while demanding little from participants. Most citizens seem, in principle, to be happy to cooperate with the police in setting up Neighborhood Watches to help to protect their community. They do so either out of enlightened self-interest or out of a sense of social responsibility. According to the British Crime Survey (BCS) in England and Wales by 1992, only 10 years after the establishment of the first scheme, 22% of all households belonged and 30% of all households were covered. This rose to 27% members covering 38% of the population by 2000. It has been estimated that there were 42,000 schemes in 1988, 130,000 in 1996, and 155,000 in 2000. By any standards, this comprised a large-scale, rapidly expanding voluntary movement. Since 2000, however, membership has declined. In 2006–2007, the BCS found that it had dropped to 16% of all households, although respondents indicated that 32% still lived in areas covered by schemes.

Quite substantial variations have been found in the ways in which Neighborhood Watch has been implemented within and across jurisdictions. The size of schemes has varied from around 20 houses to as many as 3,000 or more. Different schemes have included differing types of provision, for example, social events, formal problem-solving meetings, newsletters, and property marking services, in addition to street signs and decals in the windows of individual households. Funding and administration has sometimes been the responsibility of local residents, sometimes the police, and sometimes partnerships.

Neighborhood Watch has been most easily established in stable, better off, lower crime neighborhoods where there are already relatively strong social institutions. It is less easily established in fragmented, fractured communities with transient populations and relatively high levels of crime. Neighborhood Watch membership has been found to be disproportionately high among those who are in general terms more advantaged and more settled. For example, in England and Wales in 2006–2007, 28% of “wealthy achievers” were members of schemes, but only 7% of the “hard pressed” belonged. Likewise membership was higher where the “household reference person” (HRP) was older than younger (for example, 24% among 60-year-olds and older, but 5% among 16- to 24-year-olds). It was twice as high where the HRP was White (17%) rather than a member of an ethnic minority group (8%). It was also twice as high among owner occupiers (19%) as compared with social renters (9%). It was three times as high for those who had lived in the neighborhood for more than 10 years (22%) than for those who had been there for less than 2 (7%). It was more than twice as high among the married (19%) as against the single (8%). Among the economically active, it was seven times as high among the employed (14%) compared with the unemployed (2%).

With regard to crime, disorder, and security, membership of Neighborhood Watch schemes was more than twice as likely among those living in areas of low physical disorder (17%) than those living where the level of physical disorder was high (8%), and among those with high levels of home security (20%) as compared with those with relatively little (10%) or no home security (7%). Members suffered lower rates of crime than non-members (for example, 4% compared with 8% for vehicle-related theft and 2% compared with 3% for burglary).

Although Neighborhood Watch schemes have been established easily in many neighborhoods, it has been more difficult to sustain enthusiasm. A local crime event might stimulate interest, but if few additional incidents follow, interest seems characteristically to dwindle and many schemes become moribund unless they have an especially committed co-coordinator. What mostly remain are signs in the street that Neighborhood Watch is

in operation and decals in the windows of the homes of those who originally joined. In some areas, in part in response to this dwindling, the police have developed automated systems for feeding information to co-coordinators to cascade down to members with a view to maintaining enthusiasm and the benefits deemed to lie in having a vigilant citizenry who will report suspicious behavior to the police. Such arrangements have included automated phone messages and, more recently, emails and Web links. These developments have been put in place also in part because of the servicing demands that Neighborhood Watch can put on the police. To maintain enthusiasm within Neighborhood Watch schemes, police participation as partners is needed. In many small Neighborhood Watch areas, the levels of crime do not warrant the allocation of police resources, although members of the public belonging to Neighborhood Watch expect that their schemes will be actively serviced by the police. The police have therefore devised relatively low-cost methods of managing them. They have standardized what they offer and require that groups indicate that there is real demand and commitment before they agree to the establishment of new schemes.

Although there is anecdotal evidence that schemes have been associated with crime drops, the little strongly designed systematic research that has been undertaken has not generally been able to detect significant or consistent benefits from Neighborhood Watch in terms of crime detection or prevention outcomes. Falls in crime have not been observed, and reports of useful information to the police do not seem to have been increased. Neighborhood Watch may also do as much to reinforce anxieties among the safe but scared as to reassure them. Research findings on this do not find any consistent effects patterns.

This is not to say that Neighborhood Watch never has or never can be effective in reducing crime. In the Kirkholt Burglary Reduction Project (which operated in a White working-class housing estate in Rochdale in northeast England), small schemes (termed *Cocoon Neighborhood Watches*) were set up around those who had suffered burglaries. The cocoons comprised just half a dozen properties surrounding the one that had been burgled. These cocoons were designed to reduce

the levels of repeat victimization that had been found to be high on the estate. Alongside a package of other measures (including security upgrades and the removal of cash prepayment meters for electricity and gas, which had been preferred targets of burglars), the introduction of the cocoons was associated with a substantial reduction in levels of burglary, from 25 per 100 to 6 per 100 dwellings during a 3-year period. It is unclear what role the cocoons played in producing the falls in numbers of burglary incidents. The fact that risks for repeats are found to be most elevated in the short term after an incident, and the more recent research suggesting that nearby properties are also at increased risk in the aftermath of an incident, suggests that the cocoon watches may have made a contribution even if vigilance faded and interest atrophied as has been widely found elsewhere to be the typical pattern.

Legacy

Watch schemes have been popular, and an almost innumerable variety of look-alikes have taken hold since the original Neighborhood Watches were set up. Think of almost any category of potential victims, and somewhere a watch scheme can be found to cater for it. So, for example, there is Airport Watch, Allotment Watch, Beach Watch, Boat Watch, Business Watch, Campus Watch, Caravan Watch, Church Watch, Farm Watch, Fish Watch, Forecourt Watch, Game Keeper Watch, Golf Watch, Lorry Watch, Park Watch, Pub Watch, Racing Stable Watch, School Watch, Shop Watch, Street Watch, Taxi Watch, Vehicle Watch, Wildlife Watch, and Zoo Watch. As with Neighborhood Watch, these reflect the face validity of watching. It may be that where crime levels are relatively high, for example, among retailers and bars, targeted cooperative watch schemes (as with Kirkholt's cocoon watches) provide the basis for collective crime prevention efforts that are more promising than those in neighborhoods with low crime levels and little continuing incentive to play an active part.

Assessment

Some of the early anxieties about Neighborhood Watch have not turned out to be well founded.

The vigilantism that some were concerned about does not seem to have materialized. There have been few reports of nosy, prying, malicious, curtain-twitching neighbors. Levels of intolerance toward those who choose to live legal, but otherwise atypical lifestyles do not seem to have increased significantly. Just as Neighborhood Watch has disappointed many for its apparent inability to bring about the preventive benefits hoped for, it has also lacked the power to bring about the unwanted negative effects that some also feared. That said, there have, though, been suggestions from research on both sides of the Atlantic that young Black men may be treated as threats and in being treated as threats become threats because they are not accepted or included within the communities in which they reside. This implies that that aspect of Neighborhood Watch that is concerned with surveillance and the mobilization of formal social controls may be in some tension with that aspect which stresses the creation of social cohesion involving all local residents such that mutual concern and informal social control is fostered.

The police response to the heavy demands made on them to support Neighborhood Watch has led unsurprisingly to efforts to streamline the administration, develop standard procedures, and acquiesce to requests to set up Neighborhood Watches only when there is significant resident interest and support. Although this may be sensible for Neighborhood Watches in low-crime neighborhoods, as a way of reducing the risk that resources might otherwise be diverted to the less needy at the expense of those that are more in need, for high-crime neighborhoods something else is called for. Here, if community engagement has a role to play in reducing crime, improving detection, and reassuring the public, more active and resource-intensive strategies may be required.

In high-crime neighborhoods with a rapid turnover of residents, where the stronger tend to be those that leave, where there are high levels of intimidation, where households comprising complete families are scarce, where the physical fabric is often poor, where levels of disorder are high, where a significant subsection of the population is involved in crime, where authorities are treated with suspicion, where levels of mutual trust are low, where morale is low, and where legitimate opportunities are in short supply, the kind of

community participation called for in Neighborhood Watch can only plausibly be achieved with a great deal of concentrated practical intervention by the police and their local organizational partners. Offers of standard issue Neighborhood Watch are unlikely to be sufficient. Progressive police services and their partners recognize this, and innovative and sustained efforts to achieve community participation can be found in such places. These may help create the “collective efficacy” that both increases the prospects of Neighborhood Watch and reduces the need for it. The best-documented example probably comes from Chicago’s community policing initiative.

There were early signs that the optimism engendered by face validity of Neighborhood Watch was not justified. Yet the promotion of schemes continued. Once having taken root, with high levels of public support, they were unlikely to be abandoned quickly. Neither politicians nor the police could pull the plug on the support they had given. As an overall movement, Neighborhood Watch has been easier to seed than to scuttle, even though individual schemes have tended to be short-lived as active entities. If anything the lesson from Neighborhood Watch for politicians and the police is to be wary of adopting too quickly what is popular and superficially sensible. There is a strong risk otherwise of being burdened with costly obligations that yield few if any real benefits. It would be prudent to run small, well-evaluated field trials before deciding whether to adopt schemes more widely and what shape such schemes should take.

Final Thoughts

The idea that the community should play a part in controlling crime and antisocial behavior is not new. Indeed the notion that the police are competent to do this without community participation is implausible. Members of the community are critical to reporting crime, to providing evidence that the police can follow up, to presenting evidence in court, to applying informal social control to those who might otherwise offend, to taking reasonable precautions to reduce their own risks of crime, and to providing a degree of guardianship to those about them, in particular in their residential neighborhoods. Much of this

happens without the need for any formal organization to make it happen. Where it does not occur spontaneously, then efforts to foster it make sense. Neighborhood Watch comprises a vehicle to refine and systematize community control processes. Many responsible citizens have been happy to be seen to cooperate in crime control by joining in the interests of themselves and their fellows. It is possible that marginal benefits may accrue, although these will be difficult to detect in low-crime neighborhoods because of a floor effect—there is not far for crime to fall, and in these circumstances, robust measurements of effectiveness become tricky. Where more than the formalization of informal processes is needed, more than offers of Neighborhood Watch are likely to be needed, to create conditions in which the routine crime control processes in low-crime neighborhoods can be fostered. This is likely to call for police and partnership activities that may include the establishment of Neighborhood Watch as part of it. Cocoons of the sort established in Kirkholt may comprise a suitable starting point where the practical purpose is clear. Even where local offenders may be among the victimized or their neighbors, their mobilization in the interests of social control might be beneficial both in sensitizing the offender to the effects crime has on victims and in the specific skills and knowledge they would bring to crime control. Any such moves, though, would need to proceed cautiously with systematic assessments for intended and unintended consequences that should guide policy and practice.

Nick Tilley

See also Burglary, Prevention of; Fear of Crime; Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project; Situational Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

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- Neighbourhoodwatch.net: <http://www.neighbourhoodwatch.net>
- USAOnWatch: <http://www.usaonwatch.org/index.php>

NEW DEAL FOR COMMUNITIES

New Deal for Communities (NDC) refers to a major area-based regeneration program aimed at improving the quality of life of residents in 39 disadvantaged English neighborhoods. Its primary objectives were to tackle, simultaneously, factors that most impact on quality of life, namely, poor job prospects, high crime, educational underachievement, poor health, and the poor quality of housing and physical environment in these communities. This entry describes the innovative approach adopted by NDC and its impact on crime.

The Program

NDC areas were small in size, with an average population of 11,000 residents, but the resources channeled into them, at around £50 million per area, were large compared with other area-based initiatives. The novelty of the NDC approach was its 10-year time horizon, its involvement of local communities in identifying priorities and policy interventions, and its cross-cutting approach to tackling local problems and improving residents' quality of life.

The juxtaposition of social and situational crime prevention measures (target hardening, closed-circuit television, and youth diversion) alongside education and training schemes (literacy programs and after-school clubs), public health projects (health advice and mental health projects), housing initiatives

(neighborhood management and physical improvements), employment initiatives, and anti-poverty strategies within a single program was highly innovative. This was new: a holistic approach to regeneration across a relatively long time horizon. It represented a genuine attempt to shift power to local communities, to break the "silo approach" to policy making and to avoid the damaging effects of short-term regeneration policy delivery.

Better Information

An important legacy from NDC will be its evaluation, which has seen the consolidation and cross-referencing of secondary data covering each policy domain. For the first time, a database of disaggregate recorded crime data was assembled for the whole of England from information supplied by 39 police forces. This has facilitated the search for crime displacement and the diffusion of benefit (i.e., added reductions in crime) in areas immediately adjacent to NDC schemes. Where changes in NDC crime levels occurred, these were much more likely to be accompanied by diffusion of benefit than by crime displacement, raising the possibility that falling crime in NDC areas may have spread to neighboring areas creating a "halo effect."

Data on the circumstances and views of NDC residents (some of it longitudinal) were captured through three extensive household surveys ($N = 19,000$). These contained questions on health status, educational attainment, income levels, housing conditions, employment, perceptions of crime and victimization, and self-assessed quality of life.

Thus, interrelationships between different problem and policy domains could be explored. The correlation between worry/fear of crime and risk of victimization was shown to be weak. In several NDC areas, residents' anxieties about crime were far greater than their risk of being a crime victim. For example, Haringey in Greater London had one of the highest levels of anxiety about crime but was among the lowest areas on self-reported victimization. In Brighton, people were far less worried than their level of risk might suggest.

If the problem is one of worry about crime and not risk, then reducing crime may not be reflected in reductions in anxieties about crime. In situations where residents are worried and fearful, then reassuring them may be more effective than trying to reduce crime.

More significantly, the NDC survey made it possible to identify the relative importance of different factors in determining residents' quality of life, satisfaction with their neighborhood, and the perceived suitability of areas for bringing up children. Interestingly, personal debt and health had a greater impact on self-assessed quality of life than victimization. Perceptions of crime were more important than either the area crime rate or personal victimization in explaining variations in neighborhood satisfaction. Finally, perceptions of minor crime and disorder were the most important factors in assessing how suitable an area was for bringing up children. Surprisingly, fear of crime was much further down the list of salient influences.

New Thinking

The NDC initiative has raised the awareness of policy makers of the interconnectedness of urban problems, namely, the fact that the most disadvantaged areas often have concentrations of offenders and relatively high crime; higher morbidity and lower life expectancy; poorer educational attainment; an absence of job opportunities; substandard, unaffordable, and poorly managed housing; lack of open space; leisure and shopping facilities; and so on.

Thus, questions around the crime reduction effects of job creation, the extent to which regeneration reduces crime, and the health impacts of an effective crime prevention program, have become relevant. Evaluation research published in 2008 suggests that policy interventions in one outcome area may well have benefits for other outcome areas. The findings reveal that as the housing and physical environment of NDC areas improved, crime rates reduced, and that as unemployment decreased health, outcomes improved.

Pondering the relationship between regeneration and crime and vice versa raises some interesting questions and pinpoints potential areas for continued research. Traditionally, area-level crime reduction has been viewed in terms of measures specifically targeting crime, such as situational prevention, surveillance and guardianship approaches, policing initiatives, prolific offender, and repeat victimization strategies. An advantage of the NDC approach is that it encourages one to think of "neighborhood crime reduction" in the same terms as one approaches an individual's propensity to offend or to desist

from crime, namely, as an outcome of a plethora of influences spanning several policy domains.

Alexander Hirschfield

See also Contextual Effects on Victimization; Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Diffusion of Benefits; Displacement; Fear of Crime

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NONREPORTING/FAILURE TO REPORT VICTIMIZATION

Being a victim of violent crime will likely be a traumatic event. Coupled with the victimization trauma is the distress of recounting the victimization to others. The process of reporting and to whom victims report has been researched extensively. Some victims' pattern of disclosure is to third parties outside of the formal criminal justice system (e.g., friends and family members), whereas others may report to a variety of social agents (e.g., police, doctor, or counselor). Within the criminal justice system, reporting may include many agents, specifically the police, court officials, and possibly victim service representatives. Although reciting the victimization is challenging, reporting is crucial on numerous levels. First, absent reporting to the police or other official form of social agent,

necessary victim assistance services may not be made accessible. Second, if a victim fails to report, then the perpetrator will be unable to be apprehended and the potential to deter future crimes will be thwarted, potentially leaving other communities and individuals in harm's way. Last, reporting crime allows for analysts and organizations to get an accurate picture of crime prevalence, thus guiding proper resource allocation. In turn, accurate measures of crime victimization provide insight into developing relevant policy initiatives.

Since the 1970s, a rich body of research has evolved to offer some explanation as to why victims fail to report. This research has often focused on specifics of the relationship, that is, whether the defendant was a stranger or a nonstranger. Generally when offenders were relatives, intimates, or acquaintances, victims are often less likely to report the events than if the offender was a stranger. Historically, research suggested that the gap differential in the likelihood of police notification between these two groups is significant. Based on contemporary legal, political, and cultural reforms, however, some speculate that this gap is closing, whereas others do not. In regard to reporting procedures for known offenders of personal crimes such as sexual assaults, a multitude of research suggests these crimes are often not officially reported. Specifically, national data reveal that the majority of female rape and sexual assault victims between the ages of 16 and 24 years do not report their victimization. This entry summarizes reporting research detailing certain constraints related to individual and social characteristics.

Measuring Victimization

Although unreported personal crime has impacts on victims and society at large, gaining insight on accurate reporting of victimization is challenging. Using national data sets, the extent of reporting to police ranges from 40% for nonsexual crimes, up to 50% for physical assaults, and up to 75% domestic violence. Using other prevalence measures, research has found 50% of sexual crimes go unreported and up to 93% of college sexual victimizations are not officially reported.

For example, when surveying domestic violence victims, research has found that victims are less apt to report when the perpetrator is known. However,

research on a national data set found that the victim-offender relationship for domestic violence had no effect on reporting. Some suggest that this discrepancy could be from methodological errors related to the reporting instruments themselves. That is, the victim may not perceive specific acts to be criminal in nature and, therefore, refrain from reporting caused by not viewing themselves as a victim.

Barriers to Reporting

Research suggests that prior to reporting a crime there are complex and interrelated factors that a victim must consider. Generally, these factors include the victim's motivation to report the crime based on the seriousness of the event, as well as what their confidence of formal sanctions being imposed will be, and last, fear of offender reprisal. There are also other barriers to reporting a crime that are specific to certain individual and structural characteristics.

Gender Effect

Studies have shown that the risk of victimization is greater for males than for females. Furthermore, men are more likely to be victims of personal crimes such as robbery and assault. Studies have also shown that these victimizations are often not random but seem to be a function of a person's lifestyle and routine activities. Specifically, men of a certain age are more likely to partake in activities that take them into public places at night, which increase their risk to be a victim. Police notification in these types of crime, although underreported if they know the assailant, tend to be reported more than other crimes. Although men are proportionately more likely to be a victim, most research indicates a much higher nonreporting rate of personal violent crimes such as rape/sexual assault. Since the 1970s, social science researchers and feminist scholars backed by empirical science have repeatedly shown that rape, particularly those by known assailants, is a hidden epidemic underrecognized by the legal system. Although this is accurate, there may be an additional obscured fact that most of the nonreporting literature focuses on male perpetrated violence among females.

Reporting rates for male victims might be even lower given men's need to maintain their hegemonic status. Men may sometimes be reluctant to

report interpersonal violence because of a fear of being labeled as “less of a man.” They may also fear that others will not believe they really experienced victimization. Additionally, there are very few domestic violence shelters and interpersonal violence support groups available to men.

Another gendered effect could be if the crime was committed by a same-sex partner. Research has found that gay males experience extreme levels of physical violence; yet they are reluctant to report. Specifically, many gay and lesbians fear that if they report the crime, they will be treated with indifference and insensitivity.

Victim–Offender Relationship

Research has highlighted the need to address certain extralegal factors such as the status of the victim–offender relationship. Specifically, research focusing on domestic violence, in particular, has found that marital status is a critical factor in the parties’ decision to notify the police. For example, cohabitating or unmarried individuals were more likely to report than those who were married. Time in the relationship was also a predicting factor for some; that is, those in newly formed relationships were more likely than those in more established relationships to report the incident.

Race

Research has reported that there may be a race barrier to reporting violent crimes. That is, people not in the majority race may be reluctant to report violent crimes because of a mistrust of systems that have historically been used to oppress and exploit them. Some research reports individuals of different races having a higher risk of victimization, which in turn can affect prevalence rates if they are more resistant to report. For example, Hispanics are more likely to be the victims of robbery and aggravated assault than non-Hispanics, according to national statistics. American Indian women experience more rape, by both strangers and intimate partners, than other U.S. racial and ethnic groups, according to a national study. Finally, some purport that the high risk of victimization for minorities might be caused by their tendency to reside in socially disadvantaged communities.

Social Economic Status

Research has found that violence against those who reside in suburbia is reported to police at rates lower than violence against those in urban environments. This research, however, is not consistent. Some findings suggest that those residing in wealthier neighborhoods and who own their own homes are more likely to report than a renter would. Other research provides structural barriers as to why victims do not comply with reporting, that is, when public transportation is not available and may be a significant barrier to accessing system services (e.g., court dates). Another consequence research has found in regard to social economic status is with profound poverty and isolation. That is, the lack of common resources such as telephones and safe homes precludes some from reporting to the police.

Immigration Status

Some research has reported that cultural differences and language barriers impact an individual’s decision to report an incident. The rationale for not reporting specific to immigration issues includes undocumented immigrants being fearful of deportation. Abusive partners often control their victims by threatening to have them deported or by refusing to file for their legal immigration status. Furthermore, it might be difficult to communicate information directly in ways that may not be offensive to an individual’s value system. That is, reporting agents (e.g., law enforcement personnel, advocates, and health care providers) all make recommendations based on the values of the majority U.S. culture that may clash with the victim’s values.

People who lack lawful permanent residency may not know that they have the same rights as lawful U.S. residents if they are victims of crime. In estimating the underreporting of crime among foreign-born immigrants, research found that a large proportion of their sample, including police chiefs and district attorneys of the 50 largest U.S. cities, cited underreporting of immigrant victimization. Overall, Hispanic and Asian ethnicities were most commonly believed to underreport their victimization.

Disabilities

Persons with disabilities may be afraid or unable to report incidents of victimization. Often, the abuser

of a person with disabilities is also the primary caretaker. This arrangement makes it even more difficult for that individual to report abuse to the police.

Prejudice and Victim Blaming

Victims are motivated to report the incident if they expect reporting would result in a positive outcome, such as an arrest. However, substantive research has reported that many women did not disclose violence, even when social agents knew of the violence. The rationale for this includes some victims reporting negative experiences with hospital providers, stating they showed superior attitudes and used confusing terminology. For the crimes of rape, assault, and motor theft, a large percentage of the victims reported that the victimization was “a private matter” and that police would not be effective. Victim complicity is also discussed as a reason why some victims fear reporting the crime, since they might be accused of a crime themselves. If the victim had consumed drugs or alcohol, they might fear being blamed for the incident.

Severity of Violence

Notwithstanding the barriers to reporting listed above, research suggests that severity of violence (e.g., weapon or gun present and injury) is a predictor of whether police are contacted. That is, research has shown the more severe the violence, the more likely to report. The exception to this is in the case of sexual assault and rape. Even with the presence of violence, this is the most underreported crime.

Future Reporting Strategies

The extensive reporting research has found that it is relevant to understand when victims report or fail to report a crime. In particular, acknowledging these barriers to inform the development of policy initiatives, resource allocation, and victim safety is significant. Keeping in mind the victimization event might be traumatic, it is important to realize that each individual may experience violence and the effects of violence differently. Thus, it is critical that the justice system responds to reporting procedures acknowledging the barriers presented above and attempt to remove structural barriers. Continuing to create a climate that allows victims to

feel safe, and reducing structural reporting barriers (e.g., reducing the initial need to repeat event), can foster an environment that victims feel a comfort level and respect to be able to report without recourse.

In some jurisdictions, removal of restrictive reporting procedures has provided victims with the opportunity to disclose the details of the victimization confidentially without fear of reprisal or self-blame. In fact, when dealing with personal victimizations such as sexual assault, allowing the victim to weigh their options and seek guidance whether or not to participate actively in a criminal investigation has shown to increase overall reporting rates.

Jennifer L. Hartman

See also Disabilities, Victimization of Individuals With; Immigration and Victimization; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; Rape; Victim Blaming; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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OCCUPATIONAL VIOLENCE

During the past three decades, several studies, notably in victimology, criminology, public health, management, as well as occupational and industrial medicine, have explored the link between different occupations and violent victimization. As a result, occupational violence is now recognized as one of the most serious occupational hazards, which can have dire consequences on the physical and psychological well-being of employees and can cause significant economic and social costs to organizations and the wider community. This entry briefly discusses the definitions and typologies of occupational violence as well as the sources of occupational violence statistics. Later on, via a review of the research, it identifies several features or characteristics of occupations that are likely to render employees more susceptible to violence.

Definitions

Despite almost four decades of research, governmental officials and researchers have not come up with a uniformly accepted definition of occupational (or workplace) violence. A lack of agreement exists concerning the definition of the terms *violence* and *workplace*. As far as violence is concerned, the definitions that have been proposed over the years form a continuum ranging from narrow ones, which include only physical assaults and injuries, to broad ones, which also include

nonphysical acts such as threats and harassment, intimidation, as well as verbal and psychological abuse. Similarly, some researchers adopt a constrained definition of workplace with data being collected only for incidents that take place in offices, stores, gas stations, restaurants, prisons, hospitals, and other physical settings. Other researchers, however, define the workplace more broadly allowing for mobile or geographically diverse occupational activities such as those conducted by drivers, police officers, firefighters, and journalists. These broader definitions of the workplace also take into consideration occupational groups whose jobs involve visiting people's houses, like plumbers, electricians, and postal officials.

No clear consensus exists regarding either the *source* or the *target* of the violent act in the workplace. Early definitions of occupational violence recognized only individuals as perpetrators, ignoring the possibility that whole groups of people or even organizations may be the source of the violent act. Those early definitions recognized as the main source of occupational violence external perpetrators who have no legitimate relationship to the workplace (such as thieves or burglars). Later definitions include customer- and client-related occupational violence as well as staff-on-staff violence and violence caused by an employee's spouse or other family member. Furthermore, occupational violence is defined without consideration of the attacker's intent in order to be able to cover situations where the source of violence is a person who may not be able to form intent but who is capable of violence (e.g., a patient with a brain

injury unable to make conscious decision). Several researchers, nowadays, also recognize that the source of violence may as well be a whole group of people (such as those protesting in a violent way against an organization's policies or practices) or the organization itself (e.g., an organization that knowingly places workers in dangerous or violent situations). As far as the target of the violent act is concerned, early studies focused primarily on individuals and ignored any violent act against their property. Researchers nowadays try to estimate not only the level of an individual's physical injury but also the potential psychological impact of a violent act against his or her property (e.g., damage or theft).

Several definitions quoted below confirm the above and illustrate the fact that the concept of occupational violence is not only historically but also socially and culturally contingent. Thus, for example, the European Commission provided in 1994 a broad explanation that encompasses a wide range of violent actions by defining workplace violence as involving "incidents where persons are abused, threatened or assaulted in circumstances related to their work, involving an explicit or implicit challenge to their safety, well-being or health" (Wynne, Clarkin, Cox, & Griffiths, 1997, p. 1). On the other hand, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health in the United States defined workplace violence in 1996 as "violent acts, including physical assaults and threats of assault, directed toward persons at work or on duty" (p. 6). In Australia, the National Occupational Health and Safety Commission defined occupational violence in 1999 as "the attempted or actual exercise by a person of any force so as to cause injury to a worker, including any threatening statement or behaviour which gives a worker reasonable cause to believe he or she is at risk" (p. 4). Meanwhile, the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) Occupational Health and Safety Unit incorporates property violence into its definition by stating that "occupational violence is any incident in which employees are threatened or assaulted in circumstances arising out of their work. This may include personal intimidation in the form of threatening phone calls received at work or at home and vandalism to personal property" (p. 2). Finally, the International Labour Organization (ILO) defined workplace violence in 2003 as "any action, incident

or behaviour that departs from reasonable conduct in which a person is assaulted, threatened, harmed, injured in the course of, or as a direct result of, his or her work" (p. 4).

Types of Occupational Violence

Researchers usually accompany their definition of occupational violence with a detailed description of the types or sources of this violence. As mentioned, there is no consensus among researchers and governmental officials as to how many types or sources of occupational violence should be identified. However, the types of occupational violence most commonly used nowadays are as follows:

1. *Criminal or intrusive violence*: Violent acts by criminals who have no legitimate relationship to the business or its employees and are usually committing a crime (e.g., robbery) from which violence derives.
2. *Customer-related violence*: Violent acts by people who have a legitimate relationship with the business and become violent while being served (e.g., customers, clients, patients, students, and inmates).
3. *Co-worker violence*: Violent acts by an employee (or past employee) of the business or contractor (working as a temporary employee) who attacks or threatens another employee.
4. *Domestic violence at work*: Violent acts by someone who has a personal relationship with an employee and threatens or assaults the employee at the workplace (e.g., family member or boyfriend/girlfriend).
5. *Organizational violence*: Violent acts committed by the organization against staff or customers.

Occupational Violence Statistics

Accurate information about the true extent of occupational violence is not yet available. With the exception of fatal incidents, which represent a very small portion of the overall violent incidents in the workplace, all other types of violence at work remain underreported. Researchers estimate that approximately only one in five incidents are formally reported and argue that organizational culture, job

insecurity, embarrassment, and severity of the act influence the victim's decision to report occupational violence. Typically, the less severe incidents are less likely to be reported and insecure workers are generally less willing to report violent acts because of job loss fears.

The identification of clear trends is also impeded by the lack of a uniformly accepted definition among researchers about the nonfatal occupational violent acts. As mentioned, most researchers include in their survey instruments only physical acts of violence that result in an injury and ignore incidents of nonphysical violence such as threats, intimidation, as well as verbal and psychological abuse. Furthermore, not all of the aforementioned types of occupational violence are included in a survey. As a result, many types of occupational violence are virtually underinvestigated. The British Crime Survey, for example, measures only criminal (or intrusive) violence in the workplace and excludes cases of domestic violence and violence between colleagues. On the other hand, the Survey of Workplace Violence Prevention implemented by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics includes all types of occupational violence except for the organizational one.

The discussion that follows provides some baseline data about occupational violence in selected Western industrialized countries and identifies occupations more at risk of suffering violence. Overall, the data indicate that the high-risk occupations are similar across most countries. However, the research evidence is far from providing firm and clear answers. To the problems already mentioned, we should add the fact that patterns of employment (e.g., working hours, work shifts, and proportion of self-employed individuals) and structural factors, such as labor laws or firearm access, vary from country to country and between industries and occupational subgroups. An additional complication stems from the level of information provided by victimization surveys. Most of those surveys do not assign a Standard Occupational Classification code to classify workers into occupational categories. The National Crime Victimization Survey, for example, measures occupation in only six different areas (medical profession, mental health services, teaching profession, law enforcement or security field, retail sales, and transportation). On the other hand, studies that use a Standard Occupational Classification code,

like the Survey of Occupational Injuries and Illnesses of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, usually do not include detailed measures of all types of occupational violence.

Industries and Occupations Where Violence Is More Common

Research conducted in several Western industrialized countries indicates that acts of violence are not spread evenly across all workplaces. Violence tends to occur around work settings with specific risk factors that render employees more susceptible to victimization.

Type 1. Criminal or Intrusive Violence

Researchers in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada have identified five core risk factors common to the occupations at highest risk of crime-related (or instrumental) violence: employees exchange money or other valuable goods, work alone or in small numbers, work late at night or during early morning hours, have face-to-face contact with the public, and guard valuable property or possessions. Occupations frequently identified as having elevated risk of criminal violence are taxi drivers and chauffeurs, convenience store operators, gas station attendants, bus drivers, sales counter clerks, delivery workers, as well as cashiers and workers at amusement and recreational posts. Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs, for example, have one of the highest rates of work-related homicides and assaults across all Western countries. In the United States, it has been estimated that taxicab drivers and chauffeurs suffer 17.9 fatalities per 100,000 workers, or 36 times the risk of all employed individuals. In Australia, the assault rate on taxi drivers was approximately 10.4 per 100,000, and the taxi drivers were 27 times more likely than the general public to be assaulted and 66 times more likely to be robbed. Drivers are also frequently subject to rude gestures and offensive racial or sexual comments.

Type 2. Customer-Related Violence

Customer- (or client-) related violence is one of the most common types of violence in the workplace identified in almost all industrialized countries. The core risk factors of this type of violence

are employees working with unstable or volatile persons, having a mobile workplace, having face-to-face contact with the public, working in high-crime areas, working alone or in small numbers, and working in community-based settings. In both the United States and the United Kingdom, the occupations at high risk for client-related violence are police officers and prison guards, security personnel, mental health professionals, teachers in special education, and nurses. A similar pattern exists in Australia as well with miscellaneous laborers, social workers, community welfare workers, and prostitutes also being among the most at-risk occupations.

Type 3. Co-Worker Violence

The potential of co-worker violence is mainly influenced by highly competitive organizational cultures and management styles that fail to maintain equitable workloads and stability among workers. Poor working conditions, insecure jobs, and the possibility of unemployment also increase the potential for violence because they elevate stress levels and foster resentment and anger among employees. The research so far indicates that occupations in the goods-producing industries usually report a higher percentage of co-worker violence than occupations in the service-providing sector. Most violent incidents involve repeated bullying, threats, verbal or physical abuse, and stalking. The incidents may occur between a supervisor and an employee or between two employees of the same level. The incidents may involve multiple perpetrators and multiple victims, and the violent acts may be repeated over time.

Type 4. Domestic Violence at Work

Worksite accessibility and management tolerance of alcohol and drug use affect the spillover of domestic violence in the workplace. Other risk factors are employees with a history of violence, episodes of violent behavior outside the workplace, and employees who have recently experienced stressful events at home (financial difficulties, accidents, etc.). The research in the United States and Australia indicates that domestic violence in the workplace targets women significantly more often than men and that

occupations in the service-providing sector report much higher percentages of domestic violence than occupations in the goods-producing sector.

Type 5. Organizational Violence

Organizational violence is the least researched type of occupational violence. Scarce research evidence indicates that precarious employment, insecure jobs, quasi-military hierarchical and rigid management styles, highly competitive business environments, and severe economic downturns are the core risk factors of this type of workplace violence. Evidence about the more at-risk occupations of this type of violence is not available yet. However, research conducted in Australia indicates that organizational violence is usually systemic across whole sectors of the economy, concentrating particularly within industry subgroups or geographical areas where unemployment is a major problem.

Table 1 summarizes the above discussion about the sources of occupational violence, the risk factors, and the occupations where violence is more common.

Spyridon Kodellas

See also Contextual Effects on Victimization; Correlates of Victimization; Perceptions of Dangerous Situations Scale; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression; Workplace Violence, International Perspective; Workplace Violence, Prevention and Security; Workplace Violence, United States

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Table I Summary of the discussion about the sources of occupational violence, the risk factors, and the occupations where violence is more common

<i>Sources of Occupational Violence</i>	<i>Types of Crimes Commonly Committed</i>	<i>Risk Factors Commonly Identified</i>	<i>Most Vulnerable Occupations Identified</i>
Source 1: Violent acts by criminals who have no other connection with the workplace or the victim but enter only to commit crime.	• Homicide • Armed robbery • Aggravated assault • Robbery • Simple assault • Battery	• Exchange of money or other valuable goods • Working alone or in small numbers • Working late at night or during early morning hours • Having face-to-face contact with the public • Guarding valuable property or possessions	• Taxi drivers and chauffeurs • Convenience store operators • Gas station attendants • Sales counter clerks • Bus drivers • Delivery workers • Cashiers (in banks, post offices, etc.) • Retail sales staff • Amusement and recreational workers
Source 2: Violence directed at employees by customers, clients, patients, students, inmates, or any others for whom an organization or a professional provides services.	• Homicide • Aggravated assault • Simple assault • Battery • Attack • Verbal abuse • Threats • Sexual harassment	• Working with unstable or volatile persons • Having a mobile workplace • Having face-to-face contact with the public • Working in high-crime areas • Working alone or in small numbers • Working in community-based settings • Having an easily accessible worksite	• Police officers • Security personnel • Nurses • Detectives • Prison guards • Mental health professionals • Social workers • Emergency department workers • Community welfare workers • Firefighters • Teachers • Prostitutes
Source 3: Violence against co-workers, supervisors, or managers by present/former employee(s).	• Aggravated assault • Sexual/racial harassment • Simple assault • Battery • Cyber-harassment • Bullying • Threats/ intimidation • Mobbing • Verbal abuse • Vandalism • Rude/offending gesturing	• Organizational culture or management style conducive to injustice • Highly competitive business environments • Failure to maintain equitable workloads • Insecure jobs • Workers facing unemployment • Poor systems design or work station architecture • Poor communications • Poor working conditions	• Occupations in the goods-producing sector usually report a higher percentage of co-worker violence than occupations in the service-providing sector

(Continued)

Table I (Continued)

<i>Sources of Occupational Violence</i>	<i>Types of Crimes Commonly Committed</i>	<i>Risk Factors Commonly Identified</i>	<i>Most Vulnerable Occupations Identified</i>
Source 4: Violence committed in the workplace by someone who doesn't work there but has a personal relationship with an employee—an abusive spouse or domestic partner.	• Homicide • Aggravated assault • Simple assault • Battery • Stalking • Cyber-harassment • Harassing phone calls • Threats	• Alcohol and drug abuse • Accessible worksite • Recent episodes of violent behavior outside the workplace • Employees with history of violence • Home finance/ money problems • Stressful events at home (accidents, illnesses, etc.)	• Occupations in the service-providing sector report much higher percentages of domestic violence than occupations in the goods-producing sector
Source 5: Violence committed by the organization or business against staff.	• Abuse • Threats • Negligent or exploitative working conditions • Knowingly placing workers in dangerous or violent situations • Unreasonably excessive work demands or working hours • Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin • Threats against continued or future contracts	• Precarious employment • Insecure jobs • Quasi-military hierarchical and rigid management styles • Highly competitive business environments • Severe economic downturns	• No available data yet

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OFFENDER-BASED PROGRAMS

Each day, more than 7.3 million offenders are under some form of correctional supervision in the United States (1 out of every 31 adults), with approximately one third incarcerated and the remainder on probation or parole. Within the last 30 years, the number of incarcerated offenders has grown exponentially, to its highest level at 2.3 million. At present, the United States has an incarceration rate five times higher than any other Western country. Moreover, each year in the United States, 700,000 incarcerated offenders are released back into the community; however, many will not successfully make this transition. This “revolving door” has resulted in creating a process where two thirds of offenders will most likely be arrested within 3 years, and one half will be returned to prison for either parole violations or new charges. This entry examines offender-based programs currently being used in the United States.

Why Treatment Matters

Crimes caused by violent and nonviolent offenders create a substantial cost to society. In addition to the financial burden society must pay to prosecute,

confine, and rehabilitate offenders, the greatest pain and suffering is truly experienced by victims of the crime. Many offenders do not see the value in socially responsible behavior, either because it is not supported within their peer culture or because they do not receive the immediate or instant gratification they desire. Therefore, many offenders often undergo deconditioning (losing entrenched beliefs), followed by conditioning (learning prosocial behaviors) to learn the practice of self-regulation and self-management skills. Successful offender-based programming must address criminogenic needs to reduce recidivism in order to promote prosocial changes. Criminogenic needs can best be defined as dynamic risk factors that upon change reduce reoffending. Particular dynamic criminogenic needs effectively addressed in rehabilitation programs include antisocial attitudes, antisocial feelings, antisocial peer associations, and impulsivity. Scholarly research has determined that antisocial thinking or attitudes are among the strongest predictors for future recidivism among offenders.

It has been shown that three principles are necessary for effective offender treatment: risk, need, and responsivity. Specifically, these principles have all been found to impact the effectiveness of treatment. The risk principle maintains that effective treatment must match the risk level of the offender. To predict risk of recidivism, static and dynamic factors specific to the offender must be evaluated. Static risk factors are not changeable and include the details of an offender’s criminal history. Dynamic risk factors are changeable and include issues such as housing arrangements, employment, or attitudes. Offenders are matched to specific treatment programs based on their assessed risk. Specifically, offenders with a higher level of risk should be assigned to intense treatment and offenders with lower risk should be assigned to less intense treatment.

The need principle asserts that effective programs must meet the needs of the offender. This can be classified into two categories: criminogenic or noncriminogenic. Criminogenic needs include antisocial beliefs or feelings that are predictive of future recidivism. Noncriminogenic needs include mental health issues, such as self-esteem and anxiety, which are not predictive of recidivism. Programs that address only noncriminogenic needs do not reduce reoffending.

The responsivity principle focuses on individual characteristics specific to the offender and on characteristics specific to the treatment environment that can influence treatment. Appropriate treatment should fit the offender's learning style, intellectual ability, and psychological adjustment. An effective treatment environment ensures appropriate therapeutic relationship development and treatment approaches from which the offender will benefit most.

Current Types of Offender-Based Programs

Community Model of Resocialization

Community models incorporate evidence-based principles and practices of social learning and behavioral programs, such as empathy, encouragement of self-efficacy, effective modeling and reinforcement, self-regulation and self-management skills, relapse prevention programs, and resource provision. One of the most common interpretations of the community model is the therapeutic community (TC). This form of programming is often used for sex offenders, special needs populations, mentally ill offenders, and dually diagnosed offenders.

Cognitive-Behavioral Programming

The cognitive-behavioral approach is based on the theory of social learning. Social learning theory asserts that changes in thoughts can lead to changes in physical behavior.

Problem behavior is often rooted in modes of thinking that encourage and sustain that behavior. Permanent change in behavior requires change at the cognitive level (i.e., attitudes). There are two main types of cognitive programs: cognitive skills and cognitive restructuring, which use objective and systematic approaches of change. Cognitive skills training asserts that offenders have never learned or developed the necessary "thinking skills" required to be productive and responsible members of society. Offenders received systematic training in skills, such as problem solving, anger control, assertiveness, demonstrated empathy and understanding of others affected by one's decisions, and social skills for specific situations. Cognitive restructuring programs are founded on

the idea that offenders have learned destructive attitudes and thinking habits that lead them to criminal behavior, and that cognitive deficits and distortions characteristics of offenders are learned, not inherited. Specifically, cognitive restructuring programs challenge offenders' specific pro-criminal attitudes and replace them with new attitudes and ways of thinking. Overall, evidence suggests that violent offenders who have completed a cognitive-behavioral treatment program are 25% to 50% less likely to recidivate than offenders that have not completed a cognitive-behavioral program.

A common cognitive-behavioral offender program is anger management. Anger management training focuses on educating offenders on examining their patterns of thinking about situations in which they tend to respond with anger or violence. Programming strategies often focus on practicing scenarios to understand fully what elicits their anger and violence, and to learn to substitute inaccurate interpretations with nonhostile explanations of others' behaviors.

Sex Offender Treatment

At present, it is estimated that approximately 150,000 offenders are imprisoned for sex-related convictions, 40% for rape, and 60% for other sexual assaults such as lewd acts with children, fondling, molestation, statutory rape, indecent practices, and other related offenses. On average, convicted sex offenders represent 10% to 30% of the incarcerated offender populations. Most adult and juvenile sex offender programs use cognitive-behavioral and relapse prevention models for treatment. Sex offender treatment programs address deviant sexual arousal or interests, impulsivity, sexual preoccupation, pervasive anger of hostility, antisocial orientation, pro-offending attitudes, and intimacy deficits or conflicts in intimate relationships. In general, evidence suggests that cognitive-behavioral sex offender treatment can reduce recidivism by 15% to 30%.

Traditionally, civil commitment has been used for the secure treatment and incarceration of nonresponsible, nonculpable individuals such as the mentally ill or criminally insane. However, civil commitment is now being used to incapacitate violent sex offenders, commonly referred to as sexually violent predators (SVPs). At present,

19 states have created civil commit statutes that allow for the confinement and treatment of SVPs, and currently, there are more than 4,500 sex offenders being held under SVP laws in the United States.

Batterer Treatment

According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), there are more than 700,000 non-fatal violent incidents of intimate partner violence, of which 85% is committed against women. Since the 1980s, domestic violence intervention programs have begun to treat batterers who are predominately male. The two predominant treatment programs are the Duluth model and cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT). The Duluth model encourages batterers to address their attitudes about control, in addition to learning new strategies for dealing with their partners. Cognitive-behavioral therapy views domestic violence as a product of errors in thinking and focuses on implementing skills training and anger management to reduce intimate partner violence. In general, evidence suggests that the Duluth model and CBT only reduce batterer recidivism by 5%.

Mental Health and Drug and Alcohol Treatment

Offenders are more likely to have a mental illness than the general public. It is estimated that half of all incarcerated offenders have a mental illness. Evidence suggests that offenders who have a mental illness are more likely to have a substance abuse problem. In fact, 7 out of 10 incarcerated offenders with a mental illness also have a substance dependency or abuse problem (i.e., co-occurring disorder). In terms of treatment, offenders with mental illness are significantly less likely to complete treatment than offenders who report no history of mental illness. Conversely, evidence has shown that offenders with co-occurring disorders can benefit from treatment. Specifically, evidence indicates that offenders with co-occurring disorders who successfully complete treatment are less likely to recidivate or use substances when out in the community.

Relapse prevention therapy (RPT) is often used with offender and nonoffender populations. RPT uses a cognitive-behavioral approach to develop

an individualized plan that includes the rehearsal of alternative prosocial responses that are specific to the behaviors or circumstances that increase the risk of reoffending. Self-monitoring and the ability to anticipate problem behaviors are skills reinforced during treatment.

Another program frequently used by offenders with drug and alcohol problems is called the 12 Step Program. The 12 Step Program began with Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.) in the 1930s to facilitate the recovery from addictive or dysfunctional behaviors. The 12 Step approach has also been expanded to include drug abuse and various other addictive or dysfunctional behaviors. Currently, 12 Step programs are available in most correctional settings.

Using Sanctions With Offenders

Sanctions are commonly used as an approach to modify offender behavior. The theory supporting using sanctions proposes that by using immediate and consistent penalties, offenders will be deterred from drug use or crime. Examples of sanctions commonly used are intensive supervision, home confinement, electronic monitoring, frequent drug testing, and drug treatment. Sanctions are most frequently used in drug court. In general, evidence suggests that drug court participants are less likely to be rearrested after the end of the program than offenders not enrolled in drug court.

Restorative Justice

Restorative justice is founded on the idea that the criminal justice system should focus on criminal behavior as an act against the individual or community rather than the state. Most often, the purpose of restorative justice is restoration of both victims and offenders, in addition to reparation of harm perpetrated against the wider community. Evidence indicates that restorative justice has low to low-moderate positive effects on reducing recidivism for adolescent and adult offenders.

Conclusion

Offenders create a substantial cost to society, both in the costs to prosecute, confine, and rehabilitate them and in the devastating emotional

and psychological impact their actions have on victims. However, evidence has found promising indications that offenders can successfully rehabilitate and transition back into the community. Offender-based programs need to adhere to the principles of risk, need, and responsivity in order to achieve maximum benefits for the offender, victim, and society.

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See also Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy; Domestic Violence; Restorative Justice; Treating Rapists/Sex Offenders; Treating Violent Offenders

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Web Sites

- Center for Sex Offender Management: <http://www.csom.org/pubs/pubs.html#recidivism>
- U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/welcome.html>

OFFENDING AND VICTIMIZATION

Criminological research has consistently shown that offenders are much more likely than nonoffenders to be victims and that victims are much more likely than nonvictims to be offenders. In other words, victims and offenders are often the same individuals. For example, the 2006 sweep of the U.K. Home Office's Offending, Crime and Justice Survey found that, for 10- to 25-year-olds, 50% of offenders had also been victims of a personal crime in the past 12 months compared with 19% of nonoffenders; levels of offending were also higher among those who had been a victim compared with those who had not been a victim, 42% versus 14%. Furthermore, across numerous pieces of research, this *victim-offender overlap* holds for survey and police recorded data, for single and repeat victimization, for personal and property crime, for adults and juveniles, for males and females, and for different ethnic groups, and it has been found across time and space. Although research has clearly established the existence of this victim-offender overlap, we currently do not know enough about the ways in which victimization and offending influence one another.

Before looking at the possible causes of the victim-offender relationship it is worth briefly highlighting why there is currently a gap in our knowledge beyond that of a need for more systematic research. First, there is the division of labor within criminology itself, so that offending and victimization are often perceived as separate subfields of study. Second, there is understandable concern that linking victimization with offending could lead to victim blaming, even though not all victims are offenders or vice versa. Finally, there is the fact that popular and political discourses tend to perceive offending and victimization in simple binary terms with "bad" offenders and "good" victims; the linking of offending and victimization complicates what can otherwise be treated as an unproblematic issue.

Current Explanations

Current explanations of the victim-offender overlap can be simplified into three broad approaches that are by no means mutually exclusive. First, the victim-offender overlap is often found within social

circles. High victimization rates and high offender rates are often strongly correlated at the neighborhood level, and residents tend to commit offenses on others within their neighborhood, so that in many cases offenders will also be victims. Similar processes also tend to operate within smaller social units, such as groups of friends. So, teenagers tend to have friends with a similar level of delinquency to their own, and a polarization emerges between high-delinquency and low-delinquency friendship groups. Given that individual members of these delinquency groups are likely to commit offenses on each other as well as on others outside the circle, they tend to have an elevated rate of victimization. Related to social circles, some types of crime originate from sequences of interaction between people who are in an intimate relationship or are thrown together within a workplace or neighborhood. Power is infrequently balanced in these relationships, and normally one party will be the offender and the other the victim, but the positions may be reversed from time to time, and in rare relationships, each person may play the part of victim and offender equally often. Whenever crime originates in the context of an ongoing relationship, victimization and offending are likely to be linked closely.

Second, the same personal characteristics or social and environmental factors may give rise both to offending and to victimization. For example, most offending behavior carries the risk of serious adverse consequences, so that risk-taking as a personality characteristic is associated with offending. At the same time, a failure to take precautions makes many kinds of victimization more likely, so that risk-taking is also associated with victimization. In terms of social and environmental factors, there is good evidence, for example, that weak social bonds can be associated with offending. They might also be associated with victimization, because it is harder for those without relationships to protect themselves and their property than for those who are embedded in dense social networks. Thus, the same social and environmental factors that give rise to offending may also give rise to victimization.

Third, there is good evidence for a direct causal relationship running from offending to victimization. Young offenders in residential care or prisoners, as is well documented, are vulnerable to personal and property crime. Offenders may also

become vulnerable to retaliation by their victims and to vigilante attacks by local people on behalf of the wider community. Obviously the causal link may also run from victimization to offending, for example, because a victim of crime decides to retaliate. Furthermore, it is likely that a causal chain may run back and forth between victimization and offending, with each giving rise to the other in a form of vendetta. Another possibility, as in the case of child abuse, is that victimization in childhood has an adverse effect on personal development, increasing the likelihood that the childhood victim will become an adult offender.

Implications

Identifying the processes underlying the victim-offender overlap potentially has important policy implications; because many of the same factors that predict offending also predict victimization, it may be possible to develop simultaneously programs that reduce the risk of both. Schemes such as victim support and restorative justice need to deal with the reality of victims who are often themselves offenders, and where offending may be closely connected to their victimization.

Future Research

The growing body of empirical work indicating a significant overlap between victim and offender populations suggests that criminological theory and research need to be more attentive to the role of victimization in the explanation of offending and to the role of offending in the explanation of victimization as well as to the conditions under which these populations converge.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Gangs and Victimization; Intimate Partner Violence; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Victim Blaming; Victimization, Theories of

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OPERATION CEASEFIRE/ PULLING LEVERS

Several jurisdictions have been experimenting with new problem-oriented frameworks to understand and respond to gun violence among gang-involved offenders. These interventions are based on the “pulling levers” focused deterrence strategy that focuses criminal justice and social service attention on a small number of chronically offending gang members responsible for the bulk of urban gun violence problems. Although the research evidence on the crime prevention value associated with the approach is still developing, the pulling levers strategy has been embraced by the U.S. Department of Justice as an effective approach to crime prevention.

Pioneered in Boston to halt youth violence, the pulling levers framework has been applied in many American cities through federally sponsored violence prevention programs such as the Strategic Alternatives to Community Safety Initiative and Project Safe Neighborhoods. In its simplest form, the approach consists of selecting a particular crime problem, such as youth homicide; convening an interagency working group of law enforcement practitioners; conducting research to identify key offenders, groups, and behavior patterns; framing a response to offenders and groups of offenders that uses a varied menu of sanctions (“pulling levers”) to stop them from continuing their violent behavior; focusing social services and community resources on targeted offenders and groups to match law enforcement prevention efforts; and directly and repeatedly communicating with offenders to make them understand why they are receiving this special attention.

The Boston Gun Project and Operation Ceasefire

The Boston Gun Project was a problem-oriented policing enterprise expressly aimed at taking on a

serious, large-scale crime problem—homicide victimization among young people in Boston. Like many large cities in the United States, Boston experienced a large sudden increase in youth homicide between the late 1980s and early 1990s. The project began in early 1995 and implemented what is now known as the “Operation Ceasefire” intervention, which began in the late spring of 1996. The working group of law enforcement personnel, youth workers, and researchers diagnosed the youth violence problem in Boston as one of patterned, largely vendetta-like (“beef”) hostility among a small population of chronic offenders, and particularly among those involved in some 61 loose, informal, mostly neighborhood-based groups. These 61 gangs consisted of between 1,100 and 1,300 members, representing less than 1% of the city’s youth between the ages of 14 and 24 years. Although small in number, these gangs were responsible for more than 60% of youth homicide in Boston.

The Operation Ceasefire “pulling levers” strategy was designed to deter violence by reaching out directly to gangs, saying explicitly that violence would no longer be tolerated, and backing up that message by “pulling every lever” legally available when violence occurred. Simultaneously, youth workers, probation and parole officers, and later churches and other community groups offered gang members services and other kinds of help. The Ceasefire Working Group delivered this message in formal meetings with gang members, through individual police and probation contacts with gang members, through meetings with inmates at secure juvenile facilities in the city, and through gang outreach workers. The deterrence message was not a deal with gang members to stop violence. Rather, it was a promise to gang members that violent behavior would evoke an immediate and intense response. If gangs committed other crimes but refrained from violence, the normal workings of police, prosecutors, and the rest of the criminal justice system dealt with these matters. But if gang members hurt people, the Working Group concentrated its enforcement actions on them.

When gang violence occurred, the Ceasefire agencies addressed the violent group or groups involved, drawing from a menu of all possible legal “levers.” The chronic involvement of gang members in a wide variety of offenses made them, and

the gangs they formed, vulnerable to a coordinated criminal justice response. The authorities could disrupt street drug activity, focus police attention on low-level street crimes such as trespassing and public drinking, serve outstanding warrants, cultivate confidential informants for medium- and long-term investigations of gang activities, deliver strict probation and parole enforcement, seize drug proceeds and other assets, ensure stiffer plea bargains and sterner prosecutorial attention, request stronger bail terms (and enforce them), and bring potentially severe federal investigative and prosecutorial attention to gang-related drug activity. The multitude of agencies involved in the Working Group assessed each gang that behaved violently and subjected them to such “crack-downs.” These operations were customized to the particular individuals and characteristics of the gang in question, and they ranged from probation curfew checks to U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) investigations.

The Ceasefire crackdowns were not designed to eliminate gangs or stop every aspect of gang activity but to control and deter serious violence. To do this, the Working Group explained its actions against targeted gangs to other gangs, as in “this gang did violence, we responded with the following actions, and here is how to prevent anything similar from happening to you.” The ongoing Working Group process regularly watched the city for outbreaks of gang violence and framed any necessary responses in accord with the Ceasefire strategy. As the strategy unfolded, the Working Group continued communication with gangs and gang members to convey its determination to stop violence, to explain its actions to the target population, and to maximize both voluntary compliance and the strategy’s deterrent power.

A large reduction in the yearly number of Boston youth homicides followed immediately after Operation Ceasefire was implemented in mid-1996. A U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ)–sponsored evaluation of Operation Ceasefire revealed that the intervention was associated with a 63% decrease in the monthly number of Boston youth homicides, a 32% decrease in the monthly number of shots-fired calls, a 25% decrease in the monthly number of gun assaults, and in one high-risk police district given special attention in the evaluation, a 44% decrease in the monthly

number of youth gun assault incidents. The evaluation also suggested that Boston’s significant youth homicide reduction associated with Operation Ceasefire was distinct when compared with youth homicide trends in most major U.S. and New England cities.

Other researchers, however, have observed that some of the decrease in homicide may have occurred without the Ceasefire intervention in place as violence was decreasing in most major U.S. cities. Jeffrey Fagan’s cursory review of gun homicide in Boston and in other Massachusetts cities suggests a general downward trend in gun violence existed before Operation Ceasefire was implemented. In their analysis of homicide trend data for the 95 largest U.S. cities during the 1990s, Richard Rosenfeld and his colleagues found some evidence of a sharper youth homicide drop in Boston than elsewhere but suggest that the small number of youth homicide incidents precludes strong conclusions about program effectiveness based on their statistical models. In his examination of youth homicide trends in Boston, Jens Ludwig suggested that Ceasefire was associated with a large drop in youth homicide, but given the complexities of analyzing city-level homicide trend data, some uncertainty remained about the extent of Ceasefire’s effect on youth violence in Boston.

The National Research Council’s Panel on Improving Information and Data on Firearms concluded that the Ceasefire evaluation was compelling in associating the intervention with the subsequent decline in youth homicide. However, the Panel also suggested that many complex factors affect youth homicide trends and it was difficult to specify the exact relationship between the Ceasefire intervention and subsequent changes in youth offending behaviors. Although the DOJ-sponsored evaluation controlled for existing violence trends and certain rival causal factors such as changes in the youth population, drug markets, and employment in Boston, there could be complex interaction effects among these factors not measured by the evaluation that could account for some meaningful portion of the decrease. The evaluation was not a randomized, controlled experiment. Therefore, the nonrandomized control group research design cannot rule out these internal threats to the conclusion that Ceasefire was the key factor in the youth homicide decline.

Experiences With Pulling Levers in Other Jurisdictions

At first blush, the effectiveness of the Operation Ceasefire intervention in preventing violence may seem unique to Boston. Operation Ceasefire was constructed largely from the assets and capacities available in Boston at the time and deliberately tailored to the city's particular violence problem. The operational capacities of criminal justice agencies in other cities will be different, and youth violence problems in other cities will have important distinguishing characteristics. However, the basic working group problem-solving process and the "pulling levers" approach to deterring chronic offenders are transferable to violence problems in other jurisdictions. Several cities have begun to experiment with these analytic frameworks and have experienced some encouraging preliminary results. Consistent with the problem-oriented policing approach, these cities have tailored the approach to fit their violence problems and operating environments.

In East Los Angeles, a DOJ-sponsored replication of Operation Ceasefire experienced noteworthy difficulty keeping the social service and community-based partners involved in the interagency collaboration. However, the law enforcement components of the intervention were fully implemented and focused on two gangs engaged in ongoing violent conflict. The evaluation revealed that the focused enforcement resulted in significant short-term reductions in violent crime and gang crime in targeted areas relative to matched comparison areas. In Stockton, California, a quasi-experimental evaluation of the Operation Peacekeeper gang violence reduction intervention also found a significant decrease in gun homicide associated with the pulling levers approach. An interagency task force implemented a pulling levers strategy to prevent gun violence among Hispanic and Asian gangs in Lowell, Massachusetts. A quasi-experimental evaluation found that the Lowell pulling levers strategy was associated with a 43% decrease in the monthly number of gun homicide and gun aggravated assault incidents.

A quasi-experimental evaluation of the Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership found that the pulling levers strategy was associated with

a 42% reduction in homicide in Indianapolis. When compared with homicide trends in the nearby cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Louisville, and Pittsburgh, the evaluation found that Indianapolis was the only city experiencing a statistically significant decrease in homicide during the study time period. In Chicago, a quasi-experimental evaluation of a Project Safe Neighborhoods gun violence reduction strategy found significant reductions in homicides in treatment neighborhoods relative to control neighborhoods. The evaluation found that the largest effect was associated with preventive tactics based on the pulling levers strategy, such as offender notification meetings that stress individual deterrence, normative change in offender behavior, and increasing views on legitimacy and procedural justice.

There is less experience in applying the pulling levers approach to other problems. In High Point, North Carolina, a pulling levers strategy has been aimed at eliminating public forms of drug dealing such as street markets and crack houses by warning dealers, buyers, and their families that enforcement is imminent. The project employed a joint police-community partnership to identify individual offenders, notify them of the consequences of continued illegal activity, and provide supportive services through a community-based resource coordinator. A preliminary assessment of the pulling levers drug market intervention found noteworthy reductions in drug and violent crime in High Point's West End neighborhood.

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See also Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS); Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Project Safe Neighborhoods

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PARENTS ANONYMOUS

Child abuse and neglect are serious public health problems that have implications for both families and society. Parents Anonymous is one of the nation's leading organizations that aim to reduce child maltreatment and strengthen families through the education and treatment of parents. This entry provides an overview of the Parents Anonymous program, focusing on the unique group model employed by the program, the services that Parents Anonymous provides to members, and the empirical evidence that demonstrates the program's effectiveness.

History and Mission

Parents Anonymous is the nation's oldest child abuse prevention and treatment program. The program was founded in 1969 in a joint effort by a single mother and a social worker who believed that if provided with the right resources parents had the best means to strengthen their families. Parents Anonymous began as a grassroots endeavor within local communities and steadily grew to a decentralized organization with hundreds of accredited affiliates operating both across the United States and internationally. In the United States, the Parents Anonymous national office and state offices share private and public funding that is used to provide services to members and raise public awareness on reducing child abuse. Since its creation, Parents Anonymous has provided services and treatment to millions of parents who

have sought help and support from the program. Today thousands of members are regularly involved in weekly meetings and receive counseling through the Parents Anonymous hotlines.

Parents Anonymous partakes in a wide variety of evidence-based and cost-effective programming aimed at preventing abuse and strengthening families. The organization is modeled after a self-help program that encourages parents to discuss their parenting concerns openly, recognize the need to self-reward positive behavior, and develop their own self-esteem and confidence as parents. Parents Anonymous targets the reduction of a full range of abuse including physical, emotional, and sexual abuse; physical neglect; emotional deprivation; and verbal assault. The program aims to accomplish this task by providing a nurturing and therapeutic service to its members at no charge to the consumer. The safe and supportive environment provided by Parents Anonymous groups allows parents to discuss candidly the emotional factors that can lead to abuse and stress and learn how to enjoy the responsibilities of parenthood.

The Group Model

Parents Anonymous employs a group model where members of the group set the agenda of the meetings and decide the content that will be discussed. Each week, the group meets at a designated time in a safe, nonthreatening location to discuss a wide range of parental issues such as discipline, communication, child development, and coping with stress. The topics addressed in the group sessions relate to

the specific needs and concerns of group members present, and any subject that pertains to a member's life is open for discussion. The Parents Anonymous group model aims to take advantage of adult learning styles by emphasizing the importance of addressing problem behaviors, practicing new behaviors, and providing positive reinforcement. Each group session is led by a parent leader and a professionally trained sponsor. Along with group members, the parent leader and sponsor are fundamental components of the Parents Anonymous group model.

The Group Member

Members of the program are self-referred or have been referred by social agencies, police departments, courts, or medical professionals. All parents or individuals in parenting roles who have concerns about their parenting skills and would like to receive support or information are welcome and encouraged to partake in Parents Anonymous meetings and trainings. The services are geared toward parents who are seeking assistance on their own and those who have experienced problems obtaining help from other social service agencies. The program provides an important resource to the community because it offers services to individuals who are distrustful of traditional mental health professionals, or are financially unable or embarrassed to seek other mental health services. Membership in the program is voluntary, and participants are not required to speak at the meeting or provide identifying information. Each member is notified at their first meeting that Parents Anonymous takes a strong stance against the abuse of children, and the organization is required by state law to report suspected child abuse or neglect. Unless the health or safety of a child is in question, all other aspects of the program are confidential.

The Parent Leader

Each Parents Anonymous group has a parent leader who is a member of the group and facilitates the discussion along with the professional sponsor. The parent leader's role is to promote leadership within the group and to encourage communication between group members. Often, the role of the parent leader is shared by multiple parents to allow all interested members to develop and strengthen

their leadership skills. The parent leader works closely with the sponsor to structure the weekly meetings and facilitate the group discussion. In 1995, Parents Anonymous created the National Parent Leadership Team (NPLT) from a group of parent leaders who wanted to increase their leadership responsibilities. The NPLT is responsible for providing training to parents and professionals and for raising public awareness on the program and child abuse prevention. Since the inception of the NPLT, state and local programs have also developed their own parent leadership teams.

The Professional Sponsor

In addition to the parent leader, each group has a sponsor who meets with the group weekly and facilitates the discussion. The sponsor is a professional volunteer with experience in social work, mental health care, counseling, or a related field. Parents Anonymous sponsors have knowledge on a wide range of family issues, which include child abuse, child development, and juvenile delinquency, as well as knowledge on available resources within the local community. The sponsor's role is to act as an accepting and nonauthoritarian group consultant and to provide a positive representation of mental health professionals. Sponsors encourage an informal relationship between themselves and group members by using their first names and sharing personal information about their own lives. Through this process and the partnership with the parent leader, the sponsor aims to change participants' attitudes toward mental health and social service professionals.

The Volunteer

Volunteers play a vital role in the daily operation of the Parents Anonymous organization. They are responsible for facilitating and organizing weekly meetings, managing the Parents Anonymous hotlines, providing child care services, and administering children services and programming. Volunteers also help to raise public awareness on child abuse prevention and treatment and work to increase services within the community to assist parents in strengthening their families. The thousands of volunteers who work across the globe providing their services at no cost help Parents Anonymous keep expenses to a minimum so they

can continue to provide information and training to parents at no charge.

The Group Meeting

At the weekly meetings, parents are encouraged to share personal information about themselves and openly discuss the circumstances in their lives that affect their parenting. Members are also encouraged to exchange contact information and phone numbers with other members so that they can provide each other with 24-hour assistance and create a social support network. Through the exchange of information, members can call for help in times of need as well as discuss their parenting successes. The goal of the weekly meeting is to create a safe and nurturing environment where parents can talk about their concerns without fear of rejection or ostracism. Group meetings are open ended, and parents are welcome to join the group at any time and participate as long as they would like. Each week, the group discusses factors occurring in the parents' lives and focus on praising members' successes and minimizing their failures. Members are encouraged to practice new behaviors in their homes and share the results with the group. By providing a nonthreatening atmosphere, the Parents Anonymous group aims to break the parents' cycle of not requesting help when needed.

Principles

The Parents Anonymous organization adheres to four guiding principles. The first principle is parent leadership. Parent leadership refers to the need for parents to recognize their problems, create ways to resolve their problems, and act as an example to others. The second principle is mutual support, which reflects the reciprocal relationship of support and assistance that exists between parents in the group. The third principle is shared leadership, which refers to the partnership between the parents and the group sponsor and the sharing of responsibility and leadership roles. The fourth principle is personal growth. Personal growth is achieved when parents are able to create long-term change in their lives by interacting with the group and addressing their parenting concerns in an accepting environment. Parents Anonymous places a heavy emphasis on strengthening families through

programming and training seminars that adhere to the principles of mutual support and shared leadership. By operating under these four principles, the program aims to break down barriers to change and prevent the cycle of family violence.

Children Services

Parents Anonymous also offers a wide range of specialized programming for children while their parents are engaged in their meetings. These programs promote the healthy development of children and include classes aimed at addressing problem-solving and social interaction skills, drug and alcohol awareness, and dealing with emotions. The goal of the specialized programs is to increase the children's self-esteem while reducing risk factors for delinquency. Child care is provided to children in areas where specialized programming is unavailable. In 1994, Parents Anonymous partnered with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) with the goal of preventing and ending juvenile delinquency and child abuse problems in families. Together, Parents Anonymous and the OJJDP are working to bring the shared leadership-mutual support model to culturally and ethnically diverse communities throughout the United States in an effort to reduce known risk factors for delinquency.

Empirical Evaluations

Parents Anonymous uses evidence-based services that have been empirically supported through research. A 1976 study by the Behavior Associates demonstrates the effectiveness of Parents Anonymous. The Behavior Associates conducted a survey on 613 participants in the program and asked them a wide range of questions concerning their parenting experiences, attitudes, use of community resources, and the prevalence and seriousness of abuse in their household. The study found that parents who attended Parents Anonymous meetings showed a decrease in verbal and physical abuse and an increase in self-esteem, help-seeking behaviors, and using community resources. The results also indicate that participants in the program had a greater understanding of child development. Another study conducted by Anne Cohn also demonstrates the effectiveness of Parents Anonymous programming. Cohn's study examined case managers and their

assessment of clients during the start and end of services. Cohn found that case managers reported that individuals who participated in Parents Anonymous were more likely to have improved parental skills and knowledge of child development.

In 2003, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) began conducting a 3-year outcome evaluation on Parents Anonymous to assess whether participation in the program reduced child maltreatment. The study was conducted on 206 new participants to Parents Anonymous who were given interviews at their first month, second month, and sixth month in the program. The evaluation found that individuals who participated in the program had reductions in risk factors that can lead to abuse and neglect and had a reduced likelihood to mistreat or act aggressively toward their children over time. Respondents also reported experiencing less stress, intimate partner violence, and drug and alcohol use. The NCCD report suggested that parents who continued to participate in the program were more likely than those who stopped attending meetings to improve on several outcome measures. Another encouraging finding from the evaluation is that individuals who began the program with the highest risk of child maltreatment improved significantly on every outcome measure.

The findings from the various evaluations demonstrate that the Parents Anonymous program can be used successfully to reduce the prevalence of child maltreatment and provide parents with the skills needed to be successful parents. Through the reduction of the risk factors that lead to child abuse and neglect, Parents Anonymous aims to strengthen families while reducing the frequency of other costly social problems that can result from child maltreatment.

Heidi L. Scherer

See also Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment; Child Protective Services; Family Nurturing Programs; Family Violence; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Safety Planning for Abused Children

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<http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org>

Parents Anonymous: <http://www.parentsanonymous.org>

PARRICIDE

Parricide technically refers to the killing of a close relative. Beginning in the early 1980s, the term has increasingly been used to refer to the killings of parents. *Matricide* denotes killing one's mother; the killing of one's father is known as *patricide*. The killing of one's parents has evoked horror since antiquity. These events often generate intense public interest because people are stunned when the victim is a parent murdered by their own offspring. Media accounts falsely suggest that parricide is common, typically involves multiple victims and offenders, and is largely committed by youth. This entry summarizes the incidence of parricide, which includes its offense as well as victim and offender characteristics; it also examines youth involvement in parricide using U.S. arrest data.

Incidence

Murders of parents are rare events in the United States. An analysis of murders reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed that in 2005, of 14,680 total homicide victims, 123 were identified as mothers and 118 as fathers who were slain by their biological children. Combined, the killings of parents represented less than 2% of all

homicide victims and approximately 3% of homicides in which the victim–offender relationship was known. Studies have also concluded that parricide is a rare event in other countries, comprising less than 4% of all homicides in Canada and about 2% to 3% of all homicides and attempted homicides in France.

Victim, Offender, and Offense Correlates

Empirical analyses of national databases involving homicides in which children have killed parents have been limited. One of the earliest statistical analyses that involved parents as victims in the United States, undertaken by Kathleen Heide, used the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) data for the 10-year period 1977 to 1986. An updated examination of the characteristics of victims, offenders, and offenses in parricide incidents using SHR data for the 24-year period 1976 to 1999 was completed by Heide and Thomas Petee. They constructed two databases, which consisted of 5,781 victims and 5,558 offenders. Their findings, when compared with earlier ones, revealed that the correlates of parricide, when analyzed from arrest data across more than two decades, are amazingly stable over time. Highlights of these findings are summarized below.

Fathers and mothers slain by their children were typically killed alone by one offspring. In the offender-based data set, 92% of offenders killed mothers and fathers in single-victim, single-offender incidents. In the victim-based data set, 86% of parents were killed in this way.

Parricide Victim Characteristics

Victims killed in incidents in which mothers were slain ranged in age from 28 to 98 years of age and older; the age range for victims killed in patricide incidents was nearly identical, from 27 to 98 years of age and older. The mean and median ages of victims killed in matricide incidents were 58 and 57 years, respectively. Victims in patricide events were slightly younger than victims in matricide events. The comparable average ages for victims killed in patricide events were 55 and 53 years, respectfully.

Significant racial differences emerged in parricidal incidents that involved fathers and mothers. Victims killed in matricide events were significantly more likely to be White than non-White when compared

with victims killed in patricide events. In matricide incidents, 75% of victims were White, 23% were Black, and approximately 2% was composed of Oriental, Indian, another racial group, or unknown race categories. In patricide incidents, 68% of victims were White, and 30% were Black; the remaining 2% was composed of the four other categories.

Parricide Offender Characteristics

Offenders involved in incidents in which mothers were killed ranged in age from 8 to 78 years of age; offenders involved in patricide incidents ranged from 7 to 72 years old. The mean and median ages of offenders who participated in killing mothers were 30 and 27 years, respectively. Offenders involved in patricide events tended to be slightly younger; the comparable ages for these offenders were 25 and 23 years, respectively. The racial profile of offenders was similar to the racial profile of victims killed in parricide incidents. Offenders involved in the killings of mothers were significantly more likely to be White than those involved in the killings of fathers.

Significant differences were found when the gender of the offender was examined. In most of cases, sons were the killers in both matricide and patricide events. Males were involved in the murders of 84% of the incidents involving mothers and 87% of the incidents involving fathers.

Youth Involvement in the Slaying of Parents

Significant differences emerged when the ages of offenders involved in killings of mothers and fathers were examined. The age distribution of offenders involved in killing fathers was more restricted than that found in incidents involving mothers. More than 72% of patricide incidents were perpetrated by offspring less than 30 years of age, compared with 56% of matricide incidents.

During the 24-year period under review, most offenders involved in incidents in which fathers and mothers were killed were adults. However, juvenile involvement in parricidal incidents is worth noting. One of six offenders who participated in the killings of mothers (17.0%) was less than 18 years of age. In patricidal incidents, one of four offenders (25.4%) was a juvenile. The involvement of youth in U.S. parricide incidents is substantial when the

analysis is extended to include the upper end of adolescence, 18 and 19 year olds. Offenders younger than age 20 years were involved in one quarter of incidents in which mothers were slain (25.0%) and more than one third of incidents in which fathers were killed (36.5%). Analyses of the 24-year period using three methods (by 6-year intervals, decades of 1980s vs. 1990s and early vs. late 1990s) provided no evidence of an increasing trend of juvenile (under age 18 years) involvement in the killing of parents. The clear lack of evidence for an increase in the killings of mothers and fathers by juveniles in the 1980s and 1990s seems at odds with the increased reporting of parricidal incidents by the media since the early 1980s.

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See also Domestic Violence; Family Violence; Homicide and Murder; Juvenile Offending and Victimization

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PATHWAYS TO PREVENTION

Developmental prevention involves intervening early before crime or serious behavioral problems

emerge or become entrenched, modifying social arrangements through the organized provision of resources to individuals, families, schools, or communities. Persuasive scientific evidence suggests that this approach works, based primarily on a range of studies that commenced in the United States before the 1980s, such as the Perry Preschool Project (enriched preschool for disadvantaged children) and the Elmira Prenatal/Early Infancy Project (nurse home visiting to support pregnant, single teenage women). Pathways to Prevention is a program of research on developmental prevention that began in 1997 with work by the Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium that reviewed the international evidence on the effectiveness of this approach and assessed its policy implications for Australia.

The consortium identified a huge range of creative initiatives that collectively held great promise, but they found that relatively few of these initiatives were well evaluated. They concluded that it was time to invest in one or more demonstration projects to develop a local body of scientific knowledge about how to execute developmental prevention systematically in Australian conditions, especially in disadvantaged communities where needs are most concentrated. The Pathways to Prevention Project (Pathways) in Brisbane is implementing these recommendations in one of the most disadvantaged urban areas of Queensland, based on a strong foundation of ongoing research.

Aims and Methods

In broad terms, the Pathways Project aims to increase opportunities for people from disadvantaged groups, improve their well-being, and gain access to societal resources, thus promoting *social inclusion*. These aims are achieved by strengthening developmental systems through the provision of resources in a holistic fashion early in developmental pathways, before problems emerge or become entrenched.

The Pathways Project was developed in 2001 as a partnership between Griffith University, national community agency Mission Australia, and the Queensland Department of Education. Based on developmental systems theory, the project operates on the basis that children's well-being relies on the

success with which several organizations and social settings (e.g., families, schools, communities, and social service agencies) work together. The project philosophy is a synthesis of *community-centered approaches*, which emphasize community embeddedness, practitioner insights, and the improvement of existing practices, with *research-to-practice models* that emphasize an independent body of high-quality scientific evidence that is implemented with high fidelity by complaint practitioners. Several key features of the project design are as follows:

1. A focus on measurable improvements in children's well-being, including antisocial behaviors and social skills
2. An integrated developmental/ecological approach that reduces risk factors and promotes protective factors at multiple levels
3. An emphasis on building relations or connections between the multiple levels of organization in the developmental system, especially among children, families, schools, and community agencies
4. The simultaneous incorporation of programs at the level of the child, parent and family, school, and community (particularly the major ethnic communities)
5. A focus on key life transitions, such as the start of school
6. A community development framework that promotes family and community empowerment and the creation of more child-friendly institutions and community settings
7. Methods that facilitate an understanding of community needs and the processes through which change has been effected through Pathways
8. A commitment to measuring costs and assessing cost-effectiveness

The Mission Australia Pathways Family Support team consists of 17 community and professional staff, with most of the community workers drawn from the Vietnamese, Pacific Islander, and Indigenous communities. In addition, a teacher is seconded full time to the project. The University team consists of four researchers and two doctoral scholars.

Participants and Outcomes

In mid-2008, 3,757 children were in the Pathways database, 2,072 of whom were enrolled in one of seven participating primary schools. Four hundred and forty-one children were involved directly or indirectly through their families in the family support program (21.3% of enrolled children). In all, 599 families were entered into the Pathways database of participants.

Participation in Pathways has been shown to be associated with a range of positive outcomes, which include reduced levels of difficult child behavior; increased preschool language skills; improved grade 1 school performance; higher ratings of school readiness; higher levels of involvement in children's learning, reduced isolation among participating families, and better links to support services; greater confidence in parenting role among participants of family-based programs; greater involvement of parents in the school; and a growing perception by schools of Pathways community workers as key contributors in the school and their cultural communities. An economic analysis also shows that Pathways is cost-effective in comparison with Education Department remedial programs.

Achievements and Impact

Pathways is a model of practice in disadvantaged areas that is research-based and practice-informed; flexible, comprehensive, and persevering; effective; cost-effective; sustainable; replicable; and can be brought to scale.

Pathways shared first prize in the 2004 National Crime and Violence Prevention Awards, and in April 2004, the Prime Minister announced a new multi-million-dollar program, Communities for Children, which is strongly influenced by the learnings from Pathways. Pathways has also had a major influence in Australia on policies in such diverse fields as mental health, substance abuse, juvenile crime, child protection, and special education.

Ross Homel

See also Cost-Benefit Analysis and Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Development and Social Crime Prevention; Family Nurturing Programs; Perry

Preschool Project; Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency; Seattle Social Development Project

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PEACEMAKING: ALTERNATIVE COURT REMEDIES

Peacemaking, in both criminological theory and criminal justice practice, emphasizes adjusting relationships, resolving conflicts, cooperation, and rehabilitation. The peace perspective is an inclusive policy model designed to empower all participants and provide them with an opportunity to change their behavior and manage their future. In practice, Navajo peacemaking courts demonstrate the utility of the peacemaking process as an alternative to the punitive construction of traditional criminal courts.

Peacemaking Courts

The Court

The Navajo peacemaking court formally emerged in 1982 as a synthesis of traditional

Native American dispute resolution and Western court methods. Peacemaking courts are leading examples of restorative justice seeking something more effective than retribution and punishment. However, Navajo peacemaking is distinct from the Western restorative justice practice of mediation.

Navajo peacemaking is unique because it foregoes the goal of identifying and punishing wrongdoers to teach them a lesson. No sense of guilt or innocence is felt in peacemaking. Guilt, which implies a moral fault and demands punishment, is a nonsensical word in the Navajo language. Peacemaking is more concerned with the healing of the victim and the community through adjusting relationships than it is with punishing an offender. Inclusion is the key to peacemaking; disputants, their blood relatives, and persons with clan affiliation are all invited to participate. Every dispute process is individualized.

Navajo peacemaking courts are used for a variety of offenses, most of which are misdemeanors such as driving while intoxicated, assaults, batteries, and public order crimes, such as disorderly conduct. The court also handles cases of intimate partner violence as well as orders of protection. Alcohol use and familial violence is common among peacekeeping court cases.

In peacemaking courts, there are no formal rules of procedure and no display of evidence; even finding the “truth” is recognized as irrelevant. The focus of peacemaking is to fix an underlying problem of which each dispute is only a symptom. All parties are guided to move from the head to the heart to achieve the final goal of reconciliation. Although peacemaking is not formalized, the three general phases to the peacemaking process are talking things out, lecture, and reconciliation.

The Court Philosophy

Peacemaking courts do not adhere to the traditional “vertical” structure of power and control. The vertical system of justice relies on a line, on the hierarchy of power made up by judges, juries, lawyers, and other court participants. Whereas case participants occupy a position at the bottom of the authority hierarchy, they are required to abide by a decision handed down from the top. Advocates of peacemaking submit that the traditional vertical system of justice is so concerned with winning and losing that when parties come to the end of the

case, little or nothing is done to solve the underlying problems that caused the dispute in the first place. Although vertical justice, through adversarial law and adjudication, offers win-lose solutions, Navajo justice is intended to provide a win-win solution.

A circle is often used to illustrate the concept of Navajo justice. It is perfect, unbroken, and represents unity and oneness. Every point (or person) on the line of a circle looks to the same center as the focus. In a circle, there is no first or last, no top or bottom, and no beginning or end. In a circle, as in peacemaking, every person and every opinion is of equal importance.

Navajo peacemaking is rooted in traditional values and opinions about the world and the human's role in the world. First, Navajos believe humans are neither an animal nor a god. Second, tradition describes humans as innately good. As a result, when someone hurts another person, there is a conflict between the bad act and the offender's human goodness. A coping mechanism is needed to deal with the conflicting states; this coping mechanism is referred to as cognitive dissonance.

Cognitive dissonance, or the mental mechanism in which all humans deal with conflict, is recognized as an important part of the peacemaking process. Peacemakers believe that individuals cope by rationalizing their behavior to themselves and others through excuses and explanations. The excuses may include denial, minimizing of the behavior, or externalization (victim blaming). Denial is one of the most frequent excuses offered by offenders in peacemaking and Western courts alike. However, in Western courts, even those who plead guilty may not offer cause for their behavior when prompted by the court. When minimalization is used, it often exploits stereotypes of age or gender, for example, that "boys will be boys." Externalization also uses stereotypes; it was the woman's fault that she was beaten or raped, that men "just can't help themselves," or that "she was asking for it."

In addition to offender-precipitated excuses, cognitive dissonance can appear in other forms such as pure ignorance of the harm caused by offending behavior, a disconnect of values or morals, or simply acting out because of underlying social or psychological problems. Another reaction to cognitive dissonance is shame. Peacemaking

views shame as the root of all violence, as the violence is an attempt to replace the feelings of shame with feelings of pride.

The Peacemaker

The person who presides over the peacemaking process is not a neutral party in the sense of a mediator. Instead, peacemakers, or *naat'aanii*, are community leaders who hold a position of respect within the community. Peacemakers should exert the qualities of integrity, honesty, and humanity and have the ability to resolve local problems. There are no leaders or followers in the peacemaking process, so peacemakers are recognized as guides to the process of healing, integration with the group, and the end goal of restoring relationships for the all participants.

Phases of the Peacekeeping Process

Navajos view peacemaking as a ceremony with prayer as a central part of the practice. Prayer summons supernatural beings to the peacemaking process and helps participants focus and commit to a positive outcome. Prayer prepares participants for the first stage of the peacemaking process, the talking things out, and it encourages them to enter into peacemaking sincerely with an open heart and mind.

Talking Things Out

Talking things out is the first phase of the peacemaking process. The talking things out phase also allows for all the participants to expose excuses for behavior and respond to them as well as to reflect on their own behavior, to visualize its impact on others, and to make necessary adjustments. Because equality is the foundation of the peacemaking process, everyone contributes to the process of talking things out and is encouraged to express opinions about both the facts and the outcome of the dispute. The presence of family and friends is an assurance that the weak will not be abused, the silent and passive will be heard, and those who are in denial about their behavior are forced to recognize the truth.

The peacemaking process recognizes that offenders use excuses such as drunkenness, stress, or victim blaming to justify their behavior. The

peacemaking process creates an environment for offenders to work through those excuses. During the talking things out phase, the victim will explain the offense from their own point of view and express how the offender's behavior made them feel. After the victim's recount of the event, the offender then gives their point of view. It is at this point that they may begin to list their excuses, because the offender believes the excuses and has internalized them as reality. However, the offender's family and friends are present during the peacemaking process and will confront the offender about the excuses. This confrontation can be a powerful step in the healing process because the message is coming from those closest to the offender and not a stranger, such as a judge or social service provider. In addition to overcoming excuses, the talking things out process also helps break down emotional barriers held by participants that may prevent them from viewing the situation clearly.

Because peacemaking is inclusive, the process takes into account the participants' shared values and attitudes. These same values become norms that represent the foundation of the law itself. Unique to the peacemaking process, authority is given to participants to choose the most appropriate law for their situation. There is no formal debate regarding the philosophy or principle of law, but instead there is a discussion about how best to resolve the problem at hand.

The Lecture

The next phase of peacemaking is the lecture, a form of teaching by the naat'aanii. During the lecture, the peacemaker taps into Navajo traditions and draws parallels between the dispute at hand and a problem from the Navajo creation times. Peacemakers talk specifically about how the historic issue was resolved and how that resolution can be applied to the current dispute. Participants are then encouraged to exercise empathy as offenders learn the inadequacies of their excuses and attempt to adjust their behavior for the future.

The Reconciliation

The last stage of the peacemaking process is the reconciliation. During this phase, all participants

must come to an agreement about what should be done to resolve the dispute. First, there must be a consensus about the relationships and about where participants stand with each other at the end of the peacemaking process. Only when the relationships are healed can consensus be reached about restitution or reparation to a victim. The reconciliation can result in anything from an exchange of material goods or money; a commitment from the family to watch over the offender or make sure certain promises are kept; or a commitment of the offender to Western therapy or counseling. The key to the reconciliation is the lack of force or coercion. It is a consensus not a command. The key to the success of peacemaking is the balance between personal autonomy and the greater good of the community. Peacemaking's focus on problem solving not problem blaming is conducive to all participants to communicate and reach a productive conclusion.

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See also Peacemaking/Sentencing Circles; Restitution; Restorative Justice

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PEACEMAKING/ SENTENCING CIRCLES

A sentencing circle—sometimes called a peacemaking circle—is a community-directed sentencing/peacemaking process (as opposed to a conventional state-directed criminal justice proceeding), which aims to address offending behavior and establish community safety through drawing on the wisdom, experience, and capacity

of the community. Although distinct to state-based justice, this community-based process works in partnership with juvenile and criminal justice professionals and systems. The circle process often involves the victim, victim supporters, the offender, offender supporters, judge and court personnel, prosecutor, defense counsel, police, and all interested community members. Whereas state-based justice proceedings focus on guilt and punishment, circle processes focus on responsibility and healing. As such, circle processes require the offender, and others, to take responsibility for their actions, and for the community to have the capacity to be involved in a healing process. As the community becomes more involved in the justice process, the convening of a sentencing circle, along with the adoption of the community sentencing plan, are generally at the discretion of a judge.

The aim of a sentencing circle is for all parties to develop consensus on an appropriate sentencing (or peace) plan that addresses the concerns of all parties (community and state). Sentencing and peacemaking circles are a form of restorative justice, which has been defined as a process in which everyone who has an interest in the offense works together to address the impact of the action on all parties involved. Although this is not the only definition of restorative justice, this process-based definition has been widely adopted (e.g., by the United Nations).

The sentencing (or peace) process is convened in the form of a circle of participants, hence the name, which creates a dialog space in which all participants (state and community) can work with one another as equals within a system of mutual interdependence to build collective understanding and resolve. Together, the participants identify what steps are necessary to address the needs of all community members, including the offender(s) and the victim(s). The broad aim is to establish individual and community capacity to repair the harm done and to prevent more harm.

Sentencing circles often involve a multistep procedure that includes (1) application by the offender to participate in the circle process, (2) healing circles for the victim, (3) healing circles for the offender, (4) a sentencing circle to develop consensus on the elements of a sentencing plan, and (5) follow-up circles to monitor the progress of the offender. The sentencing plan may incorporate

commitments by the system, community, and family members, as well as by the offender. Sentencing circles are used for adult and juvenile offenders across a variety of offenses, and they have been used in both rural and urban settings. Specifics of the circle process vary from community to community and are designed locally to fit community needs and culture.

Although circles have been used in many ways (sentencing, peacemaking, healing, etc.), the common aim is to develop an atmosphere of respect and concern for everyone, building on the tradition of talking (or dialog) circles, which is common among indigenous people of North America. A talking piece, passed consecutively around the circle from person to person, regulates the dialog. The person holding the talking piece has the undivided attention of everyone else in the circle and can speak without interruption. The use of the talking piece allows for full expression of emotions, deeper listening, thoughtful reflection, and an unrushed pace. Additionally, the talking piece creates space for people who find it difficult to speak in a group. Drawing on both traditional wisdom and contemporary knowledge, a sentencing circle also incorporates elements of modern consensus-building processes.

Circles aim to promote healing for all affected parties; provide an opportunity for the offender to make amends; empower victims, community members, families, and offenders by giving them a voice and a shared responsibility in finding constructive resolutions; address the underlying causes of criminal behavior; build a sense of community and its capacity for resolving conflict; and promote and share community values.

A successful sentencing circle process depends on a healthy partnership between the formal justice system and the community. Participants from both backgrounds need training and skill building in the circle process, peacemaking, and consensus building. The community often customizes the circle process to fit local resources and culture.

History and Growth

In Canada, the harsh realities of the justice system on Aboriginal people began to be more fully recognized in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with disproportional representation and high recidivism

and crime rates being widely recognized. This was particularly true in Canada's Northern Territories and Prairie Provinces. Recognizing that a shift in judicial practice needed to take place, Judge Barry Stuart, of the Yukon Territorial Court, adjourned the case of *R. v. Moses* (who pled guilty to carrying a baseball bat with the intention of assaulting a police officer) and convened the first sentencing circle, drawing on the wisdom of traditional Aboriginal practice in the Yukon Territory. This wisdom is based on the following three guiding premises: (1) a criminal offense represents a breach of the relationship between the offender and the victim/community, (2) the well-being of the community is dependent on healing these breaches, and (3) the community is the best resource to address these breaches. In Canada, sentencing circles have been developed most extensively in the Prairie Provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the Yukon. The use of sentencing circles spread to the United States in 1996 when a pilot project was initiated in Mille Lacs in central Minnesota, and to New South Wales, Australia, where a pilot program was conducted in Nowra in 2002.

Evaluation and Evidence

The most rigorous evaluations to date of sentencing circles has been conducted in New South Wales, Australia, where a pilot program in Nowra began in February 2002. In the first 12 months of the program's operation, the study examined 13 offender participants (11 male and 2 female) and 8 cases. Surveys were completed by defense solicitors, police, prosecutors, the magistrate, defendants, and victims. The evaluation supported the effectiveness of sentencing circles, noting that this alternative justice process was effective in reducing barriers between the courts and Aboriginal people, raising the level of support for Aboriginal people, incorporating victim support, empowering the Aboriginal community, offering relevant sentencing options with community support, and reducing recidivism. The only deficit noted was the significant time commitment required to process an offender through a sentencing circle. The report recommended that sentencing circles be expanded to other regions of the state, where Aboriginal communities reside. Based on this recommendation, other programs began to operate in Armidale,

Bourke, Brewarrina, Dubbo, Kempsey, Lismore, and Mt. Druitt. Legislation was also passed amending criminal procedure for sentencing circles in 2003, whereby once an offender has pled or been found guilty, he or she must pass a suitability test by the court and an acceptability test by the Aboriginal Community Justice Group (ACJG). The ACJG will consider the nature of the offense and its impact on the community, whether the offender has strong links with the community and the potential benefits of the circle to the offender, victim, and community. In 2005, the following eight objects of sentencing circles were set out in the NSW Criminal Procedure Regulation: (1) to include members of Aboriginal communities in the sentencing process, (2) to increase the confidence of Aboriginal communities in the sentencing process, (3) to reduce barriers between Aboriginal communities and the courts, (4) to provide more appropriate sentencing options for Aboriginal offenders, (5) to provide effective support to victims of offenses by Aboriginal offenders, (6) to provide greater participation of Aboriginal offenders and their victims in the sentencing process, (7) to increase the awareness of Aboriginal offenders of the consequences of their offenses on their victims and the Aboriginal communities to which they belong, and (8) to reduce recidivism in Aboriginal communities.

A rigorous evaluation of the recidivism objective was commissioned in 2006, examining the following three aspects of recidivism (within a 15-month period): reduction in frequency, time to re-offend, and reduction in seriousness of offending. Compared with the court-processed control group, this study suggested that circle sentencing has no effect on any of these recidivism outcomes. As such, this more rigorous study does not replicate the finding of the pilot study, which did report a reduction in recidivism. However, as this second study concludes, this finding should not be generalized to conclude that circle sentencing has no value simply because, at this time, it seems that the process has no short-term impact on reoffending. This study did not examine the impact of any other objectives the sentencing circle set out to examine. For example, if the process strengthens the informal social controls in the communities served by sentencing circles, then the process may have a crime-prevention value that cannot be

quantified in studies of reoffending. It also may be the case that other objectives, such as increasing the confidence of Aboriginal communities in the sentencing process, must be first realized before the reoffending objective is realized. Beyond the justice system, other systemic influences (e.g., family, peer groups, and alcohol and drug programs) may also need to be addressed through integrated community-support mechanisms.

Sentencing Circles and Indigenous Jurisprudence

Although the evolution of circle sentencing/peace-making has a distinctive developmental history, there are certain elements that dovetail with other indigenous justice developments. For example, the village of Hollow Water in Canada began a Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) program in 1984, in response to concerns about levels of substance abuse, vandalism, truancy, suicide, and violence, and over time it came to focus on the hidden problem of family violence and sexual abuse. This community-based program works in partnership with the court system, where a community-based sentence is often imposed in conjunction with a suspended incarceration sentence, which is enforced in cases of violation of the community-based sentence. In the first 10 years of the CHCH program, only 4 of 48 offenders had been re-incarcerated for sexual abuse.

In the United States, Chief Justice Robert Yazzie of the Navajo Nation states that the Navajo courts first came into being in 1959, with the 1985 Judicial Reform Act paving the way for the additional development of the Navajo Peacemaker Program. Unlike sentencing circles, lawyers, judges, and legal support services do not take part in the peacemaking process. The process is convened by the Peacemakers and the community. Several key elements make the process distinctive in other ways: Peacemakers are not impartial; Peacemakers take direction from traditional Navajo wisdom narratives; the emphasis is on relational/communal healing, not individual healing; evidence is secondary and feelings are primary to the process; and objectives align with traditional Navajo wisdom.

In Australia, every state (bar Tasmania) now has some form of Indigenous sentencing court, each with their own defining characteristic. Most

of these are based on the Nunga Courts of South Australia, which first developed in 1999 and are more aligned with conventional court proceedings, wherein participation of Elders, community, and victims is not as strong. The Northern Territory Community Courts are a hybrid of the Nunga and the sentencing circle models. Only programs in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory are based on the sentencing circle process that originated in Canada.

These developments have lead many to argue that the development and use of sentencing/peace-making circles needs to get beyond the focus on recidivism and incarceration rates, to a focus on the politics and governance of intergroup relations and social change.

Brenda Elizabeth Morrison

See also Restorative Justice

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PEDOPHILIA

Pedophilia—sexual perversion targeting children—has been a topic that has galvanized the attention of the public for several years. In contemporary Western society, those who participate in this deviant form of sexual interplay have been labeled as the worst and most vile criminals. However, historically, those who engaged in sexual relations with children were not viewed as the villains that they are today. For instance, in ancient Roman society, it was normal for an adult male to take on a child as a sexual concubine. In fact, not only was

it considered the highest form of love, but also there was intense competition to get one's child "hooked up" with the right person who could not only teach the child the ways of the world but also teach him a skill or trade that would become his future career.

Today, the situation is different. In contemporary society, the pedophile is recognized as a perverse sexual offender who targets and victimizes innocent children for his own sexual gratification, often causing long-term damage to his victim's psyche. This entry first defines pedophilia and then discusses types of pedophiles, the etiology of pedophilia, and the incidence and prevalence of pedophilia. Last, this entry briefly discusses how to stop this threat to children.

Definition

Pedophilia by definition is a psychological disorder experienced when an individual has recurrent, intense sexual urges or sexually arousing fantasies of engaging or repeatedly engaging in sexual activity with a child. It is currently listed as a diagnosable disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.). To be found to have pedophilia, a person must exhibit the following criteria:

- a) Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexual arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally 13 years of age or under)
- b) The person has acted on these sexual urges, or the sexual urges or fantasies caused marked distress or interpersonal difficulty
- c) The person is at least 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child or children (p. 572)

A person who suffers from pedophilia is different than many other sexual predators in that the person often specializes in the age of his or her ideal victims and usually does not involve violence in the commission of his or her acts.

Despite the definition, many people often confuse pedophilia with other types of sexual molestation of children by adults. For this reason, it is important to denote the many different types of

child molesters usually discussed under the umbrella of child molestation.

Types of Pedophiles

When one speaks of pedophiles, two primary distinctions come to mind. The first distinction that is commonly made is the ideal victim type of the offender. If the offender prefers children under the age of adolescence, the offender is commonly referred to as a pedophile. If the offender has a sexual preference for children after the onset of puberty, the offender is often referred to as hebephile. This distinction is important because it not only denotes the interest of the offender but also often tells much about the offender, his or her activities, and how he or she courts victims.

Pedophiles and Hebephiles

In general, pedophiles often prey on victims that come from a family in crisis or one in which the offender can develop a close relationship to the victim. Pedophiles may work in the schools or volunteer their time in places where children congregate. A level of trust is developed during the course of time based usually on a common interest. Most pedophiles do not wish to harm the child but wish to share something special with their child of choice. The victim may crave an adult's attention or simply participate in the relationship to acquire tangible objects that he or she desires (e.g., toys, games, etc.). In most cases, the offender will not force sexual intercourse on the victim but instead will ask the victim if he or she can touch or hug them before actually engaging in a sexual embrace or activity.

Similar to pedophiles, hebephiles often prey on children from a family in crisis. Sometimes, they develop a close relationship with their victims, and sometimes they do not. In most cases, the relationship that develops is one based on a "commodity-exchange" relationship. Usually, the hebephile has something that the victim wants, and the adolescent will play along to get that commodity. Most often, these commodities include items that are attractive to teens, including but not limited to sports equipment, video games, alcohol, drugs, or concert tickets. Most hebephiles do not commit their offenses without asking for permission. Even

though several similarities are observed between these two offender types, it is important to note that rarely will a pedophile molest a child after the age of adolescence and vice versa. Pedophiles generally will lose their sexual interest in a child after the child goes through puberty. Thus, the pedophile will often discard the child and begin searching for a new victim, one who matches his or her ideal victim type.

Pedophiles and Incest Offenders

Another key distinction in understanding pedophiles is the relationship between the child and the offender. Many people confuse the pedophile and incest offender because both often use the child for their own sexual gratification. Although both types of offenders cause a significant amount of harm (either psychological or psychical) to the child, the incest offender is often the most dangerous because the child has no one with whom he or she can discuss the event. It is difficult for a child to admit that he or she was sexually abused; confiding in someone means that a family member may go to jail, parents may get a divorce, or family members may not believe the child, which places the child in an untenable position. Despite these factors, pedophiles are often referred to as those who fall outside the family. Incest offenders often molest children and cause damage to their victims that is qualitatively different than that of pedophiles.

Types of Child Sexual Offenders

Whereas it is important to distinguish between these two groups, not all pedophiles or hebephiles are alike. Stephen Holmes and Ronald Holmes offer a typology of those offenders who prey on children. They claim that four types of pedophiles exist, which include the immature, regressed, sadistic, and fixated offenders.

Immature Child Offenders

This type of offender does not understand the true nature of his or her offenses or the societal rules that prohibit the involvement of adults with children in a sexual manner. Some suffer from organic problems or senility and cannot appreciate the impact of what they have done; for example, the elderly grandfather or the older gentleman who

lives down the street may suffer from impaired intellectual functioning and may not understand the ramifications of his actions. This offender likes to hug, fondle, kiss, lick, or stroke a child, with no intent to attempt sexual intercourse or sexually molest the child.

Regressed Child Offender

The regressed offender is one who has historically been involved with adults in “normal” sexual relationships. Psychologically, this type of child offender experiences the child as a pseudo-adult. Typically married or in a long-standing relationship, this sex offender is often launched into a sexual act or series of sexual acts with children because of some precipitating event. This offender prefers children he or she does not know. Usually, the child is a female but this is not always the case.

Compared with other sexual child offenders, the regressed child offender has the best chance of not reoffending, especially if precipitating event or cause can be discovered and remedied.

Fixated Child Offender

This child offender has not really developed past the point where he or she, as a child, found children attractive and desirable. In other words, they have become “fixated” at an early stage of psychosexual development. The pedophilic interest of the fixated type of child molester generally begins in adolescence.

The fixated offender has little activity with age mates, is single, and is considered to be immature and uncomfortable around adults. This offender is as a child in his lifestyle and behaviors. The fixated child offender loves children and does not desire to do anything that might harm them. They court them, buy them gifts as a seduction ploy, and slowly become physical. Oral-genital sex is the norm, and actual intercourse develops only after a generous period of time has passed.

Sadistic Child Offender

Some child sexual offenders are intent on molesting children with the express desire to harm their victims physically. This type of pedophile, usually male, has made a vital connection between sexual arousal and fatal violence. Typically, the child is a stranger to this aggressive and sadistic child offender.

The sadistic offender will often abduct a child from places where children gather, such as playgrounds, school, shopping center game rooms, and other such places. Usually, he will not attempt to seduce or otherwise induce the child to go with him; he simply takes the child by force.

Often, the sadistic offender will mutilate the body of the child or commit acts of necrophilia. The sadistic child offender will often terrorize the child because he lives to feed off the terror of his victim. Sometimes a weapon is used, and the crime is both premeditated and ritualized. Sadism is an integral part of the sadistic offender's predation.

Etiology of the Pedophile

The basic etiology of the pedophile is currently unknown. What is known is that pedophiles and other child molesters are generally men. They generally match the U.S. population in terms of education, marital status, and religious observance practices. Furthermore, it is now believed that the pedophile often begins the offending behavior at a young age, most often before the age of 20 years.

Anna Salter suggests that several predisposing factors may lead one to molest children. These factors include deviant arousal patterns or the molestation itself provides the offender a way to medicate for other nonsexual problems. Most pedophiles come from homes with domineering mothers or passive/absent fathers. Furthermore, most child abusers suffer from low self-esteem and poor coping skills.

Pedophiles and hebephiles also generally have minor or no criminal records. Thus, when their crimes are first brought to the attention of the police, there are no records on them. In many ways, they are thought to be offense specialists. That is, they only commit one type of crime, which is generally sexual in nature.

Incidence and Prevalence

National statistics reveal that roughly 25% to 33% of all young girls will be sexually abused prior to their 18th birthday. Similarly, slightly less than 20% of all boys in the same age range will be a victim of some type of sexual abuse by the time they finish high school. Just how many of these children are victims of a child sexual abuser is difficult to ascertain because we do not have good

official statistics. Furthermore, it is estimated that less than 10% of victims will report their crime.

What is known is that boys report the crime far less often than girls and that molesters of girls report an average of 50 victims before being arrested. The number of victims for those who prey on young boys is much higher. It is estimated that these offenders victimize an average of 150 young men before being arrested.

Gene Abel and Nora Harlow claim that offenders who molest children before the age of adolescence victimize as many as four times the number of victims that hebephiles do. In their study, they found that the average pedophile molested 11.7 more children than the average hebephile. The offenders who prey on older children molested 2.9 children on average. When it comes to the number of sexual acts, they found that those who prey on younger victims (pedophiles) commit an average of 71 molestations events compared with 6.5 acts for those who prey on older children or adolescents (hebephiles).

The sexual interest and molestation of children is more prevalent than one would like to think. In terms of interest, Brier found that in a sample of 193 male undergraduate students, 21% reported a sexual attraction to children, 9% described fantasies involving children, 5% admitted to masturbating to these fantasies, and 7% indicated a likelihood of having sex with a child if they could avoid punishment and detection.

Stopping the Threat

Pedophiles and other forms of child sexual offenders represent a real threat to children. Although many do not recognize or understand the harm they are doing, the extant research shows that many who have been sexually abused as a child grow up with deep psychological scars that stem from the abuse. Parents, teachers, and others in positions of authority must share in the educational campaign to let children know that the sexual abuse and exploitation of minors is not appropriate, cannot be tolerated, and should be reported immediately. It is only through open communication between children and their caregivers do we have a chance at catching and stopping these offenders.

Stephen T. Holmes

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Pornography and Sexual Exploitation; Incest

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PEER COUNSELING

Peer counseling can be defined as a method of helping that uses the sharing of information, feelings, and expectations of individuals who have experienced a similar situation or who may be more likely to empathize with an individual because of similarities in chronological age. Often, peer counselors are not professional counselors, but their expertise lie within the common experiences shared between two or more individuals. Peer counseling may sometimes be referred to as *peer helping* and can be conducted individually or within groups. One-on-one peer counseling is usually used in educational or mentorship programs, whereas group peer counseling is often used in rehabilitative intervention and prevention programs. When referring to peer counseling where victims of crime are concerned, individual and group peer counseling can be most effective and important tools for healing. However, peer group influence with perpetrators of crime may be less successful.

Background

The first Peer Counseling program was started by Barbara Varenhorst in the Palo Alto, California, school district in 1970. The importance and usefulness of peer helping behavior evolved out of the developmental research on peer relationships. Several aspects of the impact peers, such as peer socialization, peer friendships, and peer pressure, are considered important to development. *Peer socialization* is a term used to identify how peers tend to learn from one another. Individuals who are around peers of the same chronological age can gain important information about themselves, such as understanding how they are viewed by others, whether their ideas and opinions are valued, and appropriate and inappropriate emotional and behavioral responses. *Peer friendships* serve to deepen the quality and degree of closeness in relationships. Peer friendships are usually developed based on similar interests, hobbies, and common goals individuals may have with one another. These friendships often serve to make the socialization process more meaningful for peers. The connection that peers make may lead to either positive or negative relationships. For example, a positive relationship can add value to the individual's self-concept, whereas a negative relationship can cause conflict and aversive consequences for individuals. Negative peer pressure can lead to problem behavior and friendships. *Peer pressure* occurs when an individual feels stress and is (usually mentally) pushed to conform to a behavior or idea of others. This can occur after a single contact situation or prolonged interaction between two individuals or within a group. A person may give in to peer pressure and conform when they feel insecure in social relationships. This often occurs in adolescence or early adulthood, although it can happen at any time during development within young children into adulthood.

Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development describes adolescence as period of growth in which peer relationships are highly influenced by the identity and self-development. According to Erikson, the adolescent period is one of identity confusion and identity role development. Peers play a strong role in the development of discovering important aspects of self during adolescence and early adulthood. During this stage, peer relationship

influence can become even stronger than parental influence for some individuals.

Peer counseling skills evolved out of the ideas of Carl Rogers, whose input in the field of counseling had a tremendous impact on the importance of developing the helping relationship. He emphasized the essential need to provide warmth, genuineness, and active listening skills in counseling sessions.

Peer Counseling as Intervention and Prevention

Peer counseling programs have been instituted in the schools on all levels from elementary to colleges and universities. On the elementary and secondary levels, peer counseling may range from less structured helping in the classroom with academic work to more structured peer-mediation programs. When conflicts occur in the schools, it may be more beneficial to have trained peers to help mediate and negotiate a solution. Peer mediation programs can be beneficial to the schools, parents, and students in terms of decreasing suspensions and detentions. Colleges and universities use peer counseling and mentoring, student orientation programs, and prevention programs such as the prevention of alcohol abuse, sexual harassment, and so on.

Other community programs that focus on behavioral intervention have reports of mixed outcome. Although peer influence is mostly effective, it can be detrimental depending on the context within which it is used and presented. Much of the research on peer influence has focused on assessing its impact on delinquent individuals within adolescent groups. It is mostly agreed that within a group of adolescent peers, if one person presents a problem or negative behavior, it is highly likely that other members of that group may do the same. So, employing peer counseling for such a group in which the counselor is similar in age and also has a delinquent background may not be successful. It may be more advantageous to use nondelinquent peers as counselors and role models. It should be noted that negative and delinquent behavior is not necessarily caused by peer influence. Most research notes that negative peer influence is more likely when a group lacks structure and has limited defined boundaries.

It has also been shown that training peer counselors can yield positive results. It can help the peer

counselor become aware of and enhance his or her own skills and talents. It may also help the peer counselors develop competent social skills and self-esteem. This advantage of peer counseling may be the most powerful prevention of negative and criminal patterns of behavior.

Sharon Boyd-Jackson

See also Peer Mediation; Peer Networks and Victimization; Victim Support Groups; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, United States; Youth Violence, Intervention for

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PEER MEDIATION

Mediation is defined as a structured method of conflict resolution in which trained individuals, called mediators (impartial third parties), assist people in dispute (the parties) by listening, facilitating communication, and promoting voluntary decision making by the parties in dispute. Peer mediation grew out of the wider mediation movement, with the trained mediator being a fellow student (or students). These students support other students in taking responsibility for resolving conflicts and disputes, typically as part of a broader youth empowerment and school safety strategy.

This strategy typically involves peer mediators receiving 12 to 20 hours of training about interpersonal conflict, communication (e.g., active listening, paraphrasing, and reframing), mediation (e.g., ground rules and role plays), program policy, and procedures. The broad aim is for this structured peer-led process to become part of the ethos of the school, through disputants actively participating in decisions about issues and problems that are central to their own well-being.

Peer mediation programs grew rapidly in the mid-1990s in response to rising incidents of violence in schools. Early evidence suggested that the programs were effective for several reasons, which include the following: discipline is less time consuming for teachers; family relationships, particularly among siblings, are improved through developing communication and conflict resolutions skills; a safe place for children to learn about conflict resolution is created; schools that are proactive about conflict resolution usually have a more cooperative climate on the whole; and students learn about rights, responsibilities, and consequences, as well as choices.

For example, a 1998 study by Alison Soutter and Anne McKenzie of peer mediation programs in New South Wales, Australia, found that 15 schools involved in a peer mediation program, compared with a control group, reported a lower incidence of reported fighting, lower incidence of students believing that avoiding the person/problem was a good way to resolve disputes, lower incidence of disputes being resolved through a disciplinary warning, higher incidence of teacher discussing disputes with affected parties, and higher incidence of students talking with teachers/counselors. The schools in the control group reported increases in suspensions, number of students being sent to the executive by their teachers, belief that disputes could not be resolved through discussion, belief that disputes could be resolved through fighting/arguing, and belief that avoiding the person/problem was a good way to resolve disputes.

As a result of this early evidence, peer mediation programs became a widespread means of peers resolving conflict in schools. Now, thousands of programs are in existence, grounded in a wide variety of mediation models. This proliferation led to the early systematic reviews of peer mediation programs, which generally showed nonsignificant or

weak effects overall. In light of this evidence, many researchers and practitioners argued that peer mediation alone was not a strong enough intervention to shift the overall climate of the school, particularly for chronic problems and serious incidents.

In response to these findings, New South Wales, for example, developed and launched a more intensive program to complement peer mediation and reduce the number and length of suspensions in schools. The aim of this intensive and collaborative decision-making program was to engage students at risk in a supportive network where they could learn from their experiences in school. This collaborative decision-making process was based on a form of restorative justice, which was facilitated by an impartial third party and included a broader range of participants than the disputants. It was found that a continuum of congruent practice was more efficient in changing the school culture. Other school districts chose to support peer mediation programs through more proactive universal programs that built the skill base of all students, beyond the mediators. For example, an evaluation of the Resolving Conflicts Creatively Program found that schools which strengthened universal programming, while maintaining their peer mediation, were more effective in managing behavior in comparison with schools that emphasized peer mediation more than universal programming.

Within the past 5 years, meta-analytic reviews of peer mediation programs have examined a broader range of outcome variables. For example, one study included 43 programs and coded for outcomes within the following four general headings: (1) descriptive outcomes (satisfaction and success of mediation), where an 88% satisfaction rate was found; (2) impact on the school (climate, disciplinary action, suspensions, etc.), where the data indicated a reduction in disciplinary actions after peer mediation was implemented; (3) issues related to conflict resolution (mediator's understanding of conflict and use of strategies), where results indicated that understanding of conflict did increase and consistent use of strategies were used; and (4) impact on the mediator (academic performance and self-esteem), where increases were found on both measures.

Peer mediation programs are now defined within the broad framework of conflict resolution education (CRE), and typically these programs are categorized into the following three different delivery

formats: embedded curriculum, direct skill development, and peer mediation. A recent meta-analysis of these programs examined whether CRE contributed to the reduction of antisocial behavior in K–12 schools. Of the 36 programs included in the analysis, peer mediation programs had the highest level of frequency: 17 studies, which represented 37% of students in the sample. Although the variance in magnitude underscores the complexity of the topic and the need for more rigorous evaluation, reductions in antisocial behavior were consistently observed across programs and were particularly strong for older students, which is consistent with the literature on the development of higher order cognitive ability. The evidence suggests that a whole-school approach that includes peer mediation as a vehicle that not only tackles individual incidents but also links incidents to a change program for the culture of the school is central to the success of the process.

Brenda Elizabeth Morrison

See also Resolving Conflict Creatively Program;
Restorative Justice; School-Based Bullying Prevention;
School-Based Violence Programs, International;
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PEER NETWORKS AND VICTIMIZATION

Peer relations have long been central to the study of crime and delinquency. This is because adolescents

spend much time with their friends, attribute great importance to friends, and are more strongly influenced by them during this period of the life course than at any other time. During adolescence, friends become primary role models for behavior and adolescents are particularly vulnerable to peer dynamics. Thus, it is not surprising that one of the most consistent and robust findings in the criminology literature is that adolescents with delinquent peers are more likely to be delinquent/criminal themselves.

Although prior research clearly establishes that adolescents are likely to behave in a manner consistent with their friends, it has only recently begun to account for the network structure of friendship relations. A network is a group of individuals who know and interact with each other. When discussing peers, members are typically connected through friendship ties and interact socially with one another. For criminologists, networks are important because they can constrain and/or direct behavior. If the friendship network is delinquent, members can influence one another to engage in delinquency by providing models for behavior, providing rewards for behavior, providing sanctions for inappropriate behavior, creating opportunities for delinquent behavior, and providing witnesses and or/protection against retaliation.

Recent Research

Drawing on this network perspective, recent research has begun to incorporate social networks into models to reveal how peer networks influence delinquent behavior. For instance, Dana Haynie's work draws on network methods to define friendship networks and finds that adolescents' risk of delinquency is increased with a greater number of delinquents in the network, when the proportion of delinquents to nondelinquents is higher, and with a higher number of delinquent acts being committed by friends. Expanding on this idea, Christopher Shreck and colleagues have demonstrated how a network approach provides a useful means of extending knowledge about how peer contexts influence victimization risks. This research is especially important as adolescence is viewed as a time of expanding vulnerabilities and opportunities that result in a widening exposure to life beyond school and family. As a result, the risks of victimization are heightened during adolescence.

Importance of Peer Networks

Why are peer networks important for assessing victimization risk in adolescence? Although some studies suggest that adolescents are motivated to join delinquent groups such as gangs for protection from victimization, other research suggests that victimization risk is increased by exposure to delinquent peers. To explain the increased risk of victimization attributed to exposure to delinquent peer networks, researchers often draw on routine activities and lifestyle theories. These theories suggest that certain activities or situations coincide with higher chances of becoming a victim, whereas other situations result in fewer opportunities for victimization. Furthermore, situations with a greater risk of victimization occur because of the proximity of a motivated offender to a poorly defended target (i.e., victim). This supports research that finds that adolescents with delinquent friends are more likely to experience victimization and indicates that association with delinquents leads to greater risks of victimization.

To explain these findings, Shreck and colleagues apply routine activity theory and posit that network structure influences one's exposure to crime, attractiveness as a target, and level of effective guardianship. This is because a delinquent peer context brings with it exposure to motivated offenders in the form of peers in the network. For instance, members of the peer network may use each other as convenient targets. Delinquent peers are likely to make less effective guardians for the benefit of other members of the group. Finally, participation in delinquency or violence as a member of the network could make an adolescent a worthwhile target for current or future victimization. This would occur if membership in a network engaging in violence invited retaliation from the group's victim. Similarly, group norms may encourage the use of violence as an acceptable means of settling within-group disputes. As these examples illustrate, exposure to delinquent/violent peer networks is more likely to increase risks of victimization than to reduce them.

In summary, research now suggests that the adolescent peer context is as important for understanding the violent victimization of adolescents as it is for explaining their participation in delinquency/crime. The approach of identifying and examining peer social networks provides a coherent and

promising framework for investigating a variety of ways that peers shape and influence adolescent behavior. This conclusion is consistent with the current emphasis on the significance of social contexts (e.g., neighborhood, school, and family) and suggests that an important context with important implications for adolescents' behaviors is the peer networks in which youth are embedded.

Dana L. Haynie

See also Developmental Victimology; Lifestyle Theory; Routine Activities Theory

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PERCEPTIONS OF DANGEROUS SITUATIONS SCALE

The Perceptions of Dangerous Situations Scale (PDSS) was developed to meet a need to evaluate

women's self-defense programs, but it may be useful for other venues, such as martial arts, sexual assault prevention programming, and social science research. The PDSS is based on Albert Bandura's self-efficacy theory—how confident someone feels about accomplishing a challenge is the best predictor of the person's real performance when presented with the actual task. The instrument consists of 34 crimes and dangerous situations of varying degrees of seriousness, on which women rate how fearful they are and how confident they are to manage the situation successfully. Scores can range from 1 (almost none) to 5 (almost complete). A third subscale is included in the PDSS—how likely the situation is to occur to them in the next 12 months—but it has not yet been validated. Thus far, the instrument has been administered and validated for U.S. college women only. The PDSS shows promise for investigators wanting a detailed analysis of fear of crime and for gauging confidence about managing dangerous situations.

Validation

Validation consisted of establishing content validity, construct validity, and reliability. To establish content validity, a group of 60 people knowledgeable about women, crime, or victims generated 175 situations for personal and property crimes/situations representing mild, moderate, and serious danger. A panel of seven experts from law enforcement, victims' services, self-defense, and martial arts was instructed to choose 15 representative situations for the PDSS. The developer chose the 43 items most frequently identified by the experts and asked them to answer yes/no about whether each item was representative, non-biased, appropriate, and able to differentiate between women's differing levels of fear and confidence. Two items were deleted at this stage. The author concluded the PDSS had content validity.

To establish construct validity, the author initially screened individual items with three statistical techniques to determine that they were appropriate for a principal components analysis (PCA). The author then administered the instrument to 564 university women, performed a PCA, and eliminated seven more items because of low values. Three components, or themes (subsequently identified as fear, high confidence, and low

confidence), were identified. All items were retained at this stage.

For more construct validation evidence, to determine instrument sensitivity, 135 university women completed the PDSS before and after a semester-long self-defense class. Women at the end of the semester scored significantly more confident and less fearful than they did before instruction, thereby confirming the ability of the instrument to distinguish among women before and after instruction.

In a third test of the PDSS for construct validity, the author compared PDSS scores for noninstructed women and women trained in self-defense. Again, the PDSS scores were significantly different in fear and confidence for instructed and noninstructed women. Based on the principal components analysis results and on successful tests of instrument sensitivity and known group differences, the author concluded the PDSS possessed construct validity.

Reliability for the PDSS was established through tests of stability and internal consistency. A group of 42 women completed the PDSS twice, the second time occurring 48 hours after the first administration. Fear levels were not significantly different on the two administrations, but confidence levels were higher on the second administration. The author determined that women tended to think and brainstorm about possible solutions in the intervening time frame, and thus they scored higher on the second administration.

Internal consistency was established statistically. Anything higher than .60 is recommended for scales to be used in basic research. Fear and confidence pooled and analyzed together yielded .88 (Cronbach's alpha coefficient). Fear separately was .95 and confidence alone was .94. The author determined the PDSS possessed internal consistency and stability for fear, but not confidence.

Structure of Fear and Confidence

Researchers have noted that fear of crime is a multidimensional construct—an emotional part (being scared) and a cognitive part (perceived likelihood of personally being victimized). Additionally, they have urged examination of fear in situation-specific terms, rather than generalized fear. The author subjected the PDSS to two statistical techniques (multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis) to

group fear and confidence items conceptually. All items were found to be organized in a two-dimensional matrix of personal threat (mild to severe) and intimacy (stranger to partner). Clusters of fear items seemed to be threat of death, fear of rape, auto vulnerability, theft, latent danger, dangerous drinking, stalking, and exposure to obscenities. Some confidence clusters were identical to those in fear: threat of death, stalking, dangerous drinking, exposure to obscenities, and latent danger. Unique to confidence were clusters of auto theft, threat of injury, and drugged. Although five of the eight clusters identified were common to Fear and Confidence, they did not contain identical items.

Congruent with other research, the author found that fear and confidence were distinctly separate constructs, not opposite ends of the same spectrum, and they were correlated only moderately ($r = -.41$). Fear scores tended to return to baseline after time (more than a semester but unknown how long), but confidence scores did not—they remained higher in the long-term, which indicates that confidence is a more stable construct than fear. In both studies, it was clear that women feared victimization by a stranger much more than victimization by someone known. Women reported high personal threat for situations of indirect exposure and unlikely occurrence (e.g., seeing and hearing a prowler outside), but low personal threat for situations involving common, dangerous, proximal situations (e.g., partner verbal abuse).

Patricia Paulsen Hughes

See also Dating Violence; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Intimate Partner Violence; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of

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PERRY PRESCHOOL PROJECT

The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study found experimental evidence that a high-quality preschool program has lifetime effects on participants, cutting their crime rate in half and producing a large financial return on investment. Members of a sample of 123 young African American children living in poverty were randomly assigned to a program group that received a high-quality preschool program at ages 3 and 4 or a no-program group. Data were collected regarding them at 14 points from ages 3 through 40. The program group significantly surpassed the no-program group in tested ability and performance throughout childhood; higher adult earnings and rates of employment and home ownership; half as many lifetime arrests, including fewer for violent, property, and drug crimes; and fewer convictions and months sentenced. The economic return to society was \$16.14 per dollar invested. This article summarizes the 2005 monograph on the topic by Lawrence Schweinhart, Jeanne Montie, Zongping Xiang, William Barnett, Clive Belfield, and Milagros Nores.

Experimental Design

To conduct the High/Scope Perry Preschool study, David Weikart and his colleagues in the Ypsilanti public school system identified 123 young African American children in Ypsilanti, Michigan, living in poverty and assessed to be at high risk of school failure. They randomly assigned them to a program group and a no-program group, operated a high-quality preschool program for the program group at ages 3 and 4, and collected data on both groups annually from ages 3 through 11 and at ages 14, 15, 19, 27, and 40.

Sample Selection and Group Assignment

This study has followed the lives of 123 persons who lived in the attendance area of the Ypsilanti, Michigan, school district's Perry Elementary

School, which is located in a predominantly low-income African American neighborhood. Project staff identified a pool of African American children for the study sample from a census of the families of students then attending Perry School, referrals by neighborhood groups, and door-to-door canvassing. Project staff identified families of low socioeconomic status, which was defined by their low scores for parents' years of schooling, parents' occupational levels, and rooms per person in their household. They used the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test to assess the intellectual performance of the young children of families of low socioeconomic status. They selected for the study children with low intellectual performance scores but no evidence of organic disability, at this initial testing. Only three families with children identified for the study refused to participate in it. The longitudinal study had 123 participants. Children entered the study in five successive classes annually from the fall of 1962 to the fall of 1965. Staff randomly divided the children in each class into those enrolled in the preschool program and those not enrolled in any preschool program. Program-group children attended the preschool program at ages 3 and 4, except for the first class of children, who attended only at age 4.

This study's ability to assess the effects of the preschool program even many years later is because of an experimental design in which study participants were randomly assigned to a program group enrolled in the preschool program or a no-program group not enrolled in any preschool program. After selecting children for a class in the study sample each fall from 1962 to 1965, project staff assigned them to program and no-program groups by identifying pairs of study participants matched on initial Stanford-Binet intellectual performance scores and assigning pair members to either of two undesignated groups. They exchanged one or two pair of members per class to match the groups on mean socioeconomic status, mean intellectual performance, and percentages of boys and girls. They randomly assigned one group to the program condition and the other to the no-program condition. As part of the initial assignment procedure in later classes, they exchanged one or two pair of members per class to reduce the number of children of employed mothers in the program group, because it was difficult to arrange home visits with them.

They assigned younger siblings to the same group as their older siblings to prevent the preschool program from affecting siblings in the no-program group. Statistical analyses indicate that these exchanges did not appreciably affect the findings of this study.

The assignment procedures make it highly probable that group comparisons reflect the effects of the preschool program. Comparisons indicating that groups were not significantly different on various background characteristics make it even more likely: Stanford-Binet intelligence quotient (IQ) at study entry, gender, family socioeconomic status, single-parent status, fathers' employment status, mothers' and fathers' years of schooling, children in family birth order, child's and mother's age at study entry, and rooms in home at study entry. The two groups differed significantly (with a two-tailed probability of less than .05) at study entry only on maternal employment (9% of the program group vs. 31% of the no-program group), based on the exchanges that moved them from the program group to the no-program group. Maternal employment at study entry was not correlated more than .13 with any of the major outcome variables, but nevertheless it was used as a covariate in the outcome analyses reported here.

The Preschool Program

High/Scope Perry Preschool Program teachers conducted daily 2½-hour classes for children on weekday mornings and made weekly 1½-hour home visits to each mother and child on weekday afternoons. The 30-week school year began in mid-October and ended in May. Of the 58 children in the program group, the 13 in the first class participated in the program for 1 school year at age 4, and the 45 children in subsequent classes participated in the program for 2 school years at ages 3 and 4. The four teachers in the program served 20 to 25 children each school year. This ratio was set to accommodate the demands of the weekly home visits. Between 1962 and 1967, 10 teachers certified to teach in elementary, early childhood, and special education served in the program's four teaching positions. During the years, 7 White and 3 African American women served as teachers, and at least 1 African American teacher was always on the staff.

High/Scope Perry Preschool Program staff developed a systematic approach to classroom and home visit activities that had both teachers and children defining and initiating children's learning activities. Originally called the Cognitively Oriented Curriculum to distinguish it from approaches that did not emphasize cognitive development, the education model was later named High/Scope. From the beginning, the program staff supported the development of young children's cognitive and social skills through individualized teaching and learning. They continued to develop the educational model as the program operated from 1962 through 1967, building on insights from their classroom experience and their review of the studies of Jean Piaget, Sara Smilansky, and others.

The High/Scope early childhood educational model, which was used in the Perry Preschool classroom and home visits, was and is an open framework of educational ideas and practices based on the natural development of young children. Drawing on the child development ideas of Piaget, it emphasizes the idea that children are intentional learners, who learn best from activities that they themselves plan, carry out, and review afterward. Adults introduce new ideas to children through adult-initiated small- and large-group activities. Adults observe, support, and extend the children's play as appropriate. Adults arrange interest areas in the learning environment; maintain a daily routine that permits children to plan, carry out, and review their own activities; and join in children's activities, asking appropriate questions that extend their plans and help them think about their activities. They add complex language to the discussion to expand the child's vocabulary. Adults encourage children to make choices, solve problems, and engage in activities that contribute to their intellectual, social, and physical development.

This study has accumulated an unusually rich and comprehensive data set on young people growing up in poverty, with variables representing their status from birth through childhood and adolescence to early adulthood and midlife. The many variables encompass demographic characteristics, test performance throughout childhood and adolescence, school success, crime, socioeconomic success, health, family, and personal development. Across the 48 measures of 123 cases, a median 7 cases (5.7%) were missing. At the age 40 interview,

of the 123 original study participants, 112 participants were interviewed, 4 living participants were not, and 7 participants were deceased. Criminal justice and social services records were considered to have no missing cases because the names of all the study participants were included in these searches, and the lack of a record indicated no arrests or no social services, although it is possible, of course, that some information was recorded in agencies whose records were not searched.

The analytic techniques presented in this entry are based on comparisons of the program group and the no-program group with statistical adjustments to compensate for the effects of seven background covariates—participants' gender, Stanford-Binet IQ at study entry, mother's schooling, father's occupational status, household rooms per person, mother's employment, and father at home. Group differences in outcome variables, which were statistically adjusted by the seven covariates, were examined by binary logistic regression analysis for dichotomous variables, ordinal regression analysis for ordinal variables, and ordinary least-squares regression analysis for normally distributed interval variables, such as tested performance. Except for tested performance, the distributions of most outcome variables were positively skewed to the right, that is to say, L-shaped. These distributions were truncated by dividing the variable into equal-sized segments and then analyzed as above. A group difference is identified as significant if it is statistically significant with a one-tailed probability of chance occurrence of less than .05, using one-tailed probabilities because the study's hypotheses are clearly directional.

Findings

The program group and the no-program group had significantly different outcomes through age 40 in education, economic status, crime, and convictions. Data were also analyzed by causal modeling and cost-benefit analysis.

Education and Economic Status

The program group significantly outperformed the no-program group on highest level of schooling completed (77% vs. 60% graduating from high school or adult high school or obtaining a

General Educational Development [GED] certificate). Specifically, a much larger percentage of program than no-program females graduated from regular high school (88% vs. 46%). This difference was related to earlier differences between program and no-program females in the rates of treatment for mental impairment (8% vs. 36%) and retention in grade (21% vs. 41%). The program group significantly outperformed the no-program group on various intellectual and language tests from their preschool years up to age 7, school achievement tests from ages 7 to 14, and literacy tests at ages 19 and 27. The program group had significantly better attitudes toward school than the no-program group at ages 15 and 19, and program-group parents had better attitudes toward their 15-year-old children's schooling than did no-program-group parents.

Significantly more of the program group than the no-program group were employed at age 40 (76% vs. 62%), especially males (70% vs. 50%), and at age 27 (69% vs. 56%), especially females (80% vs. 55%). The program group had significantly higher earnings than the no-program group, annually at ages 27 and 40 (medians of \$12,000 vs. \$10,000 at age 27 and \$20,800 vs. \$15,300 at age 40) and monthly at both ages (medians of \$1,020 vs. \$700 at age 27 and \$1,856 vs. \$1,308 at age 40). Significantly more of the program group than the no-program group owned their own homes at ages 27 (27% vs. 5%) and 40 (37% vs. 28%) and owned a car at ages 27 (73% vs. 59%) and 40 (82% vs. 60%). At age 40, significantly more of the program group than the no-program group had a savings account (78% vs. 50%), especially males (73% vs. 36%). At age 27, significantly fewer of the program group than the no-program group reported receiving social services at some time in the previous 10 years (59% vs. 80%).

Crime and Convictions

The study presents strong evidence of the program preventing lifetime arrests and subsequent prison or jail sentences. Compared with the no-program group, the program group had significantly fewer arrests by age 40; 55% of the no-program group compared with 36% of the program group were arrested 5 or more times. Compared with the no-program group, the program group had

significantly fewer lifetime arrests for violent, property, and drug crimes by age 40: 48% versus 32% ever arrested for violent crimes, 58% versus 36% for property crimes, and 34% versus 14% for drug crimes. Program group members were convicted and sentenced to significantly fewer months in prison or jail by age 40 than were no-program group members, with 28% versus 52% sentenced to any time in prison or jail. Regression analyses found no group-by-gender interaction effects for any crime or sentencing variable. In childhood, according to ratings of kindergarten through 3rd-grade teachers, the program group had engaged in personal misconduct (e.g., absences, stealing, and swearing) and school misconduct (e.g., resistant to teacher, manipulating adults, and influencing others toward troublemaking) significantly less frequently than the no-program group.

Causal Model and Cost-Benefit Analysis

A causal model was developed that takes into account the temporal ordering of the variables. Because of the small sample size for such complex analyses, this model is suggestive rather than definitive. It suggests that the following causal path is the route through which preschool program effects are transmitted to arrests by age 40. Preschool experience directly improves study participants' early childhood intellectual performance, which is also positively affected by family socioeconomic status. Their early childhood intellectual performance improves their school motivation in elementary school, and together, these variables reduce the number of years spent in programs for mental impairment. Because of their early childhood intellectual performance and years spent in programs for mental impairment, they have higher literacy scores as they leave high school. Their school motivation leads them to complete a higher level of schooling. Because they have completed a higher level of schooling, they have higher monthly earnings at age 40 and fewer lifetime arrests.

In constant 2000 dollars discounted at 3%, the return to society per participant is \$244,812 on an investment of \$15,166: \$16.14 per dollar invested. Four-fifths of that return went to the general public, and one-fifth went to each participant. Of the public return, 88% came from crime savings, and

the rest came from education and welfare savings and increased taxes paid on higher earnings. A full 93% of the public return was because of the reduced crime rates for program males. Male program participants cost the public 41% less in crime costs per person, which is \$732,894 less (in undiscounted 2000 dollars) during their lifetimes. Preschool program participants earned 14% more per person than those who did not attend the preschool program—\$156,490 more during their lifetimes (in undiscounted 2000 dollars).

Discussion

Because of the random assignment and low attrition, this study has strong internal validity. The external validity or generalizability of the study findings extends to those programs that are reasonably similar to the program: a preschool education program run by teachers with bachelor's degrees and certification in education, each serving up to 8 children living in low-income families. The program runs 2 school years at 3 and 4 years of age, uses the High/Scope educational model, with daily classes of 2½ hours or more and teachers visiting families at least every 2 weeks. The High/Scope Preschool Curriculum Comparison Study, which immediately followed this study, suggests that curriculum had a lot to do with the findings. This study found that young people born in poverty experience fewer emotional problems and felony arrests if they attended a preschool program that used High/Scope rather than intensive direct instruction.

The conclusion from the research presented in this entry is that high-quality preschool programs for young children living in poverty contribute to their intellectual and social development in childhood and their school success, adult economic performance, and reduced commission of adult crime. The simple implication of this study and several others like it is that all young children living in low-income families should have access to preschool programs that have features reasonably similar to those of this program.

Lawrence J. Schweinhart

See also Cost-Benefit Analysis and Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention, Domains of; Developmental and Social Crime Prevention; Early Education Programming; Future of Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

High/Scope Educational Research Foundation: <http://www.highscope.org>

PHYSICAL HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF VICTIMIZATION

The physical health consequences of victimization are an area that has only recently received attention in victimization research. The lack of research may be attributed to the fact that many individuals do not report being a victim, individuals may not characterize themselves as victims, and many do not seek medical help or assistance with injuries sustained through the victimization. Understanding the extent to which victimization results in physical health problems is important and necessary, so that resources can be better allocated and victim-assistance programs will be better equipped to help victims deal with the aftermath of being victimized. This entry provides a definition of the physical health consequences of victimization, the types of physical injuries victims often suffer, the prevalence of such physical consequences, and finally ends with prevention efforts currently in place to help reduce the number of physical injuries that occur as a result victimization.

Definition

Physical health refers to anything that has to do with the body as a physical entity. Therefore, the physical health consequences of victimization can be defined as any harm or injury that occurs to the body as a result of being victimized. These health consequences can be acute, which means they have a sudden onset and only last a short time, or they may be chronic in nature, lasting a long period of time. Also, there are stress-related health problems, which occur as a result of a person's inability to cope with victimization. Physical health problems that follow victimization can range from little to no problems, all the way up to numerous serious injuries or in rare cases, death.

Types of Physical Health Consequences

Acute Physical Health Problems

The most common types of physical injuries sustained by victims are acute in nature. These types of injuries typically occur immediately and are of a short duration. Whether a victim will experience some of these health injuries depends on a variety of factors, including the type of victimization and level of force used. Examples of these types of injuries include, but are not limited to, broken bones, bruises, cuts, dental damage, dislocated joints, head injury, lacerations, scratches, sprains, strains, and welts.

Chronic Physical Health Problems

Although they occur less frequently, chronic health problems can occur as a result of victimization. These types of injuries range in severity, and persist over time for the victim. Once again, whether or not a victim experiences chronic health problems depends on the type of victimization and level of force used, as well as other factors. Examples of chronic health problems include, but are not limited to, chronic pain in the back, neck, and head; gastrointestinal problems; gynecological problems; contraction of HIV or sexually transmitted diseases (STDs); infertility; and pregnancy.

Stress-Related Health Problems

Although most individuals have an amazing ability to adapt to everyday stressors and stressful

situations, sometimes just one event can push an individual over the edge, or a culmination of factors can lead to a person reaching their limit of what they can handle. Whereas stress often affects psychological health, the inability to deal with stress often manifests itself in the form of physical health problems. Such problems can include sleep problems (e.g., insomnia, nightmares, and fatigue), chest pain or heart racing, headaches, gastrointestinal disorders, and weight change.

Prevalence

The prevalence of physical health consequences of victimization can vary according to the type of population being studied, as well as the type of victimization and the survey instrument that is used. Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes studied 8,000 men and 8,000 women in their National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) and found that for rape victims, 31.5% of females and 16.1% of males were physically injured. In the case of physical assault victims, 39% of women and 24.8% of men reported injured as a result of the victimization. Victims in the NVAWS most commonly reported minor types of injuries, such as scratches and bruises, whereas few reported more serious injuries such as broken bones, sprains, and strains.

In a report by Fisher, Cullen, and Turner using the National College Women Sexual Victimization Study (NCWSV), approximately 20% of female rape and attempted rape victims reported being injured. Most injuries were relatively minor and primarily consisted of minor bruises, black eyes, cuts, swelling, and chipped teeth. For other types of victimization, 0% of completed sexual contact without force victims and 16.7% of threatened rape victims reported sustaining an injury as a direct result of the victimization.

Prevention

Prevention efforts have been made at multiple levels of the victimization event. First, prevention efforts have sought to reduce victimizations from occurring in the first place, through increasing awareness and introducing environmental changes to areas that are favorable to crime. Second, prevention programs are in place to help educate individuals on protecting themselves and avoiding

situations conducive to victimization, as well as to help increase knowledge on different types of victimization in general. Finally, secondary prevention efforts have been put in place to decrease the impact of victimizations after they have occurred. Programs that seek to match up victims with victim-assistance programs soon after a victimization has occurred and hospital treatment referrals are both used to help the victim after victimization.

Megan C. Stewart

See also Intimate Partner Violence; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Rape; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape Crisis Centers; Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE); Sexual Assault Response Team (SART); Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Sexual Victimization; Sexual Victimization; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States

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usually the first contact a victim has with the criminal justice system. Depending on how this contact goes, victims will have either a positive or negative view of the criminal justice system.

In criminal proceedings, the state is viewed as the injured party, and so it may be easy to lose sight of the pain and suffering experienced by victims of crime. In an effort to protect society, the needs of persons most directly impacted by a crime might be overlooked. Recent legislation and victim advocacy has had an impact on how the criminal justice system, as a whole, treats victims. And because the first line of contact is the police, they play a key role in accomplishing a victim-centered approach to the criminal justice system.

How police respond to and interact with victims ultimately has an effect on the outcome of the case. It may also impact the healing process of the victims, the degree of respect victims have for the police, and the level of victim cooperation with the police and others in the criminal justice system. At the same time, the police have a job to do. They are the fact-finders, the ones who need to investigate crimes in order to solve them. The tension between providing services to victims and doing their jobs often creates friction between the two groups.

Police officers are typically trained in providing service information to victims, but they are not victim's advocates. A victim's advocate may be associated with a police department, but it does not mean that the average police officer can provide the same services to the victim that is provided by the advocate. For example, often the advocate will accompany the victim to court. However, because the police officer will need to testify at the trial, he or she cannot also accompany the victim (who is now considered a witness) to court.

Police do not discover most crime; they rely on victims and witnesses to report it. Therefore, it is imperative that victims and witnesses feel comfortable with the police to increase reporting. Several strategies can be employed to get victims/witnesses to report including providing police with adequate training programs to increase their sensitivity and awareness concerning victims' needs, returning property to victims more quickly, updating victims periodically about the status of their cases including informing the victim when the case is solved, and protecting victims/witnesses from intimidation. Some departments have developed comprehensive

POLICE AND VICTIMS

A mutual, yet often strained, relationship exists between police and victims. Police officers are

counseling programs and victim-assistance programs within the police department to encourage reporting and then to have follow-up services available to the victims after they report. And in some jurisdictions, police departments are moving toward an automated system of reporting in an effort to make it easier for victims of all types of crime to report. However, the more severe the crime, the more likely the victim will need to speak directly to an officer, and in these situations, it is best to have the full services available to the victim to balance the needs of the victim and the police. Also, police need to be trained in successful interviewing tactics to interview victims of crime. In cases such as sexual assault or domestic violence, the interviewing skills of police officers need to be highly tuned to solicit the information needed from the victim, without causing more harm. It is important in these situations for the police to let the victim decide when and where the interview will take place; in consultation with the victim make a decision about who should conduct the interview—a police officer, rape counselor, or victim's advocate; build a rapport with the victim, meaning that the interview must not be rushed; and speak to the victim with mutual respect and dignity.

It is also important for police to understand how victims respond to victimization. For the police to help victims and to get victims to help them with their open cases, there needs to be comprehension and empathy on the part of the police. There is not one universal response to victimization; thus, the police need to be skilled in how to identify appropriate reactions to victimization, which include the emotional toil that will manifest after the crime has occurred. The traumatic effects of the crime are often referred to as a crisis, and police need to be trained in crisis management. Additionally, special populations may be victimized that also need additional care. Included would be elderly victims, victims with disabilities, ethnically diverse victims, and secondary victims (victims who are not the primary victim but who experience the repercussions of the crime). This group would include family members, friends, co-workers, neighbors, and in some cases, the public.

Finally, it is important that police know of other services for victims either on the local or federal level. Police should be informed about the services available and be able to tell the victim

generally what services exist. If the police department has a victim's advocate, then a more detailed explanation of the services and the actual providing of services would come from this office.

Police and victims have a special relationship that sometimes is strained. The relationship is one of mutual concern and need. Both parties rely on the other when a crime occurs. With professional, annual training, police can move this often strained relationship into one of mutual respect and cooperation. The primary goal of the police is to protect its citizens, and when this protection is violated, the police must be able to console and provide services to victims to restore their faith in society. Great care has been given in many jurisdictions to include victim's advocates as part of police departments to ensure that victims are provided the services they need whether the services are provided directly by the police department or by some auxiliary unit that has special training and knowledge in a particular service area.

Laura J. Moriarty

See also Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication; Police Crime Prevention Units; Police Fatality Review Teams

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POLICE CRIME PREVENTION UNITS

Beginning with the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police Department, the modern system of policing has existed for more than 150 years. During that time, several key objectives have continued to serve as cornerstones of traditional policing ideals and efforts. Without a doubt, crime control has always been one of those objectives. In fact, it can easily be argued that controlling crime is the main objective of policing. With that in mind, there has been a long-standing focus on crime prevention in policing, as well. There is no better way to control crime than to

prevent it before it even occurs. Although crime-prevention techniques have historically been used by police departments in a general fashion, specific police crime-prevention units have only begun to surface in the last few decades. The late 1970s through the early 1980s observed the birth and development of community-based policing. One main concern of the community policing era is a strong focus on crime prevention. At the same time, problem-oriented policing has been quickly growing in popularity as an effective methodology for analyzing and responding to specific crime problems, especially community-wide crime problems. It was through the combination of community-oriented policing and problem-oriented policing that police crime-prevention units were born. Since the mid to late 1980s, crime-prevention units have become an integral part of policing.

Community-Oriented Policing

In America, a shift in policing ideology occurred during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Police departments began to move away from the more traditional professional model of policing, which focused on strong centralization, training, and specialization. Although it is beneficial in many ways, the professional model created a barrier between the police and the community they served, resulting in the failure to address community needs and problems appropriately. This dilemma led to the birth of the community-oriented policing (COP) model. The COP model focuses on direct communication between the police and the community in an effort to solve long-term crime problems. With this model, more emphasis is placed on the police acting as problem solvers rather than the more traditional crime fighters. Police departments and the surrounding communities work together in an effort to develop crime-prevention strategies that address the causes of crime, rather than simply deal with their outcomes.

Problem-Oriented Policing

Championed by Herman Goldstein in the late 1970s, problem-oriented policing (POP) is a method of policing in which officers are encouraged to use problem-solving techniques as a means of understanding and dealing with crime. Rather

than simply responding to crimes as individual incidents, police departments focus on the entire criminal event, getting at the core issues that cause crime. One key technique used with POP is referred to as SARA. SARA stands for scanning, analyzing, responding, and assessing. With techniques such as SARA, police departments can fully investigate crime problems and develop the most effective solution. These efforts allow for a preventive approach to policing, as many problems can be solved with preemptive solutions. POP is often directly associated with community-oriented policing. In fact, most police departments use the two methodologies together to analyze, investigate, and solve widespread community crime-problems.

Police Crime-Prevention Units

It has become common practice for many police departments to adopt COP/POP methodologies in an effort to develop strategies that target specific types of crime. In doing so, they often initiate specialized crime-prevention units. Typically, these units are designed in a manner that allows the police to work directly with members of the community in an effort to prevent crime problems within the community. The main goal of police crime-prevention units is to understand fully the types and extent of crime within the community, so that effective crime-prevention strategies can be developed. To achieve that goal, police crime-prevention units pay special attention to collecting and analyzing community crime data. The benefits of examining crime data are twofold. First, it provides the police with an understanding of the crime hotspot areas. This allows them to focus more attention on the areas that need it most. Second, it aids the police in the development of crime-prevention programs. Most police crime-prevention units offer different categories and/or types of prevention programs through which the police and community can work together to reduce crime. Although a large variety of crime-prevention programs is offered, the most common programs fall into only a few categories. Some of these programs are described below.

Citizen-Involvement Programs

Coinciding with the central theme of community-oriented policing, the most predominant types of

programs offered by police crime-prevention units are citizen-involvement programs. These types of programs most typically involve the police teaching citizens techniques that allow them to recognize potential criminal activity and secure their persons and property against potential offenders. Individuals are not encouraged to interact directly with offenders, but instead they are advised to contact the police on witnessing any potential criminal activity. Essentially, these types of programs allow citizens to take a proactive role in crime prevention while maintaining their own personal safety.

The most common citizen-involvement program employed by the police crime-prevention units is the Neighborhood Watch program. With Neighborhood Watch programs, citizens join formal police-trained watch groups within their neighborhood (typically restricted to one or two streets). Watch group members monitor the homes and public areas within their neighborhood, remaining alert to suspicious and/or potential criminal activity. If suspicious activity is observed, then the police are notified. Neighborhood Watch programs allow citizens and the police to work together to prevent crime before it occurs.

Many police crime-prevention units also offer business watch programs. With business watch programs, businesses in close geographic proximity form groups, similar to Neighborhood Watch groups. Employees of the businesses within the watch group are trained by the police to recognize and report suspicious individuals to both the other businesses in the group and the police. As with the Neighborhood Watch program, members of the business watch program communicate with and assist the police in an effort to prevent crime.

Educational Programs

The cornerstone of all police crime-prevention units is education. Although education is a continuous theme throughout relatively every police crime-prevention program, the sole purpose of certain programs is to educate. Typically with education programs, specially trained police officers lead informational sessions for members of the community, providing them with specific facts and tips about how to react in certain situations. Police crime-prevention units across the United States use a plethora of various education programs, varying in both subject and intended audience.

One of the longest running and most famous police-led education programs is the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program. Founded in 1983, D.A.R.E. is designed to teach adolescents about drugs and violence, providing them with tips about how to resist peer pressure. D.A.R.E. has been implemented in schools across the United States, as well as numerous other countries around the world. The goal of D.A.R.E. is to reach children before they participate in criminal activity.

First established in 1989, a more recently developed crime-prevention education program is the Rape Aggression Defense (R.A.D.) program. Though R.A.D. has not been as widely implemented as the D.A.R.E. program, it is quickly growing in popularity among police crime-prevention units. Using classroom-style lectures and physical training, the R.A.D. program is designed to teach women to recognize, avoid, and/or defend themselves against physical and sexual assault. A similar program, referred to as r.a.d.KIDS, teaches children how to recognize and escape violent situations.

Personal Safety Programs

Borrowing from many traditional theories of crime prevention, police crime-prevention units often offer programs that attempt to reduce the opportunity for criminal activity. Unlike citizen involvement and education programs that focus on providing individuals knowledge of how to react when coming into contact with an offender, personal safety programs are designed to prevent crime by directly influencing the targets of criminal offenders. Employing a broad spectrum of crime-prevention techniques, police crime-prevention units greatly reduce or even completely remove the attractiveness of potential targets/victims. Although these programs may not be as well known, they are vital in the police's effort to prevent crime.

Some of the most theoretically based types of programs offered by police crime-prevention units are building project assistance programs. With these programs, a police crime-prevention unit provides planning assistance during the construction and/or renovating phases of home development, and they can be tailored to assist private citizens, public housing developers, or even private contractors. These programs employ the concepts of crime prevention through environmental design

(CPTED) and defensible space to help design homes and neighborhoods that can be more easily defended against burglary and other property crimes. Essentially, these programs help protect homes and property by reducing their attractiveness as potential targets.

Police crime-prevention units also have several more direct personal safety programs. One of the most common personal safety programs is the police escort program. As its name implies, a police escort program simply offers police escorts for individuals who fear for their safety. Most typically, these programs are offered in and around college and university campuses. During specific hours of the night, students can contact the campus or local police and ask for an escort to their car, dormitory, or any other place on campus. This program serves to prevent crime by completely eliminating the attractiveness of potential targets. Rarely will an offender attack or rob someone who is with a police officer.

Property Identification Programs

Although the main focus of police crime-prevention units is to develop and use preventive techniques and programs, they often offer several programs that do not directly serve to prevent crime. These programs do have a crime-control function, however, but most typically only help once a crime has occurred. One of the most common programs that fit this model is the property registration program. Almost every police department offers free property registration services with which individuals can bring items in to register. The idea behind property registration programs is that if registered items are stolen, they can be identified and returned if found by the police.

The most common property registration programs focus on items that are most frequently targeted by thieves. This includes bicycles, laptops, and other portable electronic devices. Individuals bring their items into the police department and complete a registration form, describing the item and recording its serial number. Often, the police also provide them with equipment that can be used to engrave their item with a number, name, and so on. This strategy has become common practice on college and university campuses, as these areas are major targets for theft.

International Crime Prevention Units

Crime prevention is by no means limited only to the United States. In fact, many crime-prevention theories and programs that have been implemented in the United States originated in England and the Netherlands. Furthermore, many countries also use crime-prevention units. However, unlike crime-prevention units in the United States, which are most often localized to city and municipal departments, units in other countries are also frequently components of larger national departments. For example, in England, the Home Office offers programs that provide information and tips about how to prevent crime. Likewise, the New Zealand Ministry of Justice and the Dutch Centre for Crime Prevention and Safety both offer many of the same programs implemented by U.S. police departments. Similar units are continuously being developed in numerous other countries around the world.

Billy Henson

See also Citizen Patrols; Community Policing; Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Neighborhood Watch Programs; Problem-Oriented Policing; Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI)

Web Sites

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) America:
<http://www.dare.com/home/default.asp>

Dutch Centre for Crime Prevention and Safety: <http://www.theccv.eu/about-us>

Home Office, Crime and Victims Unit: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/how-you-can-prevent-crime/?view=Standard>

National Neighborhood Watch Institute: <http://www.nnwi.org>

New Zealand Ministry of Justice: Crime Prevention Unit:
<http://www.justice.govt.nz/cpu>

Rape Aggression Defense (r.a.d.) KIDS: <http://radkids.org>

Rape Aggression Defense (R.A.D.) Systems: <http://www.rad-systems.com>

POLICE FATALITY REVIEW TEAMS

Criminal homicide is considered the most heinous of all crimes. The use of fatality review is critical to

prevent various types of criminal homicides that affect both police officers and citizens. Fatality review can be defined as the careful and deliberative process of collecting, documenting, and examining the circumstances and factors that surround a criminal homicide. This entry briefly discusses the purposes and goals of fatality review regarding criminal homicides in general. Then, it discusses the formal data-gathering and review procedure used to examine police officer deaths that occur in the line of duty and the impact of this information. Last, it touches briefly on police participation on fatality review teams designed to investigate specific homicides such as domestic homicide and child deaths.

Purposes and Goals

The use of fatality review and participation on fatality review teams by law enforcement is critical to provide insight into criminal homicide incidents for preventing future deaths. Law enforcement agencies are involved in two distinct types of fatality reviews. The first is their formal case review and reporting procedures to the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program when a police officer is killed in the line of duty. The second is their participation on domestic violence and child death fatality review teams. Both the review of police homicides and those of civilians share the following two purposes: (1) to identify and examine the events and details that surrounded the homicide and (2) to use this learned knowledge to change and improve laws, policies, and police protocols. Each of these purposes leads to two common goals: improving the safety of police officers and civilians and preventing future injuries and deaths.

Reviewing Police Deaths

Each year in the United States, an average of 50 officers are feloniously killed in the line of duty, and approximately another 80 to 100 more are accidentally killed. The careful and deliberative process of documenting the factors that may have influenced the tragic outcomes of injury and death is a logical step that provides crucial insight into what went wrong. This process is known as fatality review.

The formal review of police fatalities is conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and began as part of their UCR Program in 1937. From

1937 to 1960, the UCR Program collected data, which reviewed brief statistics on law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty. Then in 1971, the UCR Program expanded the data collection to include more specific details about the incidents in which officers were feloniously killed and assaulted. These new comprehensive data were used to produce two reports annually, which were later combined into one annual publication, *Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted* (LEOKA).

The UCR Program uses three types of reporting procedures to learn of a police officer's death. The first and most common method is direct reporting to the FBI by the agency in which the officer worked. A second type is when an officer death occurs, the local FBI field division from the area reports the incident. Last the Bureau Justice Assistance Administrator of Public Safety Officer's Benefits and nonprofit organizations that are devoted to supporting families of fallen officers report to the UCR when they are made aware of a death in the line of duty.

At the local level, when a police officer is injured severely or killed in the line of duty, his or her agency will compile an investigative team to review the circumstances surrounding the incident. This information is then submitted to the UCR program as both notification of the incident and the preliminary data. When the FBI receives this notification, they send LEOKA staff to conduct their own in-depth gathering of information surrounding the circumstances of the death, which includes but is not limited to obtaining pertinent criminal history, and investigating variables such as type of call answered, type of weapon used, and type of patrol officers were on. The purpose of the LEOKA staff investigation is to ensure that for each case all the data gathered is pertinent to the LEOKA and consistent for each case, allowing for continuity across cases and more comparative analyses.

This information gathered by the UCR Program and included in the LEOKA report is used by law enforcement analysts and trainers to improve the quality of police safety training and ultimately save lives. It is also used to change laws and policies concerning police safety and procedures. For example, Florida just recently passed the "Move Over Law." This legislation was based on fatality review information that demonstrated many police injuries and deaths were a result of being struck by passing cars during routine traffic stops. The law

instructs drivers to move over a lane when passing police officers conducting stops, and the failure to do so is now a moving violation.

Domestic Violence and Child Death Fatality Review Teams

Both domestic violence homicides and child deaths caused by abuse and neglect are unique types of criminal homicides. These homicides are generally a result of repeat victimization that often increases in frequency and severity over time, and without proper intervention it often culminates into a homicide. For this reason, communities around the country have developed fatality review teams to review systematically the events and interventions that occurred in these cases prior to the homicide. Law enforcement agencies participate on these teams because it provides them with valuable insight into the effectiveness of their prior interventions and how to improve their response to prevent homicides in future cases.

Shelly Wagers

See also Child Death Review Team; Domestic Violence Fatality Review Team; Repeat Victimization; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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who has experienced some sort of physical, mental, or emotional harm from another person, group of persons, or entity (i.e., corporation or nation), it does not mean that all victims are viewed as such by society. For most of history, access to the legitimate victim label was based on people's position in society. Society's ability to reject marginalized groups systematically, such as people of color, women, and children, has prevented access to victim services and restitution to nonlegitimate victims. In addition, victim politics frequently ignores secondary victims, such as family members of offenders, family members of victims, and providers working within these populations. Although grassroots organizations, such as the Abolishment Movement, Civil Rights Movements, Women's Rights Movement, and the Gay and Lesbian Movement, were instrumental in redefining legitimate victimization and creating entrée for marginalized populations, still some people experiencing victimization from persons or entities still do not have recourse because they are not considered legitimate victims.

Legitimate Victims

Throughout history, the definition of legitimate victim has changed, and traditionally, marginalized populations, such as people of color, women, and children, have not had access to the legitimate victim status. Historically, one of the first instances of this is the framing of Native Americans as "savages" and a threat to White colonizers. The non-victim label permitted colonizers to oppress Native Americans through violence and removal of land. Similarly, the frame of African Americans as property during slavery allowed White slave owners to rape, brutalize, and murder African Americans. Because African Americans were not legitimate victims, this fact denied these victims access to legal recourse and aided the dismantling of families through child removal and placement of persons in the economic market. In addition to personal actions of victimization, the United States government has used its ability to define appropriate victim categorization during World War II with the legal internment of more than 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans.

Fortunately, many civil rights movements during the 1960s and 1970s were able to bring some

POLITICS AND VICTIMS

Politics and victims, or victim politics, refers to how victim discourse is produced to identify the appropriate characteristics of victims and who has access to the legitimate victim label. Although technically, a victim is a person or group of persons

of these stories of victimization into the public discourse and bring into the legitimate victim label populations previously denied access. For example, women's status as male property prevented women from being viewed as a victim because men could have the right to act in any manner desired toward women. The Women's Right Movement fought to bring into the public sphere women's victimization through intimate partner abuse, sexual assault, and violence against women in general. The empowerment of women experiencing victimization led to the introduction of women's voices in the courtroom, and those voices influenced the criminal legal system. However, not all women's voices were brought into the public sphere, as only White women who fell into the appropriate roles of woman and mother were considered legitimate victims. Victim discursive politics excluded women of color, immigrant women, and women who did not fit the real victim mold (sex workers, single women, etc.). The same victim discursive politics were applied to sexual assault victims. Because real rape only occurred between a male stranger and an innocent female, it denied access to the "victim" label for acquaintance rape victims, marital rape victims, and male victims.

Blaming the Victim

The inclusion of traditionally excluded people into the victim label created a backlash that included blaming the victim for his or her crime. For instance, once rape victims' voices were heard in the criminal legal processing system, the victim label constricted to include only women who were legitimately considered "real victims" of rape. More specifically, women who had been drinking or had sexual backgrounds were considered partially responsible for their victimization. In addition, women involved in abusive relationships often were blamed for the continual violence because "she could just leave." Blaming the victim for the crime has adverse repercussions because if the victim does not feel that he or she fits into the appropriate victim role, then it may create a barrier to the criminal legal system and victim services. An example of this is African American women, whose lack of access to the appropriate victim role and history of institutional racism may lead to hesitancy to use police and other victim-centered services.

New Victim Politics

The legitimate victim discourse has led to the notion that being a victim implies a weakness, vulnerability, or the inability to protect oneself. Therefore, recently there has been a call to end using the term *victim* and begin using the term *survivor*, because survivor connotes resistance and strength. Despite women's organizations embracing this transition, the term survivor has not been completely accepted, as some victim advocates argue that survivorship is a transformative process from victim to survivor, and not all victims are survivors. Thus, the definition of victim is fluid, and who has access to the legitimate victim status depends on multiple factors, which may be external to the actual victimization. Victim discursive politics will likely always be present and influence the validation of experience and access to services.

Jenn Roark

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Elder Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment; Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered Individuals, Victimization of; Hate and Bias Crime; Incest; Intimate Partner Violence; Rape; Sexual Harassment; Victim Blaming

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POSTTRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER (PTSD)

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) consists of three clusters of interrelated symptoms: re-experiencing, avoidance/numbing, and hyperarousal. These symptoms develop after an individual experiences a

traumatic event. Traumatic events involve actual or threatened death or injury or a threat to an individual's physical integrity. Traumatic events can include events that one actually experienced or events that one witnessed. Examples of traumatic events include physical or sexual assault and abuse, combat, natural disasters, terrorism, and serious illness. According to the criteria for PTSD set forth in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed; DSM-IV), for an individual to develop PTSD, the person must respond to the traumatic event with feelings of intense fear, helplessness, or horror. In addition, to differentiate PTSD from temporary reactions to traumatic experiences, the individual also has to report experiencing symptoms of PTSD for at least 1 month, although in many instances symptoms can persist for years.

For an individual to meet criteria for PTSD according to DSM-IV criteria, he or she must experience at least one re-experiencing symptom, three or more avoidance or numbing symptoms, and two or more hyperarousal symptoms. Re-experiencing symptoms include recurrent unwanted thoughts, dreams, or memories of the trauma. Re-experiencing symptoms in children with PTSD may include engaging in play that involves traumatic themes or having frightening dreams without specific traumatic content. In adolescents, re-experiencing symptoms may include re-enacting the trauma in their behaviors (e.g., sexual acting out behavior in an adolescent who experienced sexual abuse). Some individuals also experience reliving phenomenon, which can include the sense that the trauma is re-occurring, illusions, hallucinations, or flashbacks. Avoidance symptoms include avoidance of reminders of the trauma including trauma-related thoughts, places, and activities, and conversations about the trauma. Some individuals may have amnesia that has no physiological basis for important aspects of the trauma. Numbing symptoms include difficulties experiencing or blunted expression of certain emotions such as love or happiness, feelings of detachment from others, loss of interest in previously enjoyed activities, and a sense of a foreshortened future (e.g., that one will not have a long life, have children, have a career, or have important relationships). Hyperarousal symptoms include insomnia, irritability, outbursts of anger, difficulty

concentrating, hypervigilance to danger cues, and an exaggerated startle response.

Prevalence

Epidemiological surveys of PTSD have primarily been conducted among adults in developed countries. The National Comorbidity Survey (NCS) and National Comorbidity Survey Replication (NCS-R) conducted among residents of the United States found estimated lifetime prevalence rates of PTSD of 7.8% and 6.8%, respectively. Obtained prevalence rates for PTSD in other developed countries have often been lower than U.S. samples. For example, an Icelandic study found a lifetime prevalence of PTSD of 0.6%, an Australian survey found a 12-month PTSD prevalence of 1.3%, and a German study found a lifetime prevalence of PTSD of 1.3%. It is unclear the extent to which these prevalence differences reflect true differences in prevalence rates of PTSD among individuals residing in these countries, as opposed to methodological or sampling factors.

Limited research examining the prevalence of PTSD is available in developing countries. Not surprisingly, research that has been conducted examining the prevalence of PTSD in developing countries, particularly countries with high levels of conflict or oppressive regimes, have found high prevalence rates of this disorder. For example, the prevalence of PTSD in a sample of Kosovar Albanians was 25%. A similar prevalence of PTSD of 24.8% was found in a sample of Rwandans. Finally, rates of PTSD found in Afghan samples in the 2000s have ranged from 20.4% to 43.1%.

Epidemiological surveys of PTSD among children and adolescents are lacking. Surveys conducted among children in the United States support that many children experience traumatic events, with prevalence estimates for trauma exposure ranging from 13% to 81%, depending on the sample used (e.g., inner-city children versus children residing in suburban areas) and traumatic events assessed. Children who experience traumatic events seem to be vulnerable to the development of PTSD with the risk of developing PTSD after a traumatic event among children estimated at 36%. There have been a few studies examining the prevalence of PTSD among older adolescents in the United States. These studies have found prevalence rates of PTSD ranging from 6% to 9%.

Risk Factors

The nature of the traumatic experience itself is one of the clearest and most consistent predictors of the development and persistence of PTSD. Traumatic events involving human agency, such as abuse, sexual assault, combat, or terrorism, are more likely than those not involving a human agent to result in PTSD. The severity of trauma exposure and trauma chronicity also relate to PTSD development and persistence. Some evidence indicates that trauma is cumulative in nature, such that individuals who experience multiple trauma experiences over the life span are at elevated risk for PTSD.

Pretrauma factors in general have not emerged as consistent predictors of PTSD. One consistent finding that has emerged, however, is that women are approximately twice as likely to meet diagnostic criteria for PTSD as men. These gender differences can be partially, but not completely, explained by differences in the types of trauma experienced by women as compared with men, particularly women's greater risk for experiencing sexual trauma, such as childhood sexual abuse and rape. In contrast, no consistent findings are available with regard to differences in PTSD prevalence among individuals of different ages and ethnic backgrounds. There is some evidence to support that those individuals with pre-existing psychopathology such as depression and substance use disorders are somewhat more vulnerable to developing PTSD following trauma exposure. Family psychopathology also seems to be associated with a slight increase in vulnerability to developing PTSD, although the extent to which this reflects a genetic vulnerability factor and/or factors or environmental vulnerability factors (e.g., a chaotic family environment) is unclear.

Individuals' peritraumatic responses seem to represent clear and significant risk factors for the development of PTSD, although the strength of the association found between these variables and PTSD may be somewhat inflated because of the reliance on retrospective reports of these responses. Peritraumatic responses associated with PTSD risk include the extent to which the individual perceives that his or her life was in danger during the trauma, with some studies finding that perceived life threat is more strongly associated with PTSD

than objective life threat during the trauma. The intensity of individuals' emotional responses during the trauma, such as whether the person has a panic attack or experiences feelings of helplessness, horror, or anger, also have been associated with increased risk of developing PTSD. Another peritraumatic risk factor associated with PTSD development is the extent to which an individual dissociates during the trauma. Indeed, a recent meta-analytic review found that peritraumatic dissociation had the strongest relationship with PTSD of all the risk factors analyzed.

Many posttrauma factors have been associated with the development, persistence, and severity of PTSD symptoms. A growing body of literature supports that the extent to which an individual experiences a loss of valued resources after trauma, including material possessions, interpersonal resources (e.g., time with loved ones), and intrapersonal resources (e.g., hope, self-esteem), is associated with risk for PTSD. Social support has also been consistently associated with PTSD risk and severity of symptoms. The coping strategies that an individual uses in managing the trauma also are clearly related to PTSD risk and severity. In particular, reliance on avoidance strategies in managing the trauma, such as wishful thinking (e.g., imagining that the trauma had not occurred), problem avoidance, and disengagement from trauma-related thoughts and feelings, are associated with PTSD symptomatology. The extent to which an individual experiences damage to many culturally valued beliefs has also been related to PTSD development and severity after trauma. Beliefs commonly affected by the experience of trauma associated with PTSD risk include belief that the world is a safe place, belief that other people are generally good and benevolent, belief in the trustworthiness of others, belief in one's own worth, and belief that life has meaning.

Prevention and Treatment

Given the frequency of the development of PTSD after trauma, as well as the often chronic nature of this disorder, a sizable body of research has focused on interventions to prevent the development of PTSD after trauma. The most extensively investigated preventive intervention is psychological debriefing. Psychological debriefing involves

reliving the event and ventilating of one's thoughts and experiences about the trauma in either a group or individual format within a few days of the traumatic event. Other preventive interventions include psychoeducation about trauma and trauma reactions, as well as brief cognitive-behavioral interventions. Unfortunately, these psychological interventions have not been found to be effective at preventing the development of PTSD among trauma-exposed individuals, and some evidence suggests that psychological debriefing may at times even have iatrogenic effects, perhaps by impeding natural trauma recovery. Several pharmacological agents have also been investigated in the prevention of PTSD. Of the agents investigated, propranolol, which is an antiadrenergic agent, shows the most promise at potentially reducing the development of symptoms of PTSD, particularly hyperarousal symptoms, when administered before or immediately after a trauma. Use of pharmacological agents to prevent PTSD presents many potential issues, however, including whether use of such agents may reduce the credibility of testimony of crime victims or impede appropriate responding in dangerous situations such as among soldiers and police and rescue workers.

With regard to the treatment of PTSD, cognitive-behavioral interventions are the most consistently empirically supported among adults. Cognitive-behavioral interventions have primarily been evaluated among individuals who have experienced rape, abuse, or domestic violence. There is also some evidence for the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioral interventions in children and adolescents with PTSD, although it should be noted that most of these studies have focused on individuals who experienced sexual abuse. Cognitive-behavioral interventions for PTSD generally consist of several components. Exposure is often a key component of these interventions. Exposure can include repeated and graduated exposure to avoided trauma-related cues as well as repeated exposure to the trauma memory through imaginal exposure. Cognitive restructuring is also often employed. Cognitive restructuring generally targets several trauma-related cognitions, including self-blame for the trauma, distorted cognitions regarding perceptions of one's safety, cognitions related to the trustworthiness of others, and inappropriate and excessive trauma-related guilt.

Finally, anxiety management strategies such as relaxation training and stress management are often used.

There is also some evidence to support the usefulness of pharmacological agents in the treatment of PTSD. Selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) have the most evidence for their effectiveness in reducing symptoms of PTSD. However, treatment with SSRIs rarely results in full remission of symptoms. The atypical antidepressants nefazadone and trazadone are also used frequently to treat PTSD-related sleep disturbance, although these agents have not been extensively empirically evaluated. Finally, there is some evidence for the usefulness of atypical antipsychotics in the treatment of PTSD, particularly among individuals who experience extreme hypervigilance, anger, or dissociation.

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See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Correlates of Victimization; Crisis Reaction Repair Cycle; Mental Illness and Victimization; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Rape Trauma Syndrome

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PRESIDENT'S CRIME COMMISSION REPORT, 1967

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was created by Executive Order 1236 and was signed by President Lyndon Baines Johnson on July 23, 1965. The commission delivered its report, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, in early 1967. In popular shorthand, the commission was identified with its end date rather than the year of its creation, and its report became known as the 1967 President's Crime Commission Report. Its recommendations formed the basis for the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, which created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The commission's work launched many of the innovations and foundational research into the criminal justice system that marked the decade of the 1970s.

Background

The commission was composed of 19 members appointed by the President. Under the leadership of Executive Director James Vorenberg, of the Harvard Law School, some 63 staff members, 175 consultants, and hundreds of advisors undertook the work of the commission. The staff members were drawn from a variety of positions in academia, policing, corrections, the court system, state planning agencies, and social service agencies. Many of the commission's staff members and advisers are today recognized as the preeminent scholars of criminal justice and criminology: Jerome Skolnick, O. W. Wilson, James Q. Wilson, Gilbert Geis, Egon Bittner, Al Reiss, Peter Rossi, Irving Spergel, Herman Goldstein, Don Gottfredson, Walter Reckless, Jackson Toby, Marvin Wolfgang, Thorstin Sellin, Karl Menninger, Patrick V. Murphy, Ray Galvin, and many others.

The backdrop to the commission's work was the rising crime rate of the mid-1960s, one of several widespread social changes that afflicted the decade. The commission was convened amid increased urban violence that accompanied the radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement. The urban riots of the "long, hot summers" of the middle part of the decade were only a small part of the crime problem, but race relations played a

large role in the exploration of the administration of justice. Citizen resistance to American military involvement in Vietnam was in its early stages, and it would not coalesce until after the commission delivered its report.

The commission was not the only entity examining the criminal justice system. The American Bar Association had been conducting a lengthy examination of the use of discretion within the system, and some of its findings fed the investigation by the commission. State-level planning commissions were also part of the effort. More importantly, the Supreme Court had abandoned its traditional *laissez faire* treatment of criminal justice operations, delivering a series of cases that exposed serious flaws in the administration of justice in all areas. *Gideon v. Wainwright*, *Mapp v. Ohio*, and *Escobedo v. Illinois* had already been decided; *Miranda v. Arizona* would be announced shortly after the commission's report was delivered.

Report and Recommendations

The work of the commission was conducted by several task forces, with some members serving in multiple areas. The primary areas reported in *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (*Challenge*) were crime in America, juvenile delinquency and youth crime, the police, the courts, and corrections. In addition, special investigations were mounted into organized crime and several areas thought to contribute to the spiraling rate of crime, which included narcotics and drug abuse, drunkenness offenses, and control of firearms. Separate chapters on science and technology, the role of research, and a national strategy for crime control completed the commission's report. Supplemental Task Force Reports were issued in several areas, particularly the police, the courts, and corrections, which provided more detailed analysis, including more explicit justification for some of the recommendations reported in *Challenge*.

The opening chapter of the report linked crime with a wide range of urban social conditions, noting that three quarters of all reported crime occurred in cities. The contributory roles of poverty, urban renewal, the decline of family and community moral authority, disparate educational and work opportunities, and lack of medical and psychiatric services were outlined. After reviewing the

operations of the criminal justice system, the commission identified three primary requirements for improvement: adequate resources, public involvement and support, and a willingness to change.

Much of the commission's report on crime in America is familiar to modern readers. Multiple sources of data about offenders were delineated, as was the distinction between professional criminals and impulsive criminals. The commission mounted the first-ever independent victimization survey, the predecessor of today's National Crime Victimization Survey. It illustrated the vast underreporting gap between officially recorded crimes and those reported to the survey and documented the reasons for victim failure to report. The distinction between actual victimization and fear of crime was first explored, and it led the commission to conclude that the public's fear of crime was not without justification.

The Juvenile Delinquency section focused on slum conditions, family structure and discipline, the role of schools, employment opportunities, and official contacts with the components of the justice system. The 40 recommendations in this area touched on improvements in housing and recreation, involving youth in meaningful community life, and greater employment opportunities for youth. The most serious calls were to adjust welfare policy to strengthen families (including minimum income and child care) and to make substantial changes in the educational establishment to compensate for the effects of poverty and discrimination. Stricter limits on the use of the juvenile justice system, guidelines for police handling of juvenile cases, and greater alternatives for handling juvenile infractions were sought for the system itself.

The Police section noted serious deficiencies in the police on many fronts, including the low quality of education of serving officers, the inadequacy of supervision and command, and deficiencies in training, material, and information processing. The need to improve police relations with the community was heavily emphasized, particularly with minority groups within the community at large. Greater recruitment of minority officers and the creation of citizen advisory committees were recommended, but the primary emphasis on improvement fell on the areas of recruitment, training, and guidelines for action. Improved screening for character and education, modified fitness standards and residency requirements, minimum requirements for

both initial training and annual in-service training, and probationary periods for assessing on-the-job fitness were radical proposals at the time. They have been internalized into accepted professional standards during the years. A series of recommendations called for making scarce resources, such as crime laboratories and skilled investigators, available to small agencies, and it also called for coordinating police operations with municipal planning.

Like the police, the courts were also found to be understaffed for their work load, and in need of upgraded facilities and equipment. Standardization of practices concerning publicity, pretrial discovery, and plea negotiations were prominent concerns, as was a need for revision of sentencing practices. Better screening of court personnel, better education for judges, and comparable reforms among prosecutors were fundamental to improved salary conditions. State financing and better training for defense counsel, as well as earlier provisions of counsel for indigent defendants, were emphasized.

The corrections system of the mid-1960s handled an average of 1.3 million offenders each day and processed 2.5 million admissions each year. Then as now, prison conditions and the degree to which offenders were prepared to return to society were concerns. The commission conducted a national survey of the system to overcome the fragmentary nature of existing data, examining both institutional and community-based corrections. Enhanced screening and diagnostic resources to facilitate better decision making and explicit standards were urged across all aspects of the system.

The commission's recommendations included a caseload of 35 for probation and parole officials and vary according to the type and intensity of treatment. More extensive programs, more extensive training for personnel, and greater availability of resources including volunteers and "subprofessionals" were urged.

Recommendations for institutional corrections including smaller, flexible, community-oriented treatment focused on rehabilitation. Education and training programs were emphasized, along with graduated furlough programs to ease prisoners' transition back into society. Separate juvenile facilities and separate detention for persons awaiting trial were also strongly recommended.

Awareness of organized crime was one of the features of the 1960s, spurred in part by the Kennedy administration. The commission classified

the organized crime activities under two headings, catering to public demands and the infiltration of business and labor interests. Mob characteristics were outlined, as were the nature, scope, and limits of state and federal enforcement. The commission's recommendations in this area were far ranging, from witness protection to wiretapping legislation to structural changes in prosecution and investigative agencies, as well as establishing a joint congressional committee.

Although related to organized crime, drug offenses were widespread. Drug typologies and their pharmacological effects, smuggling and distribution mechanisms, enforcement capacities, and penalties for abuse were all outlined. Recommendations of enhanced enforcement capacity were balanced by those calling for flexible responses to the problem, which include the education and the medical professions as partners. The commission conducted a similar analysis of drunkenness, calling for noncriminal responses to the problem, the creation of detoxification centers, and aftercare programs.

The commission also reported the statistics of firearms violence and the patchwork of state and federal regulations of firearms. After reviewing the progun and antigun control arguments, the commission asserted the law of the day: that the Second Amendment did not guarantee individual ownership of firearms. (That finding has recently been overturned by the 2008 Supreme Court decision in *Heller v. District of Columbia*.) The commission urged that federal and state regulation of medium-heavy ordnance such as bazookas, machine guns, mortars, and antitank guns, as well as prohibition of certain categories of persons (habitual drunkards or addicts, those with mental illness or defect, and those with certain criminal convictions) from owning small arms. Regulation at the state level was urged, with a recommendation of federal registration after 5 years if necessary and permits required for sale and purchase of firearms.

Noting that the Justice Department was the only Cabinet position without a share of the federal research and development budget, the commission made extensive recommendations for research on operations (including manpower allocation based on statistical analysis of workloads), communications, criminalistics, crime prevention, and other areas. A federally sponsored research and development

program for systems analysis, field experimentation, and equipment-system development was proposed, along with a federal office for standards in equipment used by criminal justice agencies.

The emphasis on research extended to recommendations for state-level research agencies and units within larger system units. Public and private funding, as well as coordinated efforts with universities and foundations, were part of a plan that included establishing an independent National Foundation for Criminal Research.

The National Strategy outlined in the concluding chapter of *Challenge* incorporated all the recommendations, and identified local, state, and federal responsibilities and possibilities. Six major areas were identified: state and local planning, education and training of criminal justice personnel, surveys of organization and operations of agencies, developing coordinated national information systems, developing demonstration projects, and scientific and technological research and development. Two additional areas were proposed to facilitate the first six: creating institutes for research and training, and grants-in-aid for operational innovations.

Impact

The work of the commission formed the basis for the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which incorporated many of the recommendations into the charter of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Modified over time, the commission's strategy remains the basis for many operations of the Office of Justice Programs, including the National Institute of Justice, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and the Bureau of Justice Assistance. Some of the commission's recommendations were quickly discarded or rendered obsolete by technological advances: Its suggestion that police call boxes be made available to the public was all but rendered moot by the introduction of the 9-1-1 system in 1968. It galvanized research into other technologies, enhancing radio communications and ultimately delivering the Automated Fingerprint Identification Systems (AFIS) in use across the country. Separate development of the RICO statutes put teeth into the Organized Crime recommendations, and over time, almost all of the training and operational

improvements it suggested were put into practice. The work of the commission laid the groundwork for much of the modern functions and innovations of the criminal justice system.

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See also Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982; Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

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PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE ON VICTIMS OF CRIME, 1982

The President's Task Force on Victims of Crime was established in April 1982 by President Ronald Reagan (Executive Order 12360). The purpose of the Task Force was to work with the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy to "conduct a review of national, state and local policies and programs affecting victims of crime." According to the Executive Order, the goal of the Task Force was to produce advice for the President and Attorney General for federal actions that might be taken to "assist and protect victims of crime." In December 1982, the Task Force released its well-known Final Report that served as a guidebook for efforts that would be undertaken and prioritized by federal, state, and local governments seeking to support victims of crime and improve the relationship between victims and the criminal justice system. The President's Task Force on Victims of Crime set out to improve the treatment of victims primarily by changing criminal justice system practices through the use of state and federal legislation.

Activities

Ten members of the President's Task Force were appointed by President Reagan, including attorneys, victims' advocates, and representatives from law enforcement and religious groups. According to the Final Report, the Task Force reviewed the research on victimization, interviewed criminal justice professionals and victims' advocates about the challenges faced by victims of crime, and "most importantly . . . spoke with citizens from around the country whose lives have been altered by crime" (p. ii). It is clear from the Final Report that the focal activities of the Task Force were the series of hearings held in the fall of 1982 in several cities around the country, including Washington, D.C., Boston, San Francisco, Denver, St. Louis, and Houston.

In addition to the hearings, the Task Force surveyed the variety of "Victim/Witness Units" in operation around the country. Some of these units were located in police departments or prosecutor's offices, whereas others were located in social service agencies. The Task Force noted that units that were part of criminal justice agencies tended to have priorities that may not have been consistent with the needs of victims, noting however, that with adequate funding and dedicated personnel, victims' needs could be adequately served in such units as long as the needs of victims were prioritized.

The Task Force argued that the following activities were key to responding adequately to victims of crime: (1) assistance for all victims who report a crime, regardless of arrest outcome; (2) the availability of crisis counseling at the scene of the crime; (3) 24-hour hotline service for victims and witnesses, particularly if threatened; (4) emergency financial assistance for home security, food, and other necessities (e.g., destroyed eyeglasses); (5) referrals to victim compensation programs and assistance with the process; (6) public education about the criminal justice system; (7) prompt return of victims' property; (8) victim notification about case progress at all stages of the criminal justice system; (9) appropriate victim input at all stages of case processing, including bail decisions, continuances, plea bargaining, dismissals, sentencing, and parole hearings; (10) victim input on hearing dates; (11) implementation of an "on-call system" for victims and witnesses; (12) assistance with victims' creditors or employers; (13) transportation to court

for those in need; (14) translator services; (15) secure waiting areas for victims and witnesses at hearings; and (16) counseling and advocates for court appearances.

Recommendations

The Final Report made several recommendations for state and federal legislature, federal action, the criminal justice system, and other organizations. First, to facilitate offender prosecution, the Task Force advised that victims' testimony be admissible in preliminary hearings without the victims' presence and abolishment of the exclusionary rule. Next, to protect crime victims and deter future crimes, the Task Force recommended (1) maintaining the confidentiality of victims' addresses, (2) allowing the public to attend parole hearings, (3) eliminating parole and discretionary sentencing, (4) requiring schools to report all violent offenses on school grounds to the police, (5) increasing the availability of sex offender arrest records, (6) covering the cost of physical examinations of sexual assault victims, and (7) changing the current bail laws to keep dangerous offenders detained. Finally, to facilitate the victim recovery process, the Task Force recommended preserving the confidentiality of statements made during victim counseling sessions and that victims' assistance programs should be established by employers.

The Task Force also proposed that federal funding be provided to assist state level victim compensation programs and to support victim assistance agencies at the federal, state, local, and private level. Additionally, creating a resource center that provided information regarding victim assistance and compensation programs as well as other organizations that benefit victims was recommended. Finally, the Task Force called for additional research to examine the exceptional circumstances surrounding family violence (e.g., feelings of guilt caused by reporting the crime), to evaluate the impact of the unique aspects of the juvenile justice system on victims, and to investigate negligence on the part of parole boards (i.e., improve accountability of parole boards).

The Task Force also made several recommendations to criminal justice agencies that included increased sensitivity toward victims, the restoration of property, and the victims' role in the court processes.

For police departments, prosecutors, and judges, the Task Force recommended training on handling the needs of victims (specifically victims of sexual assault) and the awareness of victim services in the community. It reasoned that this would facilitate the healing process and make victims more likely to cooperate at the investigation and trial phases. Also, recommendations were made that victims be updated regularly during the investigation and trial phases, as well as during parole hearings. The Task Force urged police to investigate threats made on witnesses and victims thoroughly and urged prosecutors to charge defendants who attempt to intimidate victims and witnesses.

The Task Force also discovered that, after victims' property was seized as evidence, victims were unlikely to have it returned to them for months or possibly years as their cases progressed. Therefore, it called on police, prosecutors, and judiciary to ensure that property seized from the victim be returned in a timely manner. In addition, the judiciary was urged to order restitution for all victimizations that resulted in a monetary loss.

The Task Force made several recommendations for observing victims' rights at trial. Prosecutors were called on to ensure that the victims' views are represented in all decisions made by the courts (e.g., bail decisions and plea bargains). Specifically, both judges and prosecutors were urged to keep victims in mind when deciding on continuances and during the sentencing phase. In fact, the Task Force argued that continuances occur less frequently and that new dates be suitable for the victim's schedule. Finally, the Task Force argued for the victims' right to be present during trials and parole hearings.

In addition to criminal justice agencies, the Task Force also recommended that hospital personnel, ministry members, schools, and the mental health community receive victim sensitivity training and be aware of victim-assistance programs. The mental health community was urged to study the psychological effects of victimization, and businesses and creditors were urged to be lenient with crime victims when they are absent from work or unable to make timely payments. The Task Force also recommended that the Bar Association ensure that victims' perspectives and needs are represented along with those of the defendants in all court processes.

Influences on Current Legislation and Services

It is clear that the Task Force made an extensive series of recommendations to governmental and other organizations interested in supporting victims of crime. These recommendations set the political agenda for victims' advocates and continue to influence legislation and services today. Prompted by the recommendations in the report, a series of federal legislation was passed, which included the 1982 Victim Witness Protection Act, the 1983 Victims of Crime Act (VOCA), the 1990 Victims' Rights and Restitution Act, the 1991 Omnibus Crime Bill, the 1994 Violence Against Women Act and various subsequent reauthorizations of these bills. Such legislation worked to ensure that in federal cases, victims can participate in ways that were not allowed in the past, such as providing victim impact statements, obtaining restitution, and being informed of the status of their case. It also prompted state governments to pass their own legislation to achieve the same objectives for most victims whose crimes are violations of state, rather than federal, laws.

Prompted by the recommendations of the Task Force, federal legislation also authorized the 1988 creation of the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) in the Office of Justice Programs (U.S. Department of Justice) for the purpose of coordinating and providing funds to states for victim assistance and compensation, as well as for offering training and information about programs, services, and legislation related to victims' issues. Funding for OVC grants and services comes from the Crime Victims Fund established by VOCA, which receives monies from the fines, penalties, and forfeited bail bonds of those convicted of federal crimes. In 2004, more than \$800 million was collected for the fund, and approximately 6,100 VOCA awards were provided to public and private nonprofit groups to distribute aid to victims. Subsequent legislation also led to the creation of the Violence Against Women Office, which works to reduce and respond to specific forms of victimization, such as intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and stalking, through financial and technical program assistance.

One of the more controversial recommendations of the Task Force has been the creation of "victims' rights amendments." Although most

states have now adopted some version of a victims' rights amendment, such efforts to amend the U.S. Constitution have not been successful. Although many victims' advocacy groups support such an amendment, some political conservatives and liberals, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), have opposed such an amendment. The ACLU objects because it believes that such an amendment would transform the core assumption of "innocent until proven guilty" by allowing victims to influence events prior to a finding of guilt and by allowing victims to interfere with plea-bargaining processes, such as those that offer leniency in exchange for testimony against other defendants. Conservative opposition includes concerns about designating notification or speaking opportunities as "rights" in the constitutional sense of the term. They argue that it is not clear what activities by prosecutors or judges, for example, would constitute a violation of such "rights," who might be charged with a violation of such "rights," or the penalty for violations.

Regardless of the different approaches that might be used to minimize the consequences of victimization, there is no doubt that the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime has had a major influence on the ways in which victims are treated by the U.S. criminal justice system. The Task Force hearings and the issuance of the Final Report served as both a catalyst and as a blueprint for the legislative and policy changes that occurred during the past 25 years, and it is also likely to guide such efforts into the 21st century.

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See also Landmark Victim-Related Court Cases, Federal, United States; Landmark Victim-Related Court Cases, International

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PRISON VIOLENCE

As institutions designed with the expressed purpose of confining law violators, *prisons* (hereafter used to refer to any facility housing both adult and juvenile pretrial or convicted offenders, including correctional institutions, jails, youth detention centers, etc.) confine within a relatively small space a population that has demonstrated an inability to abide by the laws of open society. This population includes many individuals with a history of violent behavior. The different combinations of population characteristics, environmental pressures and stress, inmate-staff relationships, and particular control practices create dynamic environments that can make prisons highly susceptible to outbreaks of varying kinds of violence. Understanding the extent of prison violence, factors associated with its occurrence, and the effectiveness of different mechanisms to reduce such incidents are important issues for policy makers, as well as prison administrators and staff.

The Extent of Prison Violence

Exactly how much violence occurs in contemporary prisons is difficult to determine. Definitional variations, prisoner unwillingness to report victimization, official reporting practices, and the use of staff discretion all raise validity and reliability problems for the limited data that do exist. Furthermore, it is well established that levels of violence differ across prisons and that these levels can vary significantly over time. It is well accepted, however, that

the threat of violence is far more common than actual assaults. For example, anonymous surveys of English prisoners found that 15% to 75% of prisoners (depending on the facility) indicated having been threatened with physical harm during their incarceration. Among those same inmates, as few as 2% and as many as 30% indicated that they had actually been assaulted during their incarceration. Studies of American prisons find similar variation across facilities, although there is some indication that the number of violent incidents may be slightly higher for some American institutions. Evidence of prison homicide indicates that although it does occur, it is not as high as the size and nature of most prison populations might suggest. The homicide rate for American prisoners seems to be higher than other western European countries. However, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the number of homicides within American prisons and jails has remained at or below 100 homicides for several years despite a substantial increase in the size of American prison populations.

Evidence about the extent of sexual attacks is widely divergent, with some studies reporting a relative infrequency of such incidents, whereas others find that sexual attacks are a fairly common feature of prison life. Several characteristics, such as being young, effeminate, physically weak, or White have been reported as individual risk factors for sexual assault in prison. Attacks of a sexual nature have been reported by 3% to 13% of English prisoners and even higher numbers have been reported in some American studies.

Concerns About Prisoner Violence

Researchers and correctional professionals are concerned about several aspects of prison violence. First, there is the distinction between individual and collective violence. In reality, these entities are not mutually exclusive. Violence by an individual prisoner against another prisoner or staff (or staff against prisoner) may lead to more collective violence by groups of prisoners (e.g., prison gangs) against another group. Second, research often distinguishes sexual assaults from other types of physical violence. The Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 was passed by the U.S. federal government with the goal of better understanding the extent of sexual assaults within prison and creating more effective strategies

to reduce such incidents. Finally, although the public interest is typically focused on violence committed by inmates against staff or other inmates, several high-profile incidents have also raised attention to the issue of violence by staff against inmates.

There are important reasons to attempt to minimize violence within prison. First, from a legal and moral perspective, convicted offenders are sentenced to prison *as* punishment, not *for* additional punishment. Sentencing individuals, many of whom have been convicted of nonviolent offenses, to prison environments where they are likely to be victims of physical or sexual assaults is inconsistent with any legitimate justification for punishment. A second concern is for the well-being of prison staff who interact with prisoners on a daily basis. Inmates typically outnumber staff by substantial numbers in all but the most secure facilities, and it is understandable that concerns about their personal safety are paramount. Furthermore, the responsibility of breaking up fights between prisoners puts staff at risk for intentional or accidental harm. Third, prison violence interferes with normal prison operations. The primary goal of any correctional facility is maintaining secure custody over the inmates. Without a sufficient degree of control, other institutional functions and goals, such as rehabilitative interventions, cannot take place. Violent incidents may require considerable staff intervention and upset the daily routines that organize and define prison life. Finally, most (more than 90%) prisoners will eventually be released from prison. As prisoners return to the community, it is reasonable to consider how the prison experience will affect their ability to reintegrate into society and maintain a law-abiding lifestyle. Prisoners affected negatively by prison violence may find the transition back to open society more challenging. Community safety and quality of life, the justice system, social service systems, and prisoners' families can suffer as a result of the physical or emotional damage caused by negative prison experiences among released prisoners.

Conceptualizing Prisoner Violence

Many forms of prison violence can be characterized as a result of poor coping or maladaptation to the prison environment. Two major theoretical traditions are found in the research on prisoner

coping. The first, which is often described as an environmental or deprivation perspective, has focused on the role that the prison environment has on prisoner coping. This line of research has examined the impact of common features and deprivations of prison life on prisoner behavior within the institution. Interest in the differential impact of prison architecture, daily routines, prison management styles, and prisoner-staff relations on inmate conduct emphasize the important role that physical and social contexts have on prisoner (and staff) conduct within a prison. For example, research has generally found that higher security prisons experience greater levels of interpersonal violence against staff and other prisoners. This seems self-evident: Security-level placement is based primarily on an assessment of a prisoner's potential for violence and institutional misconduct. Therefore, higher security facilities house more dangerous and incorrigible prisoners. Research, however, has found that not all prisons experience the same levels of violence, even when controlling for security level. Other important environmental features, such as specific prison culture, relations between staff and prisoners, and perceptions about the legitimacy of administrative practices, seem to exert considerable, although perhaps subtle, influence on prisoner conduct.

The second major perspective is often described as the individualistic or the importation model of prisoner coping. This model examines how the different characteristics, skills, and experiences of prisoners are associated with disciplinary or coping problems. The individual attributes and pre-prison histories of prisoners are considered central factors in understanding their likelihood to experience coping problems, such as violence against staff or inmates, self-injury, and emotional distress. This line of research has identified several individual-level attributes that seem to be associated with prisoner violence and poor coping. The most common predictor of interpersonal prison violence is age. Younger prisoners are far more likely to be assailants and victims than older inmates. This is often attributed to the stress of adapting to the prison and the importance of not appearing to be "weak" or susceptible to exploitation from other prisoners. Other individual attributes are more complicated to interpret. For

example, research has found that prisoners with emotional or psychological disorders, those sentenced for violent crimes other than homicide, and those with numerous institutional experiences are more likely to engage in violence and other disruptive behaviors while incarcerated. However, official records of such incidents suffer from reporting errors and may be biased by official responses to and reporting of the conduct of different types of prisoners. This is of particular concern for the finding that minority prisoners are more likely to engage in violence than White prisoners who are more likely to be victimized than Black inmates.

A third, more recent focus has been on understanding the complex interaction between individual prisoner attributes and environmental factors within the institution. In essence, this is the recognition that prisoners with particular characteristics are likely to cope more successfully (i.e., engage in less violence) in prison environments with particular institutional features. Even though this may seem like common sense, it actually poses rather complex research challenges and requires collecting data on prisoners and prison environments in multiple institutional settings. Given the numerous difficulties in collecting meaningful data from prisons, many questions remain unanswered, yet this perspective will likely enhance our understanding of prison violence.

Strategies to Reduce Prison Violence

Perhaps the most common strategy to reduce prison violence is through the use of classification instruments to assess inmate risk (for violence, escape, disruptions, etc.) and place prisoners in appropriate security-level environments. The instruments used to assess risk vary across jurisdictions, but most include measures such as the nature of the offense, conduct during previous confinements, substance abuse and mental health histories, gang affiliation, and other variables thought to be associated with prisoner misconduct. The success of this process depends not only on the specific instrument used to assess risk but also on the resources and different environments available for placement. Research has found that properly designed, validated, and implemented instruments can reduce inmate disciplinary problems, which include violence. Critics, however, point out that the overall effectiveness of classification instruments in reducing prison

violence will likely be limited as long as the environments to which inmates are sent are violence prone.

A more contentious body of research has considered how management styles and administrative regimes can influence levels of violence within a prison. Although a wide variety of leadership and management approaches are available, for the current purpose, it is sufficient to conceptualize these differences based on a continuum that ranges from a strict control model to a more open, participatory model of prison management. In the former model, staff members are discouraged from the use of discretion and prisoners are treated as objects to control with little input into prison practices and routines. At the other end of the continuum are management strategies that allow varying degrees of prisoner input into prison operations and routines and encourage staff to develop positive, but limited, relationships with prisoners in an effort to establish legitimacy and trust. Although it is clear that prison management can greatly affect the quality of life for prisoners and staff, research on the effectiveness of these different approaches is mixed. Some of the discrepancies found in prison research are likely found because individual prisons are affected by forces beyond simple management decisions and styles. At times, these forces have worked in concert with a given management style to produce positive results, whereas at other times, the management style was likely undermined by constraints and pressures beyond the control of institutional leaders.

Toward the end of the 20th century, many newly constructed jails and prisons were designed around the concepts of unit management, "new generation" architecture, and direct supervision models. Although each is a distinct concept, for the current purpose, it is sufficient to point out the common feature of dividing the prison into smaller, more manageable units. Within unit management, groupings of (ideally) less than 250 prisoners are contained within distinct units or wings of the facility and nearly all prison activities are provided within the unit. By creating familiarity between prisoners and staff, more closely monitored supervision within a smaller unit, and more responsive routines, problems are thought to be more easily identified and addressed. The new generation prison designs create smaller housing units or pods

in which prisoners spend most of their time. The units themselves may be more or less restrictive and may incorporate a variety of situational crime-prevention strategies designed to minimize misconduct. Associated with new generation facilities is the concept of direct supervision in which correctional officers are stationed within individual units and have direct contact with inmates. The goal is to increase supervision and help create more normalized relations between staff and inmates. In some high-security units, officers may be stationed behind safety glass but they maintain a relatively constant presence and observation over the unit. Although limited, the research to date suggests that these efforts have met with some success. In particular, when properly implemented, unit management and direct supervision have been found to reduce a variety of misconduct problems.

Finally, the use of prison architecture and management to reduce misconduct has found its most extreme manifestation with the creation of supermax prisons. Often described as a prison within a prison, these facilities are designed to house the most incorrigible and dangerous prisoners. Other than for services that cannot be provided within the cell, inmates are confined to their single-bed cells. Although politically and operationally popular in the United States, considerable controversy surrounds the use of these facilities. In addition to the extreme cost to construct and operate supermax prisons, critics question the long-term impact of the extreme isolation imposed on prisoners. Prisoner-prisoner violence within supermax prisons, however, is greatly reduced by means of isolation. The low inmate-to-staff ratio (often as low as 3:1 compared with as high as 100:1 in less secure facilities) greatly reduces serious injury to staff, although the use of force by staff in these facilities is not uncommon. Research has not found, however, that supermax prisons significantly reduce violence against staff or inmates in other prisons within the prison system. Thus, the purported deterrent value of supermax prisons to reduce misconduct generally across a prison system's population seems to be weak.

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See also Correction Officials and Victims; Gangs and Victimization; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Rape, Prison; Situational Crime Prevention

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PROBATION/PAROLE AND VICTIMS

Probation and parole are responsible for the supervision of more than 5 million adult offenders in the United States. As the most common disposition in the United States for felony convictions, probation is a sentence in lieu of incarceration that monitors people under conditions of release. The two types of probation conditions are mandatory and special. Mandatory conditions are defined by state or federal statutes and apply to every individual sentenced to probation. These conditions generally include not owning or carrying a weapon, reporting to a probation officer on a schedule that is determined by the officer at intake, leaving a jurisdiction only with the judge's knowledge and approval, allowing unannounced home visits by the officer, and remaining free of arrests during the probation period. Special conditions are imposed by the judge during sentencing and apply to the particular circumstances of the case. They can include participation in treatment for alcohol or drug abuse, the payment of fines, the obtaining

of mental health services, and earning a General Equivalency Diploma.

Parole is not a sentence; rather, it is the extension of a prison into the community and under the supervision of the parole authority, which is a branch of the prison system. Prisoners are eligible for parole after they have served a minimum number of years of their sentence as dictated by state statutes and the discretion of the judge. A parole board reviews their crimes, their criminal histories, and their behaviors in prison to decide whether the prisoners can be supervised safely in the community. After serving only a portion of their sentence, prisoners can also be released automatically by the prison administration for good behavior, which involves observing prison rules. In a common formula, prisoners are given 1 day off of the sentence for every day of good behavior. The conditions of parole supervision are set by the releasing body and are similar to the mandatory and special conditions of probation supervision.

Probation and Parole Officer Responsibilities

Statements of Victim Impact

In the preparation of presentence investigation reports, which help judges determine whether probation is an appropriate sentence, probation officers often include a section that describes the impact of the crime on the victim and the victim's family. Similarly, at parole board hearings, victims and their family members can testify regarding the impact of the crime on their lives. In the former, the victim impact statement can influence the judge to choose prison over probation as a more just sentence given the nature and extent of victim harm that was perpetrated in the case. In the latter, the parole board can factor victim harm into its decision and conclude that the prisoner's early release would be unjust in light of the suffering of the victim and the victim's family because of the crime.

The presentence investigation and the probation intake assessment also provide the judge with a basis for setting the special conditions of the sentence. Specifically, the judge can decide that the offender must make amends to the crime victim through the payment of restitution.

Restitution is the act of being ordered to pay for lost, stolen, or damaged property, or for medical bills that were incurred in the treatment of the victim for physical or psychological injuries. Failure to pay restitution to the victim is a violation of probation that can result in a prison sentence or other punishments. Many times, probation officers find it difficult to collect victim restitution because offenders are indigent and struggle to obtain the gainful employment necessary to meet their financial obligations.

Enforcing the Conditions of Supervision

Probation and parole officers are responsible for enforcing the conditions of community supervision. Failure to obey these conditions can result in a violation of probation or parole. The former can result in a longer sentence to probation or stricter conditions of supervision; the latter usually results in a return to prison. In the enforcement of the conditions of probation and parole, officers' duties focus on the rights, needs, and recovery of crime victims.

In cases of victim abuse and interpersonal violence, probation and parole officers participate in ensuring the safety of the victim through the enforcement of orders of protection. Such orders prohibit offenders from having any contact with the victim or being within a certain geographic proximity to the victim. The failure to abide by the orders is corroborated by the officers who use victim reports of offender harassment as evidence to file a petition to have the probation or parole revoked. To help victims cope with injuries or other adverse effects of victimization, probation and parole officers broker services from public or private agencies that respond to the needs of crime victims. They also notify victims about changes in an offender's case status. For example, parole officers can notify victims about a parolee's release date from prison and probation officers can notify them about a violation of probation hearing or when a probation sentence is near termination or completion.

Service Provision

The provision of services to victims by probation officers began in the 1970s on the heels of

the Victims' Rights Movement, which propelled victims' needs into the public and legislative consciousness and underscored the importance of treating crime victims with compassion and sensitivity at every step in the criminal justice process. In many states, probation officers are responsible for providing victims with a copy of the Victims' Bill of Rights, which have been passed throughout the country, and with information about the progress of their case through the court system, as well as the court's expectation regarding their obligation to participate in the proceedings.

In addition, probation officers facilitate victim-offender reconciliation, mediation, and dialog programs, which are critical in the achievement of victim healing and offender rehabilitation. Such programs can be therapeutic to both offenders and victims. Probation officers can educate victims about sentencing practices and the nature of probation, which helps them feel more involved in their cases and more informed about outcomes at each stage in the probation process. Finally, probation officers can refer victims for services to treat their emotional injuries and to help them adjust more effectively in the aftermath of serious criminal victimization.

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See also Crime Victims Fund; Defendants' Rights Versus Victims' Rights; Economic Costs of Victimization; Offender-Based Programs; Protection/Restraining Orders; Restitution; Victim Compensation; Victim Impact Statements

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PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING

Problem-oriented policing is a comprehensive framework for improving police service; it was first articulated by law professor Herman Goldstein in 1979. Since then, many police agencies and police research institutions have sought to incorporate its principles and methods into the routine business of policing.

The basic elements of problem-oriented policing are as follows:

1. Police business is understood as clusters of crime or disorder incidents that are similar in one or more ways. These clusters of incidents are referred to as “problems.”
2. Problems are carefully analyzed drawing on the knowledge and skills of crime analysts as well as field personnel.
3. The ultimate purpose of problem analysis is to discover new and more effective responses to problems.
4. Responses that work to prevent crime and disorder incidents, and not merely to react to them after they have occurred, are given high priority.
5. Response strategies that are not entirely dependent on the operations of the criminal justice system are encouraged.
6. Response strategies that engage the community, other public agencies, and the private sector in reducing the problem are emphasized.
7. New response strategies are implemented as fully as possible.
8. The impact that new response strategies have on the problem is evaluated carefully.
9. The results of the analysis, response implementation, and evaluation are reported so that others can benefit from the newly acquired knowledge.
10. The accumulated knowledge gained through this process contributes to the development of a larger body of knowledge that enhances professional policing.

Basic Premises

Problem-oriented policing builds on some basic lessons learned about policing during the past several decades. Among the most critical of those lessons are the following examples.

The function of the police is, and always has been, much broader than merely enforcing criminal laws. Police are expected to address a wide range of community problems that threaten public safety and order. Enforcement of the criminal law, which is often thought to be the basic purpose of the police, is better understood as but one means to achieving the ends of public safety and order.

Police officers exercise a tremendous amount of discretion, at all levels of their hierarchy, in carrying out their function. Problem-oriented policing represents a significant effort to harness and guide that discretion toward more effective and fair policing.

The police, as an institution, operate not merely as the front end of the criminal justice system but as a key institution in a web of social institutions that share responsibility for providing for public safety and order. Problem-oriented policing encourages police to collaborate both within and outside the criminal justice system to address public safety problems.

The police have, for various reasons, been compelled to rely excessively on the criminal justice system as a means for addressing crime and disorder. The overuse and misuse of the criminal law has contributed to major problems in policing. Problem-oriented policing promotes the use of alternatives to arrest as means of addressing problems.

Police have long used formal and informal alternatives to criminal arrest to address problems, but the use of those alternatives has not always been officially sanctioned or even acknowledged. Police officers have long been left to improvise in situations where use of the criminal law is inadequate. Problem-oriented policing stresses the importance of giving formal sanction to legitimate alternative methods of dealing with problems.

The main strategies employed by the police—rapid response to citizen calls for service, criminal investigation, and random preventive patrol—have proven far more limited in their capacity to provide for the public's safety than commonly believed. Consequently, although these strategies remain important aspects of police service, they are insufficient for achieving the entire police mission.

Problem-oriented policing acknowledges the practical limitations of these main strategies while capitalizing on their benefits. It urges police to explore a much wider range of responses to problems beyond the conventional strategies.

Police managers and others who shape police policy and practice have become preoccupied with the administration of police organizations, to the exclusion of focusing on how police organizations can best deliver services to address public safety problems and meet community needs. Problem-oriented policing serves as a corrective to this means-over-ends syndrome.

Line-level police officers, as well as community members, have a reservoir of knowledge, talents, and resources that can be better tapped by police managers for understanding and responding to public safety problems. Problem-oriented policing promotes new styles of working relationships between the police and the public, and between police management and line officers; these relationships can make better use of line officers and community members than conventional police management approaches.

These and other conclusions helped form a much more realistic understanding of the police institution, with all its flaws and limits, than existed before. It was on this foundation of knowledge that problem-oriented policing was built.

Elements

Problem-oriented policing introduces a new basic unit to police work: the problem. In conventional policing, a call for police service, or a case, is the basic unit of police work. Each call and each case is handled separately. Once handled, each call or case is considered closed, and attention turned to the next call or case. Problem-oriented policing looks for patterns among individual calls and cases; these patterns may be formed by a common set of offenders, victims, locations, times, or behaviors. It clusters calls and cases into new basic units known as problems. The enterprise of policing is thereby transformed from one of merely handling individual calls and cases to one of addressing problems.

Some examples of problems commonly faced by police are assaults in and around bars, retail theft in shopping malls, cruising along commercial strips, traffic control during large public gatherings and demonstrations, street prostitution, disorder

at budget motels, speeding in residential areas, homicide among intimate partners, sexual abuse of children, drug dealing on street corners, illicit sexual activity in public parks, loud parties, and street robbery, to name but a few.

These sorts of problems constitute the business of policing. These problems can be experienced and addressed at various levels of aggregation. That is, problems may be experienced at particular locations, at multiple locations throughout a jurisdiction, or across multiple jurisdictions.

To address problems, police must first understand the conditions that contribute to these problems. Developing this understanding requires that police carefully and completely examine and analyze the factors that are contributing to or causing the problems. Doing so requires the police to go beyond merely proving the elements of a crime or filling in the boxes on a standard police incident report. It calls for blending social science research principles with practical police experience to explore such questions as the following:

How big and how serious is the problem? Who is harmed by the problem, and how? How concerned is the community about the problem?

What conditions and factors contribute to the problem? Where does the problem exist, and, conversely, where does it not exist? What explains the difference?

How do police currently handle the problem, and with what effect? Is the current police response helpful or ineffectual, or does it perhaps create more serious problems?

What other groups, organizations, and individuals share responsibility for addressing the problem, and how are they currently addressing the problem? What is the police interest in addressing this problem, and what is the proper role for police in addressing it?

How are similar problems handled elsewhere? What alternatives are there to handling the problem that might improve the current response? Are those alternatives currently feasible, and if not, what needs to be done to make them so?

With new insights into the problems gained from careful problem analysis, police are encouraged to develop new responses to problems; these responses

are tailored to the problem and to the particular conditions of the local setting in which it occurs. Police are encouraged to develop responses, or more typically, combinations of responses, beyond the conventional. They are especially encouraged to consider responses that minimize the need for police to use force, that have community support and engagement, and that have potential to prevent future incidents or minimize the harm caused by them. Alternatives to the conventional responses of arrest and preventive patrol might include the following: pressuring others who control the conditions that give rise to problems to alter those conditions; mediating conflicts; physically redesigning buildings, streets, and other structures; mobilizing the community; conveying information; or using civil laws to regulate problematic conduct or conditions.

Analyzing problems in this fashion has heretofore not been routine for police. To the extent police have analyzed crime problems, it has more typically been with an eye toward predicting the next crime in a series and trying to interrupt it and apprehend the offenders. The sort of problem analysis prescribed by problem-oriented policing goes beyond conventional crime analysis. Thus, the concept will require police to develop a much greater capacity to analyze the problems that constitute their business and a capacity to use that analysis to inform their policies and practices.

A problem-oriented approach to police work requires that police adopt an open posture with respect to their work; that they be willing to critique their own actions, to search actively for ways to improve their responses, and to assess rigorously their efforts to inform additional improvements. It requires a new level of openness and candor with the public and other government officials about what is realistic to expect of the police with respect to various problems. It calls for a new level of engagement by various sectors of the community and the government to assist the police in addressing difficult public safety problems.

The overarching objective of problem-oriented policing is to make police more effective in addressing the wide range of public safety problems they confront routinely. Merely making police more efficient, and even better liked and supported by the public, are subsidiary objectives to the ultimate set of objectives related to keeping society safe and orderly, which is consistent with the principles of a constitutional democracy.

Problem-Solving Processes

Problem-oriented policing makes use of several problem-solving methodologies, which are all rooted in the social scientific method of inquiry. Perhaps the best known problem-solving methodology associated with problem-oriented policing is the one known as the SARA model. SARA is an acronym that stands for *scanning*, *analysis*, *response*, and *assessment*. It was developed by researchers in an early experiment applying problem-oriented policing in Newport News, Virginia, in the 1980s. The SARA model, like other similar problem-solving models, is commonly portrayed as a linear or sequential model—that is, that it flows neatly from beginning to end. In fact, it is an iterative or cyclical model—inquiries lead to some answers and to more inquiries, and all the while the inquiry is underway, police and others may be taking interim action to address the problem. Assessment, or evaluation, of the effort may lead to the development or refinement of responses or to new lines of inquiry.

Each stage of the SARA model calls for the following specific steps to be taken:

Scanning

The scanning phase involves identifying recurring problems of concern to the public and the police, identifying the consequences of the problem for the community and the police, prioritizing those problems, developing broad goals, confirming that the problems exist, determining how frequently the problem occurs and how long it has been taking place, and selecting problems for closer examination.

Analysis

The analysis phase involves identifying and understanding the events and conditions that precede and accompany the problem, identifying relevant data to be collected, researching what is known about the problem type, taking inventory of how the problem is currently addressed as well as the strengths and limitations of the current response, narrowing the scope of the problem as specifically as possible, identifying a variety of resources that may be of assistance in developing a deeper understanding of the problem, and developing a working hypothesis about why the problem is occurring.

Response

The response phase involves brainstorming for new interventions, searching for what other communities with similar problems have done, choosing among the alternative interventions, outlining a response plan and identifying responsible parties, stating the specific objectives for the response plan, and carrying out the planned activities.

Assessment

The assessment phase involves determining whether the plan was implemented (a process evaluation), collecting prerespone and postresponse qualitative and quantitative data, determining whether broad goals and specific objectives were attained, identifying any new strategies needed to augment the original plan, and conducting an ongoing assessment to ensure continued effectiveness.

Relation to Other Police Reform Ideas

Problem-oriented policing shares common features with several other movements in police reform and crime prevention; among these movements are community policing, team policing, and situational crime prevention. It also draws on other conceptual frameworks for analyzing and responding to crime problems, including crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), crime analysis, the COMPSTAT method, hot spot policing, and crime mapping. Problem-oriented policing rejects, however, the premises underlying such concepts as zero-tolerance policing, because those concepts imply that police discretion will be suspended and that the widespread use of criminal arrest is a viable solution to many public safety problems.

Certain innovations in prosecution and court management run parallel to problem-oriented policing. They recognize that the roles of prosecutors and courts, too, are broader than merely processing cases through the legal system and that public safety problems require changes in the conditions that cause them, as well as a more preventive perspective in addressing them. Concepts such as community prosecution and restorative justice are generally considered compatible with problem-oriented policing.

Implications for the Management of Police Organizations

Full incorporation of the basic elements of problem-oriented policing into the mainstream of policing requires substantial changes in the ways that police organizations are managed and supported. The most profound changes necessary for problem-oriented policing to exploit its full potential are described below.

Developing a New Capacity for Analyzing Police Business

Police organizations, either with internal resources or with assistance from outside research institutions, will need to increase their capacity to organize and analyze information about the demands made on them to improve their responses to public safety problems.

Building a Body of Knowledge About Policing

In contrast to most other professions and trades, police have long lacked an organized, accessible, well-researched body of knowledge about how they should respond to the many public safety problems they confront. Problem-oriented policing represents a commitment to learning what works, under what conditions, and for what kinds of problems. Building this body of knowledge will require contributions from police agencies, research institutions, and government funding agencies. The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police*, which was produced by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing with funding from the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, represents one effort to build this sort of body of knowledge.

Training and Educating Police

The shift away from an incident-driven style of policing, in which police merely respond to emergencies, handle calls for service, and investigate crimes, to a problem-oriented style of policing will require that police officials, at all levels of the hierarchy, learn new knowledge and new skills. They will need to learn more about the dynamics that cause the many public safety problems as well as the skills necessary to identify and analyze problems and to manage problem-oriented police operations.

New educational and training methodologies will be in order as well. Problem-based learning methodologies will need to replace conventional police training methodologies.

Supporting Police

For police organizations to become more effective in controlling public safety problems, they will require a different level of support than simple funding for police officers and police equipment. The respective governments under which police organizations exist, and the public at large, must come to view public safety in broader terms; they must view public safety not as the sole province of police but as the joint responsibility of police, other government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and the various sectors of the community. It will require greater recognition of the interrelationship of crime and such other realms as land use planning, architecture, urban design, civil code regulation, mental health and substance abuse treatment, youth services, product design, and business policies and practices. It will require that the ownership of and responsibility for addressing various public safety problems be negotiated among the various sectors of society, police included, that have stakes and interests in those problems.

Problem-oriented policing implicates nearly every aspect of police management. In addition to the changes described above, it calls for rethinking how police officers are recruited and selected, how police officers' and police agencies' performance is measured, how police agencies are organized and staffed, and how public expectations for police service are managed.

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See also Community Policing; Compstat; Crime Mapping; Restorative Justice

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PRODUCT DESIGN: CONCEALABLE, REMOVABLE, AVAILABLE, VALUABLE, ENJOYABLE, AND DISPOSABLE (CRAVED), AND VALUE, INERTIA, VISIBILITY, AND ACCESS (VIVA)

The acronyms CRAVED and VIVA are central components of Ronald Clarke's Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) approach and Marcus Felson's Routine Activities Theory (RAT). Essentially, both RAT and SCP focus more on understanding how crime happens than why people get involved in offending in the first place.

RAT and SCP are constantly evolving to deal with the constant changes and developments in modern society and its technology. The originators of these approaches and their followers develop and refine them constantly to take account of lessons and criticisms. Today, both of these approaches remain mostly, although by no means solely, concerned with tackling proximal issues of crime problems as they manifest in the "here and now" rather than crime's more distal underlying causes. To date, these approaches have not sought to encompass wider areas of criminological concern, such as punishment or treatment of criminality, but we should not always expect it to be that way. After all, to do so would be to embrace fully a

delusion of permanency that would blinker academic foresight in the constantly changing world of crime and criminological efforts to reduce it.

SCP and RAT are approaches to tackling crime problems quickly, to ease the burden of crime on victims rather than looking for long-term social solutions that may take years to impact. In essence, then, SCP and RAT for the most part are concerned with reducing opportunities for crime to occur rather than reducing or changing those things that lead people to be more at risk of becoming, or continuing to be, criminal.

Definitions

When a theft takes place, a victim may be absent at the time of their victimization. From this cause, Felson's RAT prefers to use the term *target* rather than *victim*. According to Felson's earlier work, the four main elements that contribute to a target being at risk of criminal attention can be best understood and remembered by the acronym VIVA:

- Value
- Inertia
- Visibility
- Access

The acronym CRAVED is another heuristic device that enables us to understand what it is about a crime target that puts it at the top of a thieves "shopping list." CRAVED is what makes products hot. They are generally

- Concealable
- Removable
- Available
- Valuable
- Enjoyable
- Disposable

Comparing VIVA with CRAVED, it is plain to see that they deal with identical attributes. *Value* in VIVA is the same as *Valuable* in CRAVED. *Inertia* is the same as *Removable*, and *Visibility* and *Access* are both neatly covered by *Available*. The acronym CRAVED then has surpassed VIVA, and CRAVED has an additional two elements, which more comprehensively cover the characteristics of a target that influences offender motivation.

Historical Perspectives

Clarke's SCP arose in the 1980s from early research he conducted while working at the U.K. Home Office. Seeking to establish why some penal facilities for young people (borstals as they were then known in the United Kingdom) had a significantly higher rate of inmate absconding than others, he found that the only causal factor was the opportunity to escape that was presented by either the physical security of the borstals or elements of the regimes. This finding led Clarke and others to research opportunity as an important way to understand and reduce crime quickly, cost-effectively, and in ways that had minimal social intrusion. As it has developed, SCP today has its roots in a combination of RAT, crime pattern theory, and the crime as rational choice.

A review by Nicholas Tilley in 1993 concluded that in the United Kingdom, crime was unlikely to be reduced significantly by social control initiatives, policies of imprisonment, punitive sentencing, or even preventive policing. Tilley did, however, identify the reduction of criminal opportunities as an area that was worthy of more criminological attention.

SCP essentially employs measures that are directed at specific crime types and forms and seeks to work by means of management, design, or manipulation of the immediate environment to do the following:

- Increase the perceived *effort* of committing the crime
- Increase the *risks* of committing the crime
- Reduce the *rewards* from committing the crime
- Reduce the *opportunities* for crime
- Remove *excuses* for committing the crime

Using classic action research methodology, SCP is based on the following principles:

- Collecting data about nature and dimensions of a specific problem
- Analyzing the situational conditions that permit or facilitate this crime
- Studying systematically the possible means to block opportunities for this crime
- Implementing the most promising, feasible, and economic measures
- Monitoring the results and then disseminating any knowledge

VIVA was first coined by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson in 1979, and it was surpassed by CRAVED, which was invented by Clarke in 1999, as a useful crime reduction acronym to address the characteristics of a target that influences offenders' motivations. The development of the acronym CRAVED to replace VIVA was strongly influenced by Mike Sutton's earlier work on stolen goods markets, which markedly criticized both Clarke and Felson for failing to recognize that trading in stolen goods is an area where opportunity reduction in trading, rather than stealing, can be used to reduce theft by reducing offender motivation. In saying this, Sutton's critical work opens up a whole new avenue for Clarke and Felson—whose writing had until this time taken the existence of *motivated offenders* as an accepted *constant*, which opportunity reduction measures, such as RAT and SCP, could do little to reduce.

It was Sutton's concept of the Market Reduction Approach to Theft (MRA), which explained in detail crime reduction strategies that might work using SCP and RAT to reduce stolen goods markets by tackling offender motivations through reducing opportunities to convert stolen goods into cash or drugs. Therefore, in including *enjoyable* and *disposable* elements in CRAVED, Clarke was seeking to include a target's characteristics that actually motivate offenders to pick it. Clarke and Felson picked up on the newly identified need to address how certain hot products, and the markets for them, actually motivate thieves to steal. Indeed, most notably, the third edition of Felson's *Crime and Everyday Life* carries a picture of a pawnbroker's shop on the front cover, because these are places known to be regular outlets for stolen goods.

What the Acronyms Are Designed to Do and How

Felson used his VIVA acronym alongside his famous three key elements of the chemistry for crime, which include the presence of (1) suitable targets, (2) likely offenders, and (3) an absence of capable guardians.

The aim of VIVA was that it serves as a simple heuristic device—as a tool—for criminologists, police officers, and others seeking to reduce crime to examine things from an offender's point of view both to understand and predict *who does what to*

whom where, when, and why. The ultimate purpose behind designing such acronyms is so that scarce crime-fighting resources can be deployed most effectively where they are most needed and most likely to work to reduce crime.

VIVA works like this. First, thieves generally steal with an aim to sell those stolen goods for cash. This means thieves will steal only those items that they know or believe to have a good cash *value*. Thieves need items that are readily converted into cash at places where they know that they can readily sell them. This is what makes these items *valuable*. Second, in terms of *inertia*, items generally need to be portable. Vehicles may be driven away, but it is unlikely that a domestic burglar will steal a brand-new, top-of-the-line refrigerator because it will be too heavy and large to carry, conceal, and transport. *Visibility* is important because unless a house burglar has been in the home before, for example, he or she will not know for sure that it contains items that have *value*. However, if, for example, a homeowner leaves a laptop computer on the windowsill, it lets the offender know that burglary will secure at least one item he or she can easily carry away, conceal, and sell. *Access* is used to consider immediate vulnerability of targets to criminals. For example, an open window or door on the ground floor provides easy access to criminals. An open window on the 35th floor may not.

As explained above, CRAVED is now used by both Clarke and Felson instead of VIVA because CRAVED was designed to encompass everything that VIVA does and go further by covering offender motivation, which is something that the more limited VIVA does not.

David Mann and Mike Sutton were the first to point out that SCP and RAT would need to examine crime opportunities in cyberspace following the rapid expansion of the Internet in 1998. Accordingly, in 2003, Graeme Newman and Ronald Clarke addressed this issue and adapted the acronym CRAVED to fit e-commerce crimes. Newman and Clarke revealed the remarkable versatility of the acronym CRAVED by showing that it can be used to help us think about how best to understand and address the new problem of hi-tech Internet-facilitated crimes in cyberspace as well as those in the more traditional built environment, as follows.

Concealable: In cyberspace, stolen information, for example, may be transported so quickly that it is never spotted in transit. Then, it can be stashed away so that it is never found. Items such as copyright-protected materials can be stolen by someone operating from another continent as easily as someone from the same town, and many copies can then be made of this information so that it is impossible to tell the original from the “fake.” The Internet then facilitates near-perfect concealment.

Removable: One of the many advantages of the Internet is that information is removable. Consequently, it inadvertently facilitates new ways of stealing. Although passwords and access controls seek to protect information on computers, such as credit card numbers, addresses, and pin numbers, once this information is on the screen of a criminal’s computer, it is, in effect, *removed* as information while never actually going anywhere physically. Having no weight, electronically stored and transported information is ultimately removable so long as the thief has enough storage space at his or her disposal.

Available: The Internet makes available information about how to steal electronic services, synthesize drugs, manufacture bombs, groom children for sexual exploitation, and burgle homes—to name a few examples.

Valuable: Money is, of course, the most liquid and arguably the most valuable of all commodities. Online banking is now commonplace. This means that money in cyberspace is reduced to online “information”—whether that is in the form of a criminally intercepted electronic money transfer or removable banking and credit account details.

Enjoyable: Those who hack into Web sites for political reasons, commit criminal acts, and record them for posting on YouTube, Facebook, blog sites, or Web sites, as well as those who write and spread computer viruses, clearly get a great deal of recreational pleasure from knowing that others—worldwide—view their exploits published on the Internet. Offenders can experience offending on the Internet in many ways as a form of computer game playing. Similarly, information and physical items stolen via Internet facilitated criminal activity

can range from illegal downloads of software, music, and film media, to antiques, or even motor vehicles stolen through eBay auction scams.

Disposable: The availability of outlets for stolen goods on the Internet is demonstrated no better than by the emergence of e-fencing on eBay as a sixth new subtype of stolen goods market to add to the existing five.

CRAVED in Crime and Nature

In his groundbreaking book *Crime and Nature*, Felson revisits the CRAVED acronym from the point of view of looking for similarities between the way offenders and organisms in nature exploit particular niches. This is not as peculiar as it may first appear, because Felson makes reasoned arguments regarding how we can learn from nature's adaptations to a changing world, how we can gain much from understanding the relationships between predators and their prey, and how vulnerable species adapt efficacious defense strategies in ongoing battles for survival.

Somewhat amusingly, Felson tells us that squirrels steal food from his bird feeder and that squirrels also prefer food that is *concealable*, *removable*, *available*, *valuable*, *enjoyable*, and *disposable*, which is why they enjoy eating the food that humans put out for the birds. Taking this analogy forward, Clarke explains how we can effectively reduce crime by (1) increasing the risks for the offender, (2) increasing the effort involved in committing the crime, and (3) decreasing the immediate rewards that come from committing the offense. In an effort to explain, in a humorous and therefore particularly memorable way, the universality of this approach to solve many social problems, Felson points out that the same approach worked to thwart food-raiding squirrels in his garden: "A new bird feeding device increased squirrel risks and difficulties, while decreasing the payoff per raid. Amateur squirrels no longer steal from me, and professionals get less. This is a good example of crime policy intellectuals call 'harm reduction'" (p. 265).

In the third edition of *Crime and Everyday Life*, Felson explains that the CRAVED model can be applied not only to theft targets but also to targets of violence, because violent offenders often seek to *conceal* their crime, *remove* themselves from the

scene of the attack, and sometimes remove the body of their victim, be it alive or dead. Felson goes on to explain that human victims need to be *available* for attacking as well as being *valuable* targets in the violent offender's eyes. The offender may *enjoy* the act of violence and then seek to *dispose* of any incriminating evidence, such as weapons, clothing, or victims.

Of course, the CRAVED model might be applied to cover other crimes besides violence and theft. Street-level prostitution is just another example. The CRAVED model scripts used by punters (customers) are likely to contrast markedly with those of so-called working girls and differ even more perhaps to the way that the CRAVED model might apply to their pimps. The punter driving or walking around a red-light area needs to *conceal* himself from the eyes of the law and may need to *remove* himself from the scene of the initial pick-up to engage in sex and then remove himself once again from that scene once the act is over. The working girl must be *available* and skilled/attractive enough to be *valuable* in his eyes to pay her and risk detection by authorities. Presumably, the whole encounter must be *enjoyable* enough to take the risks involved. Perhaps a key point is that once the act is over, the prostitute is socially and emotionally *disposable*. Trafficking in people, artifacts, drugs, or endangered species is another area where the CRAVED model is likely to be useful. These areas are most certainly worthy of additional criminological endeavor.

Conclusion

Examining crime problems using the early acronym VIVA and the improved model CRAVED helps assess by which mechanism crime reduction measures are likely to be effective. This technique is important in crime reduction. For example, invisible property marketing—using various methods—is a favorite way that many police forces spend crime reduction resources. Yet, research by criminologists such as Knutson and Sutton has shown that property marking has never been proven to work because thieves still steal it, the public buys it, and the police rarely intercept it. Using lateral thinking skills and CRAVED, we might tellingly ask, What is it exactly about invisible property marking that will stop an offender

from CRAVEing any particular hot product? If no satisfactory answer can be found, then scarce crime reduction resources can be deployed in other areas where they are likely to be effective.

As a heuristic device, then, CRAVED is an essential tool not only for helping understand why crimes occur when they do and where they do but also to design and to test new and old approaches to reducing crimes: VIVA CRAVED!

Mike Sutton

See also Crime Prevention; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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PROJECT PATHE

Project PATHE (Positive Action Through Holistic Education) was a comprehensive school-based program that combined services to students who are identified to be at elevated risk for developing problem behaviors with school-wide organizational changes intended to create a supportive school environment. It was implemented between 1980 and 1983 by the Charleston County School District in Charleston, South Carolina, with funds provided through the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Alternative Education Initiative.

PATHE was guided by a theory of local initiation and program development. It assumed that teacher and school staff participation in the process of change would improve the quality of program implementation and that local adaptation is a necessary part of the implementation process. These ideas were the basis for the team structure and high level of staff participation in decision making that were central to the program.

The focus on school environment was based on the belief that a comprehensive, integrated approach to promoting positive youth behavior is preferable to a more fragmented approach. Even the best designed and implemented violence prevention curriculum, for example, will be of limited utility in the context of a school environment that ignores, or in subtle ways condones, acts of violence. PATHE involved school staff in collaborative planning to design and carry out a constellation of program activities and to refine these activities over time.

Program Objectives and Elements

The educators who initially designed the program collaborated with university researchers in an organization development (OD) activity over the course of the 3-year project that was intended to clarify the program's goals and underlying theory,

target program activities more directly at the intervening theoretical variables of interests, specify program quality standards, and improve the quality of implementation using data feedback. This OD activity followed the Program Development Evaluation Method, which is a highly collaborative method that called for ongoing local team meetings as well as frequent communication between local project managers and the research staff. This activity encouraged local educators to articulate *their own* theory about the causes of the problem(s) they sought to ameliorate. This local theory became the basis for the specific program objectives adopted for the program. In the original implementation of PATHE, the local theory closely resembled social control theory, in which increased attachment to prosocial others, commitments to socially appropriate goals, and involvement in conventional activities prevent youths from engaging in delinquent behavior because they provide a stake in conformity by giving youths something to lose by misbehaving. Project PATHE sought to reduce delinquent behavior and increase educational attainment by increasing social bonding, improving student self-concepts, and decreasing academic failure experiences.

The PATHE program consisted of several major components which were implemented throughout the school year. These components were as follows:

- *Team structure for managing school improvement.* An organizational structure was created to facilitate shared decision making among community agencies, students, teachers, school administrators, and parents in planning for school improvement. The project provided training in assessing needs, researching problems, designing objectives, and implementing plans, with two full-time staff members coordinating the teams.
- *Policy review and revision.* Staff members were involved in revising and improving the curriculum and discipline practices. Activities included an assessment of achievement test results, training on more innovative teaching techniques, supplementary instructional materials, a curriculum guide, in-service training on classroom management, the development of school and classroom rules, and a standard discipline referral procedure.

- *School-wide academic innovations.* Program specialists worked with teachers to develop and implement study skills units for their classes and to encourage them to use standardized achievement test formats when testing students. A free period was also set aside for leading with everyone encouraged to participate.
- *School-wide climate innovations.* Various activities were organized, including a school pride campaign, expanded extracurricular programs, and peer counseling or rap sessions for students to discuss topics of concern.
- *Career-oriented interventions.* A career exploration program was co-sponsored with a local technical college to introduce students to technical careers, and a job-seeking skills program provided students with skills training for finding and keeping a job.
- *Services to target students.* This component targeted 100 high-risk students in each school by helping them define behavioral and academic objectives, providing them with academic and counseling services, and monitoring frequently their progress toward their objectives.

Importantly, although a replication of PATHE would maintain the structure and processes of the original program, the specific activities included in each component would be developed locally, based on local needs and resources.

Evaluation

The evaluation of the original PATHE project compared change on an array of measures from the baseline year to the end of the first year (for four high schools) and second year (for five middle schools) of the intervention. One school at each level was a comparison school selected from among the nonparticipating schools to match the treatment schools as closely as possible. The students in the participating high schools reported significantly less delinquent behavior and drug use, had fewer suspensions, and had fewer school punishments after the first year of the program. Students in the comparison high school did not change significantly on these outcomes. A similar pattern was observed for the middle schools after 2 years. As serious delinquency increased significantly in the comparison school; it decreased (nonsignificantly)

in the program middle schools. Suspensions also declined significantly in the program middle schools, but a similar decline was observed in the comparison school. Several indicators of the school climate directly targeted by the program (e.g., safety, staff morale, clarity of school rules, and effectiveness of the school administration) also increased in the program schools. The target student component was evaluated using an experimental design that compared targeted students with a comparison group of similar students who had not received program services. The program failed to reduce delinquent behavior among target students, but it did reduce dropout rates and grade retention. Graduation rates and standardized achievement test scores also improved for these students.

Denise C. Gottfredson

See also Early Education Programming; Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS); School-Based Violence Programs, International; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Violence

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PROJECT SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) is a major federal collaborative initiative to reduce gun violence. PSN is coordinated by the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ) and is implemented at the local and district level by U.S. Attorneys, who coordinate the efforts of a variety of local, state, and federal agents and officers. The

objective of PSN is to develop, implement, and evaluate data-driven violence reduction strategies in the community and improve the long-term prevention of firearm-related violence. PSN expands on strategies used in Boston, Massachusetts, with Operation Ceasefire; in Richmond, Virginia, with Project Exile; and the USDOJ's Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI).

Operation Ceasefire (also known as the Boston Gun Project) was a collaborative effort among Harvard's Kennedy School of Government; the Boston Police Department; the state departments of probation and parole; the USDOJ Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF); and the local U.S. Attorney's office; among others, that started in 1995. Operation Ceasefire applied a problem-oriented policing approach with a focus on specific crime hot spots. Particular attention was placed on illicit gun trafficking and gang violence. Project Exile was started in 1997, based on coordinated efforts of Richmond law enforcement and the U.S. Attorney's office to prosecute all felon-in-possession, drugs-gun, and domestic violence gun cases in federal court. Project Exile was designed to address the gang violence that had long plagued Richmond. At the time of its inception, the level of murders and shootings had regularly increased each year, with Richmond ranking in the top five murder-per-capita rates in the United States. The SACSI was a USDOJ pilot project that placed a strong emphasis on partnerships, knowledge-driven decision making, and ongoing strategic assessment. SACSI built on the existing foundation created by Operation Ceasefire in Boston. The SACSI project was implemented in five cities—Indianapolis, Indiana; Memphis, Tennessee; New Haven, Connecticut; Portland, Oregon; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Typical PSN initiatives involve U.S. Attorneys working with local law enforcement and other local officials to design a strategy that fits the local problem. Criminals who use guns in the district can be prosecuted under federal, state, or local laws, depending on which jurisdiction can provide the most appropriate punishment. Local PSN groups also design and implement deterrence and prevention efforts using community outreach and media campaigns as well as ensure that local law enforcement and prosecutors receive the training necessary to make the PSN program work.

The Problem

Nearly half a million people are victims of crime involving firearms each year. Despite progress in the fight against gun crime in America, gun crime rates continue to be among the highest in the industrialized world. Since the 1990s, significant declines have occurred in the rate of most types of crime in the United States. Despite these declines, the level of gun crime in the United States remains higher than levels in other western democracies. In 2001, the Bush Administration made reducing gun crime one of the top priorities of the USDOJ, along with combating terrorism and enhancing homeland security.

The Strategy

PSN uses every available means to create safer neighborhoods, by coordinating federal, state, and local law enforcement, and by emphasizing tactical intelligence gathering, more aggressive prosecutions, and enhanced accountability through performance measures. Much of the PSN strategy is delivered in school-based prevention programs to reduce youth demand for guns, in facilitating the acquisition of gun locks for gun owners, by improving background checks for prospective gun sales, and by providing services to conduct crime-gun tracing activities. To ensure the appropriate application of PSN resources, each district U.S. Attorney's Office has a designated PSN contact, who serves as the local coordinator and helps facilitate communication about the program. PSN does not use a "one-size-fits-all" approach. Instead, the program elements are tailored to the needs of each individual district and the local gun crime problem. These PSN programs are often used to supplement and not supplant effective programs that are already in place. Key aspects of federal law related to PSN include brandishing, displaying, carrying, or possessing a firearm in a way designed to carry out a drug-trafficking crime or a federal crime of violence; stealing guns or having anything to do with stolen guns; possessing or discharging a firearm in a school zone, or giving or selling a handgun or ammunition to someone under age 18; obliterating or altering the manufacturer's serial number on a firearm, or transporting or possessing such a firearm; and making or possessing a machine gun, sawed-off shotgun or rifle, silencer, or destructive device without a registration. Five

elements are required for a successful gun crime reduction strategy: (1) partnerships, (2) strategic planning, (3) training, (4) community outreach and public awareness, and (5) accountability.

Partnerships

The USDOJ deploys PSN with a diverse set of organizational partners, including its own ATF and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, the Academy for Educational Development, the American Probation and Parole Association, American University, the Council of State Governments Justice Center, the Institute for Law and Justice, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University, the National Crime Prevention Council, the National District Attorneys Association, the National Gang Center, and the Regional Information Sharing Systems. U.S. Attorneys work with local law enforcement to provide a collaborative, comprehensive, and uniform approach to reduce gun crime. Each U.S. Attorney leads the local task force of federal, state, and local prosecutors and law enforcement, researchers, media and outreach specialists, and community leaders. Members of the local task force work together to implement strategies of prevention, deterrence, and prosecution designed to stop offenders from using guns to terrorize our nation's communities. Examples of these partnerships include the following:

- Gang Crime Investigation and Suppression programs that target those who commit gang-related crimes
- Prevention and Education programs such as Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.)
- Data Sharing and Gathering programs that enhance the development of gang databases and studies of gangs and gang activity

Strategic Planning

The strategy for local plans depends on the causes of gun crime, availability of law enforcement resources, and outcomes expected. The specific approach will vary from district to district, although each incorporates the three national priorities.

Those priorities are as follows:

- Increased prosecution of violent organizations by aggressively using federal conspiracy, racketeering, narcotics, and all other available laws to attack and punish violent drug traffickers, violent street gangs, and violent robbery rings
- Heightened enforcement of all federal laws against illegal gun traffickers, and the corrupt federal firearms licensees that supply them, with an emphasis on those gun traffickers who supply illegal firearms to violent organizations and to juveniles
- Renewed aggressive enforcement of federal firearms laws against those persons prohibited from possessing firearms or who use firearms to advance illegal activities, including those persons denied under the Brady Act

Although the local strategic plans should reflect the national priorities, the individualized district plans are more likely to represent the unique challenges of the district. The primary goal of each plan is the same—to reduce the levels of gun crime—but the solutions for the goals will depend on the problems that face each district. Traditional criminal justice interventions, as well as education, life skills training, and substance abuse treatment, can be used in these gun violence prevention strategies. Because of these strategies, individuals more at risk for committing gun-related violent crimes (e.g., probationers, parolees, marginal students, and the unemployed) can lead lives free of violence and substance abuse.

Training

As a part of PSN, several partnering organizations conduct innovative regional specialized training for participants to keep current on trends that affect law enforcement. The incorporation of the training element in the core PSN strategy demonstrates the importance of ensuring that each individual involved in the effort to reduce gun crime has the skills necessary to be effective. This training involves prosecutors, agents, and officers involved in gun crime cases. Training partners include the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National District Attorneys Association, Michigan State University, American University, the Institute

for Law and Justice, the Academy for Educational Development, the American Probation and Parole Association, the Community Policing Consortium, and the National Crime Prevention Council. Through these national partnerships, PSN offers training and technical assistance to PSN task forces across the country. This training includes issues like firearms identification, firearms safety, federal and state firearms statutes, federal and state search and seizure laws, crime scene and evidence management, firearms trafficking and tracing, and strategic planning.

Outreach

PSN activities focus on community outreach and public awareness, as these components are essential to any successful gun crime reduction plan. U.S. Attorneys organize a team effort to convey the priorities, message, and results of the PSN effort to the media and community members, to help shape the attitudes of law-abiding citizens and those who would otherwise violate gun laws. Outreach activities include producing and distributing literature, conducting mail campaigns, sponsoring local workshops, and producing public service announcements, crime-prevention toolkits, and news articles.

Accountability

A careful and consistent review of gun crime reduction efforts is conducted to ensure an effective and proactive gun crime reduction strategy, both at the local and national level. U.S. Attorneys report to the USDOJ every 6 months on the status of their PSN strategy. These reports include a full description of the gun crime problems in each district and the strategies the local PSN coalition is employing in response. These reports are reviewed by a team that comprises individuals with expertise in each of the five PSN elements. Feedback is provided, identifying model programs to share with other jurisdictions, and providing assistance to districts encountering difficulties implementing particular elements of the PSN initiative.

The Results

As a result of PSN initiatives, federal firearms prosecutions increased 73% from FY 2000 to FY

2005, with an increase in federal gun prosecutions in every federal district. In FY 2005, the USDOJ filed 10,841 federal firearms cases. In FY 2005, the USDOJ prosecuted a record number of 13,062 defendants for violations of federal gun crimes, which represents an increase of more than 62% from FY 2000 figures. In FY 2005, more than 93% of defendants charged with federal firearms offenses were sentenced to prison for convictions on firearms charges or other offenses. Approximately 68% of these offenders were sentenced to prison terms greater than 3 years for convictions on firearms charges or other offenses.

The violent crime rate is at its lowest level since 1973, when the USDOJ's Bureau of Justice Statistics started to collect criminal victimization data. The violent crime rate has steadily declined during the Bush administration, and from 2001 to 2004, it was on average nearly 33% lower than in the preceding 4 years. As a result, nonfatal gun crimes were at the lowest level recorded and were down 42% since 2000. The per capita number of nonfatal violent crimes involving firearms has steadily decreased during the Bush administration, and from 2001 to 2004, it was on average about 36% lower than in the preceding 4 years. In 2004, there were 117,520 fewer victims of nonfatal violent crimes than there were in 2003, and 201,840 fewer than there were in 2000. Every federal district seems to have experienced an increase in collaboration and planning among local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies.

In 2008, over \$13 million was awarded to district PSN initiatives, with amounts ranging from \$64,000 to \$582,000. These awards did not include awards under a separate, but related, Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative (AGI). The AGI funds provide support for new and expanded anti-gang prevention and enforcement efforts under the PSN initiative. The AGI funds were designed to enhance task force efforts to combat gangs by building on effective PSN strategies and partnerships. To qualify for AGI funds, the PSN districts must show how their gang funding impacts their PSN strategies and demonstrate their need for additional funding.

Carter F. Smith

See also Community Antidrug Programs; Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.);

Gangs and Victimization; Operation Ceasefire/
Pulling Levers

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Web Sites

BJA programs—Project Safe Neighborhoods grant opportunities: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/BJA/grant/psn.html>
Project Safe Neighborhoods—FAQs: <http://www.psn.gov/about/faqs.html>
Project Safe Neighborhood's Anti-Gang Training: <http://www.iir.com/psnagt>
White House Fact Sheet: The President's Plan to Promote Safe Neighborhoods: <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-18874741.html>

PROMOTING ALTERNATIVE THINKING STRATEGIES (PATHS)

Teaching students how to handle conflict and make proper choices when faced with difficult situations (such as peer pressure to use drugs or commit a crime) is a popular intervention that is a part of many different programs and interventions. A key concern is to teach youths how to handle acceptably social and emotional situations that they encounter both in school and throughout their lives. Problem solving and conflict management are an important component of many programs that are commonly taught in schools. Typical programs can have a variety of names, including dispute resolution, dispute mediation, conflict resolution, conflict management, and others. The basic goal of these programs is to avoid and/or resolve conflicts before they escalate into serious problems (such as physical confrontations). School programs typically include a strong teaching component in which kids learn that conflict is natural and that it can be managed through various processes.

Many programs jump directly to the teaching of conflict management tools without addressing a range of underlying issues involved in conflict situations. Among those basic issues are self-esteem, self-control,

relationships, and emotions. The effectiveness of any intervention will be enhanced if those underlying problems are addressed. One noteworthy program for addressing these concerns is the Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS) curriculum. The PATHS program has been identified as 1 of 10 programs proven to be effective at reducing violence and preventing crime. This entry examines the PATHS program.

Framework

The PATHS program was initiated in the early 1980s. It is intended to be taught during a 5-year period in elementary school (grades K–5) by the normal classroom teacher. A total of 131 lessons are taught in various units, including readiness and self-control, feelings and relationships, and interpersonal cognitive problem-solving. These units incorporate materials on self-control, emotions, self-esteem, relationships, and solving problems in interpersonal relationships. In essence, the PATHS program targets known risk and protective factors related to conflict and violence, which include impulsivity, emotional awareness, empathy, and problem-solving abilities. The curriculum is typically taught in classes three times a week for roughly one-half hour per session.

Underlying the PATHS program is several theoretical/conceptual models. Each target factor is related to the development of appropriate emotional and behavioral responses in children. These models are as follows:

1. Affective-Behavioral-Cognitive-Dynamic Model of Development—focuses on affect, emotion, cognition, and language, which are needed for appropriate behavioral responses
2. Eco-Behavioral Systems Model—a recognition that it is important to couple educating youths with making environmental changes that support changes in youthful behavior
3. Brain Development—uses the knowledge of neurobiology to help identify problem feelings and methods for training youths to recognize their feelings and what to do about them
4. Psychodynamic Education—based on developmental theory and seeks to develop internal self-control and decision-making skills
5. Emotional Awareness—promotes awareness of one's emotions, feelings, and opinions as they surface in different situations and settings

Each perspective informs the various lessons used in the PATHS program, with the belief that one can improve the social and emotional competence of children in elementary school. An important consideration of the program is that it addresses the school atmosphere as well as the individual needs of each youth. That is, the program requires that changes be made to the classroom atmosphere so that it supports positive peer interaction and social development.

The PATHS curriculum is divided into several units that are taught at various points in the elementary grades. The point at which each lesson is offered is determined by the developmental level of typical youths. Basic feelings, such as happy, sad, mad, and love, are introduced as early as kindergarten, whereas more advance feelings, such as embarrassment, jealousy, and forgiveness, do not appear until sometime in grades 2 to 4. The discussion of relationships begins in 2nd grade and culminates in grade 5, whereas the teaching of formal problem-solving skills does not occur until 4th grade. Throughout the program, it emphasized that the programs offer material that is developmentally appropriate for the children.

Evaluation

PATHS has undergone several evaluations that use experimental and control groups of regular students, as well as special needs students, and the results have been subjected to extensive review by outside experts. Based on the evaluations and the review, PATHS was identified as a blueprint for violence prevention.

Evaluations of PATHS uncover a wide range of positive outcomes. Children who participate in the program show an increased ability to recognize and understand their emotions, can better recognize interpersonal problems, and can identify and use alternative responses to problem situations. Of particular importance is the ability of program participants to avoid the use of aggressive or violent responses to conflict situations. Using follow-up periods of as little as 1 year, evaluations consistently reveal improved problem-solving ability,

increased planning activity, reduced self-reported conduct problems, reduced anxiety, and reduced teacher reports of conduct problems. Participants also display an enhanced ability to express their feelings, identify the feelings of others, and change their own feelings. Interestingly, many positive results are based on a single year of program exposure, as opposed to the intended 5-year program. Greenberg and Kusche also note that PATHS can be adopted for use with different populations, including special needs students (such as the deaf, those with learning disabilities, gifted, and emotionally disturbed youths), and for implementation outside the school setting.

Steven P. Lab

See also Project PATHE; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Violence

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PROPERTY MARKING/OPERATION IDENTIFICATION

The practice of property marking, or as it is known in the United States, Operation Identification (OI), is based on the long-established belief that branding or labeling property with a personal symbol will in some way protect it from theft or ensure its return should it be lost or stolen. There are several reasons for encouraging the marking of property in this way: First, it is intended as a deterrent to burglary; second, it is intended to increase the recovery and return of stolen property; third, it is intended to make it more difficult to dispose of

stolen goods; and finally, it is assumed to increase the detection of offenders or their successful prosecution. Operation Identification thus offers the possibility of preventing crime and reducing victimization.

Development

Marking property to signify ownership has a long history. Branding cattle, for example, has its roots in Ancient Egypt and is still widely practiced today, although the branding options have developed from a crude branding iron to embedded radio frequency identification (RFID) chips. In the 1970s, the notion of marking property as a crime-prevention technique was significantly expanded to encourage the general public to mark many disposable (often electric) goods in their possession. In the United Kingdom, the development was facilitated by the introduction of the post code, this in combination with the house or apartment number, it gives a unique identifier for each dwelling. Of course, this system was not introduced for crime-prevention purposes; it was intended to facilitate the delivery of the mail. It happened that its ability to identify uniquely each dwelling in the United Kingdom meant that marking property with the post code could be used to indicate ownership. In the United States, the driver's license number and state identifier are typically used. The important point is that there needs to be a mechanism through which the property can be uniquely linked to the owner.

The police encourage the marking of any property that might be considered attractive to a thief—radios, televisions, video equipment, small tools, and so on. Property can be marked with an ultraviolet pen, which is invisible in natural light but shows clearly under an ultraviolet light or it can be engraved or stamped. Valuable items such as jewelry or antiques can be photographed (against a ruler to indicate their size) if marking is considered likely to affect their value. Citizens are encouraged to make a list of their marked property and to place a decal or sticker on doors or windows to indicate that property in their home has been marked. It is also important that the police undertake to inspect property recovered from burglaries for signs of marking and to return the goods to their owners.

Effectiveness

There have not been many rigorous evaluations of these schemes, and those schemes that have been examined are now somewhat out of date. In 1975, Nelson Heller reported on a nationwide study across the United States of a range of OI projects and concluded that participants had significantly lower burglary rates after joining than before; cities with OI schemes did not have lower rates city wide; the presence of marking did not significantly hamper the disposal of stolen goods; there was no evidence to suggest an increase in either the apprehension or conviction of burglars; and there was no evidence that OI marking increased either the recovery or return of stolen property.

Since then, more research has largely supported the conclusions drawn by Heller, although there is some debate as to whether individuals are at reduced risk of burglary when they mark their property, and if so, why that might be. Johannes Knutsson, for example, carried out a substantial study in Sweden covering a residential area about 20 miles from Stockholm. During a 4-year period, participation rose from around 13% to 30%, which made evaluation difficult, but Knutsson concluded that the program had not reduced the rate of burglary, even for those who participated in the scheme.

Gloria Laycock carried out a rather different type of evaluation of property marking in a residential area in South Wales. Her evaluation showed in the first year follow-up that domestic burglary was reduced for those participating in the scheme. In common with other studies, there was no evidence of increased recovery of stolen goods as a consequence of OI. Particular effort was made to ensure a high take-up rate among the residents in the target area. This effort took the form of intensive publicity prior to the launch of the scheme. In a second year follow-up, it was found that the burglary rate dropped even more, which was both unexpected and counterintuitive. Further investigation suggested that the reduction was not caused by the marking of property per se but more likely by the considerable attendant publicity. The high take-up had been dependent on the initial publicity, and the reduction in burglary in the first year follow-up led to a great deal of local publicity when the research results were published. This led to reductions in the second year of follow-up.

Laycock concluded that the mechanism through which the reductions were achieved was almost certainly the result of offenders perceiving an increased risk as a consequence of the widespread publicity rather than any effect of property marking itself. It is important, therefore, when evaluating such schemes to be sure of the underlying mechanism through which the initiative might be expected to achieve the expected effect.

In their meta-analysis of what works, what does not, and what is promising, Lawrence Sherman and colleagues concluded in relation to property marking that the crime-reduction effect was not proven. This was on the basis of their reviews of the then-existing evaluation literature, but bearing in mind that many burglaries result in a loss of cash or items that are difficult to mark, it is implausible that OI could have a major effect on reducing burglary. It may, however, be useful when stolen property is occasionally recovered by the police, as it can more reliably be returned to the owner.

Gloria Laycock

See also Crime Prevention; Methodological Issues in Evaluating Effectiveness of Crime Prevention; Situational Crime Prevention

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PROSPECTIVE CRIME MAPPING

Crime mapping is commonplace in many police forces. It can inform the crime reduction enterprise in at least two ways, as follows:

1. The identification of time-stable “hot spots”—that, when supported with relevant analyses,

can provide an indication of why such areas are criminogenic and how to deal with them. Strategies informed by such analysis may be relatively long term and can involve a range of crime-reduction partners.

2. The identification of where crimes are most likely to occur in the next few days—such analysis is more likely to influence tactical decisions on a daily basis, informing when and where police patrols or other re-deployable resources are allocated.

In this entry, the *prospective crime mapping* approach to the second type of task is considered. The entry is structured in the following way. First, current knowledge about spatiotemporal patterns of crime is discussed. Two theories that aim to explain the patterns and how they should inform crime forecasting are then detailed. This is followed by a consideration of how conventional and prospective hot spot maps are produced and how accurate the different methods are at forecasting future crime locations. Finally, practical issues regarding the use of predictive mapping in a policing context are discussed. Prospective mapping has only been tested for burglary, and consequently the discussion generally focuses on this type of crime. However, the theory and empirical research that inform prospective mapping apply to a range of crime types, and so the relevant types of crime are discussed.

Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Crime

Research demonstrates that crime is geographically concentrated; some places experience a higher volume of crime than others, but the pattern does not stop there. Work concerned with repeat victimization typically shows that within areas of high crime, a few people, facilities, or households suffer a disproportionate amount of the problem.

To some extent, there is stability to where crime is most likely to occur, but there is also a flux to crime patterns. For instance, consider repeat burglary victimization; burglary risk increases as function of the number of crimes experienced, but most repeats occur swiftly and the probability of additional occurrences decays over time.

This type of pattern also occurs at the neighborhood level. For example, when a home is burgled,

a car broken into, or even a person shot, other offenses of the same type occur quickly nearby more than would be expected on a chance basis. Crime clusters in space *and* time. Moreover, it seems that for burglary at least, when crimes occur at the same home or nearby within a short period of time, they are more likely to occur during the same period of the day as each other and on the same side of the street.

Explanations for the Patterns

At least two processes could explain the patterns described. First, it is known that some types of places, people, facilities, and households are more vulnerable to crime than others. Consequently, crime clusters in space. However, it is hard to determine how such a theory of *risk heterogeneity* could explain why crime clusters in space *and* time, rather than just space.

A complementary explanation for the observed patterns concerns offender targeting or foraging strategies. The theory is that having committed crime at one location, an offender increases his awareness of it and the local conditions. Assuming that offenders make at least partly rationale decisions some of the time, such knowledge should inform subsequent targeting choices. For example, an offender who successfully burgles a home with ease is likely to want to repeat the experience. Repeating the experience may be as simple as returning to burgled homes. However, because propinquity and similarity are associated, a similar experience may be had from targeting nearby homes. As things change over time, a swift return would reduce uncertainty. In line with this, analyses of burglaries detected by the police demonstrate that offenders frequently return to homes successfully victimized in the past—and those nearby—shortly after an earlier offense.

On the basis of these findings, it would seem that the risk of crime in an area is the function of at least two things: time-stable factors that signal target attractiveness, and the more dynamic influence of offender foraging activity. Depending on the aim of the analysis, approaches to crime forecasting should take account both influences to differing degrees. Where forecasts are intended to inform short-term tactical decisions, the dynamic element will be of considerable importance. To provide a

context within which to discuss prospective crime mapping, in the next section other methods of crime hot spot mapping are first discussed.

Types of Crime Hot Spot Mapping

Many crime hot-spotting techniques are routinely used in crime analysis, but the overall aim—to identify those areas that *have* experienced the most crime—is the same. Thematic mapping involves counting how much crime occurred within a set of predefined areas, such as police beats. Acknowledged problems with this approach include the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem and the ecological fallacy.

Considering the former, the problem is that the use of different boundaries may generate different results. Apropos the latter, because analyses are conducted at the area level, it is easy to assume that all locations within areas are exposed to the same risks. Rarely will this be the case. Thus, whereas thematic mapping is easy to do and understand, it is insensitive to the precise distribution of risk, and maps so derived can be misleading.

A different approach that addresses these concerns is kernel density estimation (KDE). KDE maps can be generated in a variety of ways, but the following is illustrative:

1. A two-dimensional grid with regular-sized cells is overlaid on the study area. The smaller the cells, the higher the resolution of the map.
2. For each cell in the grid, all crimes that occurred within a particular radius of the cell centroid are identified. A smoothing function is then used to compute an estimate of risk intensity. Simply put, cells that have the most crime within or nearby will have the highest intensity values.
3. Cells are then shaded to reflect the intensity values derived.

Although this approach addresses the problems discussed, criticisms exist. First, the choice of radius used affects the results produced—the larger the radius, the smoother and less sensitive the map—and yet the radius selected is often arbitrary, determined by aesthetic rather than theoretical considerations. Moreover, the approach takes account of only one process, namely risk

heterogeneity, which contemporary theory suggests affects the spatiotemporal distribution of crime.

Prospective Mapping

Prospective mapping is an attempt to develop the way that people think about crime forecasting. In the first iteration of the approach, a simple model was developed to emulate the regularities observed in offender foraging activity as well as time-stable (spatial) variation in risk. To help explain the model in an easily visualized way, an analogy with disease contagion can be used. Consider that the research discussed shows that when a crime is committed at one location, the offender responsible is more likely to commit others nearby swiftly. In this way, an offender's crime series may be thought of as a footprint of foraging activity. Moreover, each crime may be thought of as signaling the location of where others are likely to next occur. Much like the way a disease is communicated in space *and* time, so too it appears is the risk of crime.

To express this process in mathematical terms, a diffusion process is modeled. To elaborate, every crime is assumed to elevate the risk of crime at that location and to those nearby. The strength of this effect is assumed to decay as a function of space. The intensity of risk is also modeled as a function of time; crimes that occurred recently are assumed to confer the greatest risk. In computational terms, this is a refinement of the method used to produce KDE maps. However, it has its origins in theory and explicitly considers how regularities in offender decision making might influence crime patterns. This conceptualization lends itself to future development, whereas simply assuming that the future will reflect the past does not.

For example, it is possible that the risk of crime may not “spread” equally in all directions. It may instead be anisotropic, spreading (or being impeded) in some directions with a greater probability than others. Features of the physical landscape may systematically influence where the foraging offender burgles next. For example, offenders may develop the best awareness for locales that are highly accessible and interconnected with others. This may affect targeting decisions that make the probability of crime highest in those locations near to and most easily connected to previously burgled locations.

Other features of the environmental backcloth may influence targeting decisions in similar ways.

Forecast Accuracy

The accuracy of the basic prospective mapping approach has been compared with that for KDE and thematic mapping for both urban and rural areas. Results published so far suggest that prospective mapping is the most accurate; it can predict the future locations of a greater number of crimes per unit area. For one study, it was shown that thematic maps, which were generated using a police beat geography, did not exceed chance expectation.

Recent work has also examined the forecast accuracy of an enhanced version of prospective mapping for which a simple *opportunity surface* was included. For this version, the distribution and density of potential targets (homes) was modeled, along with a crude measure of area connectivity. Thus, an account was taken of the fact that there would be more targets at some locations and that some areas would be easier to travel to and from than others. Doing so improved the accuracy of the model even more.

This leads us to a second method of assessing the utility of crime maps: the ease with which areas can be patrolled. A map that predicts more crime than another may be little use in a police operational context if the identified areas are scattered. Relative to a few coalesced hot spots, patrolling a series of dispersed locations would result in officers spending a greater amount of time traveling between high-risk locations than policing them. Thus, a second way of comparing the utility of different methods of crime forecasting is to consider how compact (or easy to patrol) they are. In this respect, prospective maps seem to be as compact as KDE maps, perhaps more so.

Practical Application

To be used efficiently in a police context, forecasting methods need to be developed in ways sensitive to the demands of operational policing. In a recent field test of prospective mapping, forecasts were generated for each police shift, ensuring their continued relevance over the course of the day. This approach was welcomed by those who used it to the extent that they asked for its extension to other crime types.

To date, prospective mapping has only been tested for burglary. Although such a crime-specific tool is useful, its application may be limited in all but the most burglary-infested areas, as operational police officers have to deal with a range of crime problems not just burglary. Ideally, forecasting tools used to inform the deployment of police patrols should predict where the highest concentration of all crime is likely. Such forecasts, of course, could be weighted in terms of crime seriousness or in terms of the operational priorities of the day, so that different types of crime are afforded appropriate importance.

To achieve this, the research agenda includes acquiring a more complete understanding of patterns of crime for different types of events. Existing research suggests that several event types—including theft from a motor vehicle, bicycle theft, shootings, and insurgency in Iraq—cluster in space and time, but other patterns might be discerned using statistical techniques unconsidered hitherto. Other challenges include determining how to optimize forecasts produced for combinations of different types of crime and how these might inform patrolling routes to and from, as well as within areas predicted to be crime hot spots.

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See also Burglary; Burglary, Prevention of; Crime Mapping; Crime Science; Repeat Victimization, Theories of; Virtual Repeats and Near Repeats

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PROTECTION/RESTRAINING ORDERS

Domestic violence can be characterized by a variety of physical, social, sexual, economic, and psychological attacks against many groups, including current and former significant others, family members, and children. Even though domestic violence can cross socioeconomic, ethnic, and gender lines, most common and popular knowledge of domestic violence relates to female abuse perpetrated by men. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate prevalence rates for domestic violence at about 4.8 million people per year in the United States. An often sought-out solution to the abuse comes in the form of a protective or restraining order. These orders, which are issued by a civil court order, restrict the contact of the defendant to the plaintiff. In theory, because the order is a civil rather than a criminal proceeding, a victim might be more willing to take action in hopes of minimizing potential retaliation.

Process of Obtaining an Order

A protective order may be referred to as a restraining order, emergency protective order, or peace bond. Although the limitations placed on a protective order can vary, they typically include an order for the defendant to (1) stop violent acts, (2) stay a certain minimum distance from the plaintiff, (3) attend a treatment program for the defendant, and/or (4) evict the defendant from a residence. Although the process and actual type of protective order may vary from state to state, a few unifying

factors are the same. Usually, a temporary or emergency protective order can be obtained first; in most states, these are referred to as an ex parte order, which is also called a 10-day order. An ex parte decision is one decided by a judge when one party (and not the adversary) appears. This protective order is usually valid for 2 weeks, at the end of which a new hearing with the defendant present is held whereby the plaintiff can extend the protective order for a longer period of time (e.g., typically 1 year). This duration again varies from state to state based on specifics of the order and state legislation. Even though these legal services exist to at least partially protect a victim of domestic violence, the statistics of actual usage are low. For example, research estimates that only 16.4% of rape victims, 17.1% of physical assault victims, and 36.6% of stalking victims obtained a protective order after their most recent encounter with a domestic violence situation.

Disadvantages of Protective Order

Even though a protective order can provide civil litigation to stop violent action legally, as well as criminal charges if the order is violated, the protective order still has several unique disadvantages. For example, in some states, a protective order is only available to those who can provide the court with proof of cohabitation or marriage. Other possible problems include the lengthy process of obtaining a protective order and the subsequent hours spent away from work, children, or family that is required for negotiating through the court process. Furthermore, there may be a "dead link" between the actual protective order and the law enforcement agents who must enforce it. That is, the nonenforcement of a valid protective order directly affects the plaintiff's views on the efficacy of his or her protective order, and it may prevent future attempts to secure a protective order.

Protective Order Risk Factors

Beyond the efficacy of the protection orders is the notion of who is most at risk for future re-abuse. Risk factors for re-abuse include sharing biological children with the abuser, whether the defendant was arrested, and prior abuse history. The presence of biological children contributes to higher rates of

re-abuse because of conflict and violence that occur as a result of custody and visitation issues. The evidence for whether arrest acts as a deterrent is mixed. Some research has found that the probability of postprotective order abuse is *reduced* if the abuser is arrested at the time of the incident that led the victim to obtain a protective order. However, other research does not find any effect of arrests on the likelihood of re-abuse. Prior domestic violence is also a risk factor for re-abuse.

Some research has suggested that socioeconomic status (SES) may be influential in the likelihood of re-abuse after a protective order is issued. Women who are more economically dependent are potentially less likely to leave the abusive relationship. That is, women may remain with their abuser out of economic necessity and may return to abusive relationships for financial reasons. Moreover, individuals who have a “stake in conformity” have more to lose by a re-arrest and, thus, may be less likely to re-offend.

Race is also a potential risk factor; however, it is unknown to what extent race is confounded with SES. Research has shown that Black women are more at risk than White or Hispanic women. Furthermore, research finds that Black women have the highest prevalence of being beaten (67%) in comparison with White and Mexican American women. Black women also report spending more days at a women’s shelter when compared with their Hispanic and White counterparts. Interestingly, Black women also experience less of a decline in re-abuse than do their White or Hispanic counterparts after the issuance of a protective order.

Research on victim-offender relationships indicate that police may respond differently depending on the length of the relationship. Being in a long-term relationship (5 or more years) is associated with lower rates of reported re-abuse, but only for women in higher SES groups. This may be a reporting effect, as early abuse in a relationship is more likely to be reported and women in long-term relationships are less likely to contact police for assistance.

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See also Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment and Replication

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PSYCHOLOGICAL AND BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES OF VICTIMIZATION

Research examining the psychological and behavioral consequences of victimization was missing from victimization literature up until about 20 years ago. Although many scholars have assumed that there are indeed mental health costs associated with victimization, a large portion of national surveys have failed to ask specific psychological health questions regarding the time period after the victimization. More specifically, it is important to know the types of mental and behavioral health problems that affect victims, so that resources can be better allocated and education and assistance programming can be put in place. This entry offers a definition of the psychological and behavioral consequences of victimization, discusses the types of mental health problems that can occur as a result of being a victim, provides prevalence rates of such mental health consequences, and ends with a discussion on prevention.

Definitions

Mental health is commonly defined as the absence of mental disorder; however, according to the World Health Organization, it is more than that. It is also “a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community.” *Merriam-Webster’s Medical Dictionary* defines mental health as “the condition of being sound mentally and emotionally that is characterized by the absence of mental disorder (as neurosis or psychosis) and by adequate adjustment especially as reflected in feeling comfortable about oneself, positive feelings about others, and ability to meet the demands of life.” Those who suffer psychological and behavioral problems after victimization may therefore have problems with adjustment to daily life, work, and community; have negative feelings about themselves or others; and/or lack mental and emotional stability. Victims also may experience fear, ranging from mild to debilitating levels.

Types of Psychological and Behavioral Health Consequences

The first type of psychological consequences occurs immediately after the victimization and are typically of a short duration. Such behaviors that fall under this category would be fear, shock, anxiety, confusion, helplessness, guilt, shame, depression, social withdrawal, and low-self esteem. More serious in nature are the second type of psychological consequences, which are more chronic in nature, such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), severe depression, and borderline personality disorder (BPD). PTSD rates for sexual victimization have ranged anywhere from 30% to 65% in the research, depending on how and when the symptoms were assessed. Research on depression has also produced mixed findings, with some researchers finding a connection between victimization and depression, and others finding no link at all.

A multitude of other psychological disorders and problem behaviors are associated with victimization. Such problems may include (but are not limited to) sleep disorders, eating disorders, self-mutilation, preoccupation with physical appearance, somatoform disorders, sexual dysfunction,

alcohol/drug abuse, and suicidal behaviors. The extent to which a victim experiences mental health and/or behavioral problems can depend on many factors, including the type of victimization, victim-offender relationship, the environment in which the victimization occurred, current or past life circumstances (e.g., divorce, financial stress, or death of a loved one), and a family history of mental health problems. Also, psychological disorders and behavioral problems often co-occur or occur along with physical health problems.

Prevalence

The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) provides some national-level estimates on the extent to which psychological and behavioral problems occur after victimization. In the case of rape victims, 33% of females and 24.2% of male victims sought counseling from a mental health professional as a direct result of their victimization. Similarly, 30% of female and 20% of male stalking victims reported having gone to counseling after being victimized. In regards to PTSD, approximately 25% of those criminally victimized develop some either short- or long-term features. Most of the literature has found that while men and woman both suffer psychological health problems as a result of victimization, women experience psychological problems at a higher rate than men. Unfortunately, there is little available as to the true extent to which psychological and behavioral problems arise after victimization. This scant amount of research indicates that much more needs to be done in this area.

Prevention

Regardless of the extent to which mental health and behavioral problems occur after victimization, much needs to be done in the form of prevention. The diversity in possible mental health outcomes can be attributed to many factors, which means that prevention needs to occur at all levels. First, prevention efforts need to be in place for decreasing the overall number of personal crimes. Second, educational programs need to be implemented so that individuals can better prepare and protect themselves against possible future victimization. Also, educating the

population about victimization in general is always important, especially when it comes to educating those groups that may be at a greater risk for victimization (e.g., college students and females). Finally, prevention efforts need to focus on providing help and assistance to victims immediately after the victimization has occurred, which is the period when victims are most vulnerable.

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See also Battered Woman Syndrome; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Physical Health Consequences of Victimization; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Rape; Sexual Victimization; Stalking

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PSYCHOLOGICAL/ EMOTIONAL ABUSE

Intimate partner abuse is a common problem that has received considerable attention since the 1980s. When discussing intimate partner violence, individuals often focus on physical abuse, probably because it is more visible than psychological abuse and receives more attention from the justice system. However, at the beginning of the battered women's movement and in recent years again, researchers and practitioners have emphasized the importance of understanding the role of psychological abuse in the abusive relationship as well. As a risk factor for future violence, psychological abuse has importance in considering intervention and prevention of intimate partner violence. Beyond its relationship to physical violence, however, women frequently report that psychological abuse causes them greater distress than physical acts of violence, which makes it an important part of an abusive relationship to understand on its own. This entry provides a definition of psychological abuse, describes types of psychological abuse, details correlates and consequences of psychological abuse, and ends with concluding remarks related to challenges for the future. The focus here is on the relationship dynamic that is best documented in the research literature—where a male partner is abusive toward a female victim.

Definition

Although awareness of psychological abuse has increased, there is no generally accepted definition of psychological abuse in the research literature. Diane Follingstad has proposed that the current absence of a unified definition is because of the lack of clarity about what constitutes a psychologically abusive behavior. For instance, the complex dynamics in relationships may explain certain actions that on the surface could be viewed as psychological maltreatment, but on extended examination may

be deemed justifiable given specific contexts of the relationship. Taking context into account is hampered by the widespread use of self-report measures, which make it difficult to form a complete picture. Refining our understanding of psychological abuse, according to this line of thinking, will require better measurement and more emphasis on a holistic view of the relationship.

One proposed pattern of abuse in intimate relationships that is useful in tying together various definitions is called coercive control. Coercive control is a pattern of behavior in which one partner aims to control the other through a wide range of tactics, only some of which involve physical force. The context of whatever physical violence occurs is behavior that is psychologically abusive and meant to achieve and maintain dominance in the relationship. A useful schematic that captures this idea is Ellen Pence's Power and Control Wheel. The wheel has as its spokes categories of abusive behaviors, all of which are theoretically aimed at the same goal of gaining and maintaining power. This tool is often used by practitioners to assist victims in identifying and normalizing their experiences that fall outside the concrete definition of physical abuse.

Psychological abuse in the theoretical framework of coercive control leads to continuous violations of the victim's freedom, rights, and resources. Two main categories of behaviors that batterers use when applying coercive control are isolation/dominance (social isolation, intimidation and deprivation of resources such as food, clothing, money, and transportation) and verbal/emotional abuse (the willful infliction of emotional pain by the use of verbal and nonverbal threats and humiliation). It is possible for psychological abuse to exist outside the context of coercive control, and in such cases, the abusive behaviors are likely to fall into this latter category.

Despite its centrality to women's experience of abuse, most forms of psychological abuse are legal. An exception is stalking. Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes, who authored the largest recent study of violence against women, defined stalking as a "course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated (two or more occasions) visual or physical proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats, or a combination thereof, that would cause a reasonable person fear" (p. 5). Although variability in this legislation is found across states, some degree of victim fear is

generally part of the legal definition of stalking; there has been controversy regarding the reasonableness of this threshold.

Risk Factors and Correlates

A large literature is available about characteristics that put women at risk for intimate partner violence in general. Less information can be found about what environmental or personal characteristics predict psychological abuse specifically, but the existing research has indicated several possibilities. In terms of demographic variables, there is evidence of increased risk for psychological abuse in couples of higher education levels and among women who are employed outside the home. Batterers who have criminal records are also more likely to be psychologically abusive in intimate relationships.

Batterers' personality characteristics have also been the target of research in this area. For instance, batterers who exhibit higher levels of anger, as well as passive/aggressive and self-defeating personalities, seem to be more likely to be psychologically abusive toward an intimate partner. Similarly, some preliminary evidence suggests that feelings of rejection stemming from childhood may be related to psychological aggression toward an intimate partner.

Also, specific dynamics in the intimate relationship make it more likely that a woman will be psychologically abused. It was found that men who report lower marital adjustment (connecting with one's partner and engaging in activities together) and an increase of demands by wives tend to withdraw more from their spouse and to more likely be psychologically abusive. In addition, psychological abusers tended to have a more fearful attachment style toward their partners, which is characterized by relationship anxiety and fear of rejection or being hurt, as well as anxiety if they are too close or too distant from their partner.

Finally, prior violence is a red flag for psychological abuse. Research has shown that in general the more frequent and severe past abuse has been, the more likely it is for the psychological abuse to continue to occur in the future.

Consequences

Many studies support the relationship between psychological abuse and mental health problems.

One of the strongest connections is to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Researchers have shown that psychological abuse is uniquely related to PTSD, above and beyond physical abuse. Studies have yielded similar findings for the relationship between psychological abuse and depression, self-esteem, increased level of fear, and anxiety.

Clear evidence indicates that being in a psychologically abusive relationship is damaging to a woman's physical health because of its relationship with stress. Some practitioners have proposed that psychological abuse leads victims to experience levels of stress that in many instances is higher than stress related to physical assault. This increase in stress could result in victims experiencing multiple stress-induced ailments, such as arthritis, chronic pain, migraines and frequent headaches, stomach ulcers and spastic colon.

In addition to mental health problems related to psychological abuse, stalking could be particularly harmful in increasing the victim's fear and preventing her from going through her daily routines (such as going to work or school). Research findings support the unique contribution of stalking to psychological distress. For example, researchers found that women who were stalked reported more PTSD and depressive symptoms, as well as higher levels of substance abuse, compared with those who did not report any stalking. In addition, the longer the stalking goes on, the more worried victims become about their personal safety.

Finally, when psychological abuse includes the social isolation of the victim, it decreases the social support that might otherwise help her cope. The batterer initiates this pattern by preventing the victim from speaking to her friends and family, as well as interfering with her education and independent employment. Over time as the victim is unable to maintain social contacts, she becomes increasingly alone. Studies have shown that social isolation places people at higher risk for depression and anxiety. Thus, the social isolation exacerbates the negative mental health consequences of abuse.

Challenges for the Future

Psychological abuse can take many different forms, including isolation and dominance, verbal and emotional abuse, and stalking. It is often a precursor to physical violence and has been shown to be

more detrimental than physical violence in relation to mental health outcomes. In addition, psychological abuse is related to various physiological problems, such as stomach ulcers, migraines, frequent headaches, and chronic pain, and it contributes to social isolation, which then exacerbates mental health problems.

Although many advances have been made in the field in our understanding of psychological abuse, many unanswered questions and challenges still exist. First, the only form of psychological abuse that is currently against the law is stalking, and there have been some suggestions that legislation should be broadened to address the broader range of psychologically abusive behaviors under the umbrella of coercive control. The extent to which the dynamics described here generalize to relationships where the female partner is aggressive, or where partners are of the same sex, also requires exploration. Predictors of psychological abuse also need to be investigated even more. Finally, research with Hispanic, Eastern European, and Indian groups has suggested that at least within some cultures, psychological abuse is less likely to be recognized as a form of intimate partner violence. Such findings suggest a need for intervention with victims of this kind of abuse as well as prevention more broadly.

Adriana Pilafova and Lauren Bennett-Cattaneo

See also Cyberstalking; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Psychological/Emotional Abuse, Measurement of; Stalking Laws

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PSYCHOLOGICAL/EMOTIONAL ABUSE, MEASUREMENT OF

Psychological/emotional abuse refers to nonphysical aggression or maltreatment that causes psychological distress and is perpetrated against an intimate partner. Although psychological/emotional abuse may occur in a variety of close relationships (e.g., parent-to-child), this entry is limited to measurement of abuse that is perpetrated against an intimate partner.

Psychological/emotional abuse takes different forms, including domination, control, isolation/restriction, humiliation, criticism, ridicule, or threats of violence. The measurement of psychological/emotional abuse is generally accomplished using self-report instruments that assess how frequently an individual’s intimate partner has engaged in certain behaviors. A higher score on such a measure indicates a higher incidence of such abusive behaviors. The measurement of psychological/emotional abuse is of primary use to researchers who are interested in studying possible causes of such abuse, its relationship to other types of abuse, correlates of psychological/emotional

abuse, and outcomes for individuals who have been psychologically victimized by their partners. Most often, this research has focused on male-to-female intimate partner violence (IPV) because male-to-female IPV has been shown to be both more common and more deleterious.

Although research focusing on psychological/emotional abuse in intimate relationships is a more recent development, preceded by decades of research focused primarily on physical abuse, several measures have been developed by researchers that have demonstrated utility, reliability, and validity to assess the incidence of psychological/emotional abuse. These measures assess a range of behaviors that include verbal abuse and aggression, domination, intimidation, denigration, and isolation/restriction.

Sample Measures

The measurement of psychological/emotional abuse was initially done using general measures of IPV that included items to assess nonphysical abuse. For example the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), first introduced by Murray Straus in 1979, assesses a range of behaviors that may occur between intimate partners, several of which are categorized as “verbal aggression.” The respondent is given a list of 19 relationship behaviors and is asked how many times each occurred within the past year on a scale ranging from 1 “once in the past year” to 6 “more than 20 times in the past year.” Psychological/emotional abuse tactics listed on the CTS include “insulted or swore at him/her” and “threatened to hit or throw something at him/her.” The CTS was eventually revised to include more items and a wider range of experiences. However, its general approach is still to measure only the frequency of behaviors between partners.

The Index of Spouse Abuse (ISA) was developed shortly after the CTS and was designed to be used in clinical settings as a self-report instrument to assess the frequency of both physical and nonphysical abusive experiences. Like the CTS, the ISA measures the frequency of relevant experiences, with choices ranging from 1 “never” to 5 “very frequently.” Both the CTS and ISA have been widely adopted as measurement tools for psychological/emotional and physical IPV.

As psychological/emotional abuse received more attention, researchers began to develop instruments

specifically for its measurement. These followed the same format used for the CTS and ISA: Respondents were given lists of experiences and asked to rate how frequently they occurred in their intimate relationships. One of the most commonly used assessment tools of this sort is the Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI). In this tool first developed by Richard Tolman in 1989, respondents rate the frequency of experiences using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 "never" to 5 "very frequently." The two subscales are dominance/isolation and emotional/verbal. Sample dominance/isolation items include "my partner monitored my time and made me account for my whereabouts" and "my partner restricted my use of the telephone." Sample emotional/verbal items include "my partner called me names" and "my partner yelled and screamed at me." The full PMWI consists of 58 items; a short-form derivative has 14 items.

Also available is the Multidimensional Emotional Abuse Scale (MDEAS), which was developed by Christopher Murphy and Sharon Hoover and published in 2001. The MDEAS is a 28-item self-report questionnaire that assesses how often the respondent and his or her partner engaged in psychologically abusive behaviors during the preceding 4 months. Like other measures of psychological/emotional abuse, respondents are instructed to review a list of behaviors and note how frequently they occurred on an ordinal, numerical scale. Several other instruments are currently available to measure psychological/emotional abuse, which include the Index of Psychological Abuse and the Subtle and Overt Psychological Abuse Scale, among others. It may be noted that all the commonly used tools for measuring psychological/emotional abuse assess only the frequency of abusive behaviors and provide little if any information as to the severity, duration, or context. Additional information, including information about outcomes and correlates of the abuse, must generally be gathered using other instruments.

Measurement Issues and Future Directions

The measurement of psychological/emotional abuse is complicated by various factors. First, psychological/emotional abuse is not fully defined; some disagreement remains among researchers

and clinicians as to what constitutes such abuse. Second, unlike physically abusive behaviors, which are considered largely unacceptable in intimate relationships, psychologically abusive behaviors are more subjective and are often more subtle in their presentation and effect. This makes the threshold for "abuse" for psychological/emotional abuse less clearly delineated than the threshold for physical abuse. For research purposes, it would be helpful to assess not only the frequency of psychologically aggressive behaviors but also the severity, duration, and context, as well as the subjective effect on and the experience of the victim.

In addition, the measurement of psychological/emotional abuse is complicated by the fact that the terminology for psychological/emotional abuse is not standardized. Furthermore, whereas several measures have been designed to assess psychological/emotional abuse, some of which have been described briefly here and have been shown to have strong psychometric properties, no single measure has established itself as the gold standard specifically for the measurement of psychological/emotional abuse. Thus, although measurement of psychological/emotional abuse can be accomplished, psychological/emotional abuse remains a construct that is not clearly defined, and whose measurement deserves more development.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Elder Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment: Measurement of; Intimate Partner Violence; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; Psychological/Emotional Abuse

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PUBLIC OPINION AND CRIME PREVENTION, INTERNATIONAL

The level of public support for crime-prevention policies and practice is well understood by governments and policing agencies. Public confidence in emergency services, including the police, is widely acknowledged as a critical element in the maintenance of public safety and social order.

Understanding Public Opinion Research

Various methodological issues come into play when considering public opinion research on crime and criminal justice issues. How it is that people become aware of crime-prevention issues can be viewed as stemming from four main sources. First, self-reported attitudes on crime are largely media driven and focused primarily on sensational and often violent offenses. Crime-prevention efforts are typically less interesting to the news media as they focus on seemingly mundane elements such as environmental design, city planning, and preventive policing. In essence, the noteworthy crime-prevention projects are muted by their own effectiveness. Second, news coverage of successful prevention schemes are typically broadcast by the agencies from which they were derived or perhaps the local stakeholders, such as community interest groups and the like, and as can be expected, these schemes are greeted with a certain amount of skepticism or even cynicism. The third major information source

regarding crime-prevention issues is, of course, from direct (firsthand) personal experiences of successes and perhaps more vividly, failures. Fourth, people generate understandings of the experiences of others through friends and family, and friends-of-friends. Of course, it is not necessary for members of the public to have accurate knowledge about a given crime-prevention program for them to report an opinion on the matter; that is to say, their understanding of the issues is sufficient, and researchers are keen to capture what people think is the case, regardless of its connection to a more empirically valid reality.

International Trends

A recent review of public opinion research on crime-prevention policies and practice in Canada has had limited publication in peer-reviewed journals, as polling work on crime-related issues seems to find its way into unpublished works, such as government reports and special within-agency documents. The Canadian government's projects are coordinated via the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC). Canadian attitudes since the 1990s have continued to support prevention as the best mechanism to fight crime, as opposed to reactionary strategies to deal with crime that has already occurred. A recent, nationally representative, opinion poll commissioned by the NCPC in 2004 found that Canadians rated prevention as the principle goal of the criminal justice system at a rate of 2:1 over punishment. Furthermore, nearly three quarters of Canadians considered prevention programs to be more cost-effective than law enforcement efforts.

Parenting

Canadians routinely identify crime prevention as something that is outside of the criminal justice system, noting that parenting and other social elements (supervised activities for after-school hours, training kids to learn responsibility, and so on) are more primary. As with the Canadian studies, approximately 60% to 70% of those polled in England and Wales reported "parenting" as the first avenue of crime prevention; this finding is observed in more than a dozen other European nations.

Public Awareness of Crime Prevention Programs

Canada and the United Kingdom share noticeably lower rates of citizen awareness of specific crime-prevention programs (schemes) than reported in the United States. The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey noted that about one-half of Canadians could name a specific crime-prevention program (Block Parents Program was the most noted), but less than 10% of those polled participated in such a program. Polling in the 1980s and 1990s showed higher rates of awareness (at approximately two-thirds, rather than one-half), and participation rates in the 1990s of 12% to 28%, with Neighborhood Watch being the most frequent program for participation. More recent work in Canada based on nationally representative samples for 2000 and 2003 shows a stark downward trend for both awareness and participation. Approximately 40% reported “general awareness” of prevention programs, but only 21% could name one for 2000, and this proportion dropped to 15%. For both years, Neighborhood Watch was most often mentioned, with the next most frequently identified program (Block Parents) at 5% and 15% for 2000, 2003, respectively.

Future Research and Recommended Improvements

Public opinion studies suggest that there is substantial support for governments to pursue programs and schemes to prevent crime that have evidence-based support in the research community. Public support of crime prevention remains consistently high in North America and Europe. More work needs to be done to understand the public’s role and views of crime-prevention schemes in South America, Africa, Eastern Europe, and parts of Asia.

Recommended improvements will differ for each jurisdiction but typically include adding more specific awareness and participation questions to existing annual and regularly occurring national surveys, such as victimization and general social surveys. Surveys need to focus on specific programming and participation practices to assist policy makers and analysts in understanding more of how to generate the most benefit from existing crime-prevention/reduction efforts. Furthermore, research on the

public’s awareness of, and participation in, crime prevention needs to be consolidated and shared more effectively—at least at the national level. Public opinion work on crime prevention, experts suggest, needs to follow a similar path as those working on the same issues but for confidence in the criminal justice system. These last two issues may be improved simultaneously by encouraging academic or governmental institutions to setup databases of related public information polling.

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See also Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Crime Stoppers; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Public Opinion and Crime Prevention, United States; Take A Bite Out Of Crime

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PUBLIC OPINION AND CRIME PREVENTION, UNITED STATES

Public opinion is defined as a set of preferences expressed by a sizable number of people toward an issue, policy, or practice of general importance to that group. The group may be as broad and large as the entire citizenry of the United States, or it may be more constrained such as the residents of a single neighborhood. In either case, the public is considered to be a group made up of the general populace, not criminal justice practitioners, policy makers, or those who represent a particular interest. Public opinion finds its relevance to crime prevention as

a consideration in policy making. Although those who formulate crime-prevention policy do not blindly follow public preferences, a democratic society demands some correspondence between the will of the people and public policies. Because political power is broadly distributed and the public has the ability to influence policy in America, it is important to know what the public thinks.

Public opinion on crime prevention includes views on general approaches to crime as well as expressions of support for or opposition to particular crime-prevention activities. Broadly, at least two thirds of Americans embrace the ideal of preventing crime by addressing social and economic problems. The remainder of Americans instead think that crime should be prevented through efforts to deter potential criminals. Although some disagreement exists and some policies are embraced more widely than others, the American public tends to express favorable opinions toward a large number of specific measures to prevent crime initially or to prevent repeated crime. Support exists for gun control, early intervention, incapacitating repeat criminals through long prison sentences, Neighborhood Watch programs, capital punishment, and offender rehabilitation programs, among others. People tend to oppose crime-prevention measures that greatly erode civil liberties. Public opinion on four issues that have been researched the most thoroughly is described in more detail below.

Gun Control

The public generally supports governmental regulations on personal ownership of firearms. People tend to believe that the availability of guns helps explain why the United States has higher levels of violence than other countries, and greater control over guns may prevent crime.

Many specific policies are listed under the umbrella of gun control, and opinions often vary depending on whether the people expressing their views are gun owners or not. In 2007, approximately half of citizens polled believed that gun laws should be stricter, and an additional two fifths thought they should remain the same. Less than one in ten thought they should be made less strict. In the preceding 20 years, the percentage of Americans who thought laws regarding firearm sales should be stricter reached nearly 80%. Notably, gun owners are less likely to favor strict gun laws. Even gun

owners, however, tend to embrace minor restrictions, such as requiring that a permit be obtained before purchasing a firearm, waiting a short period before taking possession of a purchased handgun, and registering ownership of firearms. In contrast, at least half of the public opposes a complete ban on handguns. Opposition to a ban rises to about four of five among gun owners.

Early Intervention

The public expresses considerable confidence that families, schools, and targeted programs can lead at-risk children out of crime. In all, 80% to 90% of Americans support preschool programs for disadvantaged youths, parental skills training programs, after-school education and recreation, drug use avoidance programs, and truancy-prevention initiatives. For juveniles, the public is particularly hesitant to endorse punitive approaches such as locking up more children. Instead, they favor interventions that will prevent troubled youths from becoming involved in delinquency, gangs, or violence.

Capital Punishment

Public opinion on capital punishment has been researched more thoroughly and for a longer period than perhaps any other crime-prevention issue. Currently, when asked if they support the death penalty for someone convicted of murder, about 70% of Americans say yes. For the past 25 years, support has varied no more than about 5% from this level. At its lowest point—during the mid-1960s—Americans' support for this sanction dropped to less than half.

A level of complexity is added to public opinion toward capital punishment when consideration is given to how opinion questions are asked and which portion of the public responds. When life in prison without the possibility of ever being released is explicitly offered as an alternative sentence for people convicted of murder, the portion of the public who still endorse the death penalty is substantially lower. When opinion is measured more concretely, such as by asking whether a person would be willing to carry out an execution, far fewer people are willing to embrace the death penalty. In terms of subgroups of the American population, researchers have found fairly consistently that women and African

Americans hold less favorable opinions of capital punishment than men and Whites.

Additional evidence speaks to whether the public favors capital punishment as a crime-prevention measure or for other reasons. A third of the American public believes that the death penalty serves to deter others from committing murder. Furthermore, when asked for their reasons for supporting capital punishment, about 10% mention incapacitation. About four in ten Americans say they support it because it is what the offender deserves.

Correctional Goals

Information on public opinion about correctional goals has been gathered in tremendously diverse ways, and a general pattern has emerged. The American public voices strong support for rehabilitation, deterrence, and incapacitation as critical aspects of corrections. Thus, the public favors strategies that seek crime prevention through treatment of offenders, punishment that demonstrates the negative consequences of crime to the offender and to other potential offenders, and restrictions that block an offender's ability to commit additional crimes.

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See also Deterrence; Guns and Victimization; Offender-Based Programs; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, United States

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abuse, theft, burglary, robbery, and white collar crime. Society has a perception of victims of these and other crimes that is not always accurate. These perceptions are influenced by several factors including the media, myths about crime, and characteristics of the victim. Examples of perceptions held by society about crime victims are that people are to blame for their victimizations, that people deserve to be victimized because of who they are and that people recover from victimization quickly. These perceptions contribute to negative reactions to crime victims on behalf of the public and the criminal justice system. This entry discusses the perceptions of crime victims in America, contributions to these perceptions, and the impact of these perceptions on those victimized by crime.

Media Influence

There are several contributing factors to the American public's perception of crime victims. In part, perceptions are based on what people observe being reported in the news and what they view on television and in movies. Generally speaking, media portrayals of crime victims are frequently inaccurate and contribute to the manner in which victims are treated in society. Some television shows portray victims as liars who report crimes to cover up their own wrongdoing. Additionally, the news media report only a small portion of the crime that happens in American society. The crimes that are reported to the public tend to be those that are considered more serious in nature such as stranger rape, homicide, crimes that are committed with firearms, and crimes against the very old and the very young. What the news fails to report is that most victims of violent crimes are teenagers or young adults, that most people are victimized by those known to them, and that many people are victims of crimes that are never reported to criminal justice officials. In a more positive impact on the public perception of crime victims, media coverage has brought more attention to certain types of crimes. Child sexual and physical abuse cases are frequently covered by the media and have increased public awareness about these victimizations. The media has also contributed to public knowledge about intimate partner violence. Specifically, news coverage about women who are murdered by a current or former intimate partner

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF VICTIMS

People can experience many types of victimizations, including rape, domestic violence, child

has contributed to an increase in awareness about intimate partner violence. However, the cases that are covered are generally extreme, which leaves most cases without media publicity.

Perceptions of the American Public

Americans hold many perceptions of crime victims; many of them are inaccurate and few of them are positive. Victims of sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and drug-related crime tend to be perceived more negatively by the American public than are victims of other crimes. Rape victims are frequently perceived as women who are sexually promiscuous, who dress provocatively, who are careless, and who have poor judgment. In reality, sexual assault victims are frequently victims of opportunity. This means that the person who commits the crime capitalizes on whatever circumstances provide him or her with the least resistance and least chance of reporting from the victim. It is also commonly assumed that sexual assault victims are always women or girls; however, men and boys can be victimized by sexual assault.

One public perception of crime victims is that they should act a certain way after the victimization. The stereotypical view is that victims should be hysterical and extremely upset. In fact, there is no "correct" way to react to victimization and reactions vary from person to person. The perception of how a person should respond to crime is detrimental to the victim because if a person does not respond as expected, he or she is frequently accused of making a false report.

A related issue is a perception that crime victims are mentally unstable. This perception stems in part from how people respond to their victimization. When victims do respond hysterically, others may have the impression that the victim is mentally ill. The dual expectations of the public—respond calmly and there is disbelief; respond hysterically and there is mental illness—puts victims in a precarious circumstance. Unfortunately, many people are unstable because of mental illness or other issues, and these victims are at a higher risk for victimization because of their difficulties. However, because of the negative perception of mentally unstable persons, they are less likely to be believed than others who report victimization.

Sometimes, crime victims are perceived by the public to be deserving of what has happened to them. This is frequently the case for victims of intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and people who are victimized in high-crime areas. It is assumed that people who experience these victimizations have done something to deserve it. A popular perception about intimate partner violence is that if a person stays in a violent relationship, then he or she deserves to be treated poorly. In reality, most people in battering relationships cannot leave because of a variety of reasons, including financial difficulties and fear of retaliation. Sexual assault victims are assumed to have "led the other person on" and therefore deserve what happened to them. Inner-city crime is believed by the public to be largely drug related, and victims in the inner city are frequently thought to be drug users or abusers who are deserving of whatever befalls them. However, many people who are victims of drug-related crime are innocent bystanders who are caught in the middle of a dispute. In addition, most of the inner-city population is law abiding and resides there by choice or because of circumstances (e.g., being unable to afford to live in another part of the city).

Another perception is that people who report being victimized by crime lie for personal gain, to protect their reputations, or to be malicious toward another person. This perception is most frequently applied to rape victims and victims of domestic violence. However, sometimes the news media perpetuates this inaccurate perception by focusing its reports on those cases that are proven to be false. Popular television shows also have storylines that focus around false crime reports. Even though false reports of victimization do happen, most reported victimizations are valid. In the eyes of the public, however, victims of certain crimes are viewed with skepticism until it can be proven that they are telling the truth.

Sometimes, the perception of crime victims is influenced by personal characteristics of the victims, including sex and race. For example, male and female victims of crime are perceived differently by the public. This is particularly true when men are victims of crimes that traditionally target women. When men are sexually assaulted, society tends to perceive them as homosexual or weak. Male victims are not looked on with as much sympathy as

female victims, and this impacts the willingness of men to report their victimizations. Similarly, when men are victims of intimate partner violence, they are perceived as unmanly and unable to “control” their women. The same negative perception is not extended to male children, however, who are regarded sympathetically because they are not yet strong enough to avoid victimization. In contrast, whereas female victims are generally perceived as less deserving of their victimizations, particularly when the victimization is at the hands of males, on many occasions they are still blamed for what happened. This especially occurs when women step outside of society’s norms and roles for them. For example, society tends to hold women to a higher standard with regard to sexual activity, and when a sexually active woman is raped, society perceives this to be her fault because of her prior behavior.

Race has an impact on the public perception of crime victims. Whites tend to be perceived as less deserving of their victimizations than are people of other colors, races, and ethnicities. The American public views with much sympathy those crime victims in which Whites are victimized by people of other races and ethnicities. In comparison, the American public tends to view crime victims of minority races and ethnicities with less sympathy and sometimes believe they deserve their victimization. However, this sentiment is not extended to child and elderly victims of crime, who tend to be viewed with sympathy regardless of race or ethnicity.

Sexual orientation also has an impact on how victimization may be viewed by the American public. Homosexual victims of hate crimes are sometimes perceived as deserving of what happens to them because people disagree with their sexual orientation.

The biggest misperception about crime victims held by individual members of the American public is that they will never be one. People believe that crime in American society has increased but do not necessarily believe that they will experience a victimization. American people take many precautions against being a victim such as locking car doors, sleeping with the windows closed, and carrying protection such as mace or a firearm. In addition, people tend to believe that victimization occurs at the hands of strangers and only in areas of poverty. In reality, most victimization occurs

between people who know each other, and many property crimes occur in suburban areas. The belief that victimization “will not happen to me” contributes to blaming people for their victimizations. The public assumes that they would have acted more intelligently, therefore avoiding whatever circumstance contributed to the victimization and leading to negative judgments about people who are victimized.

Impact of Perceptions on Crime Victims

Crime victims are impacted by the perception of the American public in several ways. Victims of crime are aware of how they may be perceived and fear being judged negatively. This contributes to a reluctance to report their victimizations to the police or to other authorities. In addition, reporting victimization to the police may require that they testify in court, opening them up to public scrutiny if a jury trial occurs. People are also reluctant to seek assistance in healing psychologically from their victimizations because of the stigma that is attached to the act of seeking out mental health services. Sometimes the perceptions of crime victims can result in positive outcomes. If victims, and the offenders, fit the perceptions that the public holds, victims may be treated with more sympathy. There is a need to educate the general public about victimization to help them form more positive perceptions of crime victims, so that the victims can report their experiences without fear of judgment or poor treatment.

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See also Victim Blaming; Victim Precipitation

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PUNITIVE AND COMPENSATORY DAMAGES

Generally speaking, the law in America consists of two broad categories: civil law and criminal law. These two categories of law differ significantly. Although the civil law has many different subcategories, for the purposes of this entry, the phrase *civil law* will be used to refer to those civil law suits brought by victims to seek redress for acts committed by negligent or intentional acts by a responsible party resulting in damages to the victim. These redresses can include punitive damages, which are meant to punish the offender and to deter future offenses, and compensatory damages, which reimburse the victim for actual damages incurred.

Criminal and Civil Law

The purpose of the criminal law is to protect society from certain acts by the offender that are deemed so harmful that their commission merits official punishment, usually in the form of fines or imprisonment and, for serious violent crimes, even death. It is the state that brings criminal charges against a suspect and not the victim who makes such a decision. Although an individual victim can ask the police or the prosecutor to bring criminal charges, it is the prosecutor who has the sole discretion whether to bring or continue criminal charges. Sometimes, a victim of a crime is eligible for restitution, which is a form of compensatory damages, although it is labeled differently so as to prevent confusion with civil cases.

In contrast, the purpose of the civil law is to resolve disputes between individuals or private entities such as corporations. If a person has been found to violate the civil law through negligence or an intentional act, such as in a personal injury lawsuit resulting from a car accident, then that person, if responsible for the car accident, is usually required to pay damages to the victim. These damages can include compensatory damages but may also include punitive damages.

Damages

The basic form of damages is compensatory damages. Compensatory damages are meant to reimburse

the victim for actual damages suffered. Compensatory damages include payments for medical expenses, property damage, lost wages, and pain and suffering.

Punitive damages are different and are awarded to the victim to punish the offender. Also, the award of punitive damages is meant to deter the responsible party and other persons from repeating the same conduct. Usually, punitive damages cannot be awarded unless the responsible party has been found liable for the harm caused, whether by negligent or intentional conduct, and compensatory damages have been awarded.

There are exceptions to the prerequisite of an award of compensatory damages before punitive damages have been awarded. The major exception is an award of nominal damages. Nominal damages can be awarded when a responsible party has been found to violate certain laws but there were minimal or no actual damages to the victim. In such an event, an award of nominal damages, which usually consist of \$1, will be made. Sometimes, where there is an award of nominal damages, an award of punitive damages can be made. The justification for such an award is to recognize that a wrong had been committed and vindicate certain legal rights. This is usually done in suits for violation of civil rights. For example, when the police violate a victim's constitutional rights, but the victim has not suffered any medical, property, or economic damages and nominal damages have been awarded, punitive damages might be awarded to punish the police and deter the police from repeating the misconduct.

Punitive damages are not awarded in criminal cases; however, they can be awarded in civil cases. The rationale for not awarding punitive damages in criminal cases is that society is considered the victim, and not the individual person, and the punishment is expressed in terms of a fine payable to the state or imprisonment. In contrast, in a civil case, the victim is the person who brought suit and is usually the person who receives the payment of punitive damages.

Punitive damages in a civil case are usually not awarded and not even available to a victim where the responsible party has been merely negligent. Punitive damages are usually available or awarded where the conduct of the responsible party has been grossly negligent, intentional, egregious,

unconscionable, or outrageous. In such a situation, the jury is allowed to select an amount of money to be awarded as punitive damages.

The theory behind punitive damages is that it must be sufficient to punish and deter the responsible party and to place other parties on notice that such conduct will not be tolerated in the future. The general limitation is that the punitive damages should not be excessive. In the past few decades, tort reform has resulted in statutory limits on punitive damages in both the type of civil cases where punitive damages are available as well as the amount of punitive damages available.

As previously discussed, punitive damages are not available in criminal cases. However, victims of certain violent and property crimes are allowed to receive restitution from the offender. The restitution will usually be awarded to the victim as a part of the punishment of the offender at the sentencing phase of the offender's trial. Failure to pay the restitution may result in additional charges being brought against the offender. In the past few decades, the victims' rights movement has resulted in several statutory changes. Relative to violent crimes, many jurisdictions, in addition to allowing

restitution, now allow victims to present an impact statement at sentencing of the offenders.

However, victims of crimes are not limited to relying on just the criminal law and concurrent restitution to obtaining relief. Victims of crimes may also bring civil cases to obtain relief. For example, if a victim of an assault incurred medical expenses and lost wages, directly attributable to the assault, then the victim could bring suit against the offender to recover damages, even if the offender had been convicted of the crime.

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See also Civil Litigation; Deterrence; Restitution; Third-Party Lawsuits

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R

RACE/ETHNICITY AND VICTIMIZATION

This entry describes the empirical relationship between governmental statistics on crime victimization and the federally defined categories of race and ethnicity. Extant research suggests that criminal victimization in the United States varies with regard to officially established racial and ethnic categories in much the same way as with other issues such as employment, housing, income, wealth, health and education, and criminal offending. Official statistics collected by various federal agencies indicate that Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics are disproportionately overrepresented as victims of both violent and property crimes.

Definitions of Race/Ethnicity

The concept of *race* has generated considerable debate throughout our history. Definitions have ranged from a distinct objective biological taxonomy to the more social-cognitive approach. The latter approach understands race as a flexible and political social-cultural construct that treats physical differences as socially or culturally meaningful distinctions within and across historical contexts.

In the history of the United States, this racialization of the population was originally accomplished by dichotomizing citizens into categories of “White/Nonwhite” (i.e., English/non-English). After considerable iterations during the past 300 or 400 years (e.g., Asian Indians were considered as “Hindus”

in censuses from 1920 to 1940, as “White” from 1950 to 1970, and as “Asians or Pacific Islanders” in 1980 and 1990), the U.S. government through the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) now recognizes a minimum of five nonscientific categories for race: *American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander*, and *White*. In addition, respondents can select *one or more* of these racial categories to allow for multiracial self-identification. As of January 1, 2003, all current federal surveys must comply with the above 1997 revisions.

The concept of *ethnicity* typically refers to differences across groups in the form of cultural factors, such as language, religion, and nationality. Ethnicity is best defined as existing when a group of individuals are perceived by others as culturally different, while the group also perceives itself as culturally different and expresses these differences through shared cultural activities.

The federal government in Public Law 94-311 of June 16, 1976, established the necessity for the collection of information on ethnicity with regard to persons of Spanish origin or descent. Except for the 1930 census where “Mexican” was designated as a racial category, prior to 1980, those of Spanish origin and descent were generally categorized as “White.”

As adopted on May 12, 1977, in *Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting*, the bifurcated categorization of ethnicity of Hispanic (a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of

race) and non-Hispanic was initiated. This practice was modified in October 1997 with the requirement that ethnicity be represented by the minimum categories of *Hispanic or Latino* and *Not Hispanic or Latino* with no changes necessary to the definition.

Criminal Victimization Data Sources

Criminal victimization in the United States is principally examined by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) through the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Information on homicide victimization is collected by the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The first national victimization survey in the late 1960s was a pilot study that examined 10,000 households and was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the behest of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

In 1972, the National Crime Survey was instituted but was redesigned and renamed the NCVS in 1992. The survey publishes trend data on criminal victimizations (1972–2006) for the population as a whole based on a varying nationally representative sample of households. In 2003, the NCVS complied with the 1997 OMB guidelines for collecting data on race and ethnicity as part of government surveys, and it used the following racial categories: White only, Black only, other race only (American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian, and Pacific Islander if only one of these races is given), and two or more races (all persons of any race indicating two or more races). In regard to ethnicity, individuals are now asked directly if they are Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino. This self-identification of whether they are of Hispanic ethnicity is asked before being questioned about their race.

The FBI's SHR initiated in the 1960s collects data on murder and non-negligent manslaughter. Authorized by Title 28, Section 534, of the U.S. Code, these data rely on law enforcement agency submissions and include approximately 91% of homicides reported in the Uniform Crimes Reporting (UCR) Program and are often weighted to account for this discrepancy. Data in which a victim's death is caused by negligence, suicide, or accident; justifiable homicides; and attempts to murder are not included or are independently analyzed.

Race/Ethnicity and Violent Victimization

NCVS estimates of violent crime in 2006 indicate that the rates vary with racial categories. The ratio of White to Black violent victimization is 1 to 1.38, whereas the ratio of White to other races (American Indian, Eskimo, and Asian, Pacific Islander) is 1 to 0.79. When Whites are compared with the category of "Two or more races," the rates are 23.3 to 66.3 per 1,000 persons 12 years and older, which is a ratio of 1 to 2.85. Although the 2006 survey rates are not comparable because of methodological changes, the patterns noted in 2006 are similar to patterns exhibited in prior years. Estimates indicate that Hispanics report a slightly higher violent victimization rate compared with Non-Hispanics (27.7 to 24.2, respectively).

In 2006, SHR indicated that most of the 14,990 murder victims were Black (7,421). Whites represented approximately 46%, whereas "Other races" made up 2.7% of murder victims. In about 1.4% of the cases, the race of the victim was "unknown."

When homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault victimizations are combined, BJS (2008) reports that adjusted rates reflect since 1993 a ratio of Black to White serious violent victimization from a low in 2001 of 1.51:1 to a high of 2.09:1 in 2005. Trend data with regard to homicide victimization rates per 100,000 were highest in 1993, when the Black rate was 38.7, whereas the White rate was 5.3 and the "Other" rate was 5.5. From this point until 2005, rates for all three groups declined with a 2005 rate of 20.6 for Blacks, 3.3 for Whites, and 2.5 for "Other." Despite the decline, the rate of Black homicide victimization is disproportionately higher than the rates of both Whites and "Other."

Race/Ethnicity and Property Victimization

As is the case with violent victimization, property crimes tend to vary with the race of the head of the household. The rate of property victimization in 2006 was higher for Black households (185.6 per 1,000 households) relative to a rate of 156.7 for White households (1.18 to 1). "Other races" reported a lower rate (137.7) than both Whites and Blacks. The newly created racial category of "Two or more races" had the highest rate at 254.3 per 1,000 households.

Of the estimated 18,915,740 property crimes in 2006, approximately 16,247,000 were reported by Non-Hispanics. However, the rate of property victimization for Hispanic households was 211.7 compared to a rate of 154.7 for Non-Hispanics. This pattern held for all categories of property crime victimization with the exception of "completed theft less than \$50" (rate of 31.2 for Hispanics and 32.7 for Non-Hispanics).

Race/Ethnicity and Bias-Motivated Victimization

The FBI and NCVS also collect data on hate crimes. In the late 1970s, lawmakers responded to a perceived escalation in hate- or bias-motivated crime. Recognizing the aggravated nature and potential for social disruption when violence is motivated by bigotry, the passage of federal hate crime legislation treated bias-motivated offenses as a special class with enhanced penalties.

Hate crime refers to a criminal act committed against persons or property that is motivated by an offender's bias against the victim's race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or disability. An ordinary crime is classified as a hate crime when offenders select victims on the basis of a characteristic or affiliation and announce their motives either verbally or with recognizable symbols of group prejudice.

The Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 authorized the FBI UCR Program to collect national data on bias-motivated crimes reported to police. The NCVS provides another source of national data on hate crime victimizations. Primary sources of hate crime data are summarized in the annual UCR Program publications of *Hate Crime Statistics* and the BJS supplemental report on *Hate Crimes Reported by Police and Victims*.

The UCR Program collects data on single-bias and multiple-bias hate crimes. In 2006, participating law enforcement agencies reported 7,722 hate crime incidents involving 9,080 offenses. Hate crimes require that one or more perpetrator(s) commit crime(s) violence against a person or place the victim in reasonable fear of physical injury. Corroborating evidence of the offender's intention or prejudice is required for hate crime designations. For example, derogatory language used by the offender in crimes of racial or ethnic intimidation and violence are needed to classify victimizations

as hate crimes. In cases involving the destruction, damage, or vandalism of property, hate symbols and messages would provide supporting evidence of bias.

An analysis of single-bias hate crimes offenses in 2006 indicates that 52.2% were motivated by racial bias relative to 13.6% that were motivated by an ethnic or national origin prejudice. Of the 4,737 racially biased incidents reported to law enforcement agencies, 66.2% were motivated by an anti-Black bias, whereas 21.3% were motivated by anti-White sentiments. With regard to the 1,233 offenses committed based on perceived ethnic/national origin of the victim, 62.3% were directed at Hispanic victims, whereas 37.6% targeted victims of other ethnic/national origins.

The BJS report, *Crime in the United States*, from 2006 indicates that most hate-motivated crimes were against persons (60%), whereas about 39.4% were crimes against property. Bias-motivated destruction/damage/vandalism of property constituted 31.1% of all hate crime offenses. Of the hate-motivated offenses against persons, 46% were intimidation, 31.9% were simple assaults, 21.6% were aggravated assaults, and 0.2% were homicides and/or forcible rapes.

Crime in the United States indicates that most (81.1%) of the 3,593 hate-motivated property crimes were acts of destruction, damage, or vandalism. The remaining property offenses (19%) consisted of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, and other crimes.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Hate and Bias Crime; Immigration and Victimization; Victimology

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RAPE

The original common law definition of rape in the United States was unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman by force and against her will. By definition, only a male could perpetrate rape and only females could be victimized by rape. This early definition also limited rape to penile penetration of the vagina. Under the common law, a husband was exempt from being charged with rape against his wife.

Throughout the mid-1960s and 1970s, women and victim advocates called for rape law reform and state legislatures began to revise rape statutes. Today, rape statutes include males and females as both possible perpetrators and victims. In most states, other forms of penetration (e.g., anal) have been included in revisions and the marital exemption has been repealed. Most states also ended the requirement that the alleged rape victim produce corroborating evidence to the crime.

Rape occurs when certain legal requirements are met, as set forth by the state where the event took place. Rape involves nonconsensual contact between the penis and the vulva or penetration of the anus, however slight; contact between the mouth and the penis, vulva, or anus; or penetration of the genital or anal opening of another person with a finger, hand, or other object (e.g., bottle or gun). Contact or penetration must be achieved without the victim's consent or involve a victim who cannot consent or refuse. Inability to consent to sexual activity

could occur because of age, illness, disability, being asleep, or the influence of alcohol or other drugs. Inability to refuse could result from the use of physical force (e.g., a weapon or bodily weapon such as hands) or threat to use force.

A typology can guide the classification of conditions of rape based on the victim's inability to provide consent to sexual contact or intercourse. Forcible rape involves penetration that occurs when an offender uses or threatens to use physical force. Physical force may involve holding the victim down or other forms of violence (e.g., grabbing, hitting, and slapping). Incapacitated rape occurs when the victim is not capable of consenting because of the effects of alcohol or drugs or is otherwise incapacitated, such as being unconscious or asleep.

Incapacitated rape also can be classified into drug-facilitated rape, alcohol and/or other drug-enabled rape, and other incapacitated rape. Drug-facilitated rape occurs when a victim cannot provide consent after deliberately being given alcohol, a drug, or other intoxicant without the victim's knowledge or consent. Consumption can be achieved surreptitiously or deceptively; he or she unknowingly consumes alcohol, a drug, or other intoxicant that inhibits the victim's ability to consent. Accounts of offenders "slipping" a drug, such as Rohypnol (flunitrazepam, also commonly known as the date rape drug) or GHB (gamma hydroxybutyric acid), into a victim's beverage fall into this category. Alcohol and/or other drug-enabled rape occurs when the victim cannot consent because of voluntary or self-induced consumption of alcohol, a drug, or other intoxicant. Other incapacitated rape happens when the victim is asleep or unconscious for reasons other than the use of alcohol, a drug, or other intoxicant.

One form of rape that does not involve force is statutory rape. Statutory rape occurs when a victim is under the legal age of consent and, as a result, cannot engage in consensual sex. The current minimum age of consent ranges from 14 to 18 years of age, depending on the state. In some states, individuals under the age of consent are legally unable to consent to sexual contact or intercourse; therefore, any sexual acts would be illegal. Some states have laws that are age-graded—the difference in ages between the two individuals dictates whether the action is considered statutory rape.

Incidence and Prevalence

Numerous data sources can be used to determine the incidence (the proportion of incidents) and prevalence (the proportion of victims) of rape. There are two annual sources of rape statistics in the United States: (1) the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and (2) the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The UCR Program is a measure of the crimes reported to and recorded by law enforcement. Each year, police departments voluntarily compile their local crime reports and submit them to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which then annually publishes *Crime in the United States*. One of the crimes measured by the UCR Program is forcible rape. Forcible rape, as defined in the UCR Program, is the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. In 2007, 90,427 forcible rapes were estimated to be known to the police, which results in a rape rate of 59.1 offenses per 100,000 female inhabitants of the United States.

Rape typically goes unreported to the police. A more accurate estimate of the extent of rape has been determined via self-report surveys that ask a sample of respondents about their victimization experiences. The NCVS is a survey of households that asks individuals about their victimization experiences. According to the NCVS in 2007, there were 248,300 rapes and sexual assaults, with a rate of 1.0 per 1,000 persons 12 years and older.

Government agencies in the United States, such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the National Institute of Justice, have periodically funded national victimization studies. The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) reported that approximately 17% of women and 3% of men have experienced at least one rape during their lifetime. In the mid-2000s, Dean Kilpatrick and his colleagues developed a national study of drug-facilitated, incapacitated, and forcible rape. Their findings indicate that 18% of women have been raped during their lifetime, with 14.5% having experienced forcible rape and 5% having experienced drug-facilitated or incapacitated rape.

Another source of the scope of rape can be found in studies of college women. The National College Women Sexual Victimization (NCWSV) study reported that about 5% of college women

are raped, which may seem to be a small percentage until the college career is considered. When this statistic is extrapolated, between one fifth and one quarter of college women experience forcible rape during the course of their undergraduate college career, which on average lasts 5 years.

Repeat Rape

Research shows that many women experience more than one rape during their lifetime, either as a child or as an adult. Prior sexual victimization is a strong predictor of future sexual victimization, including rape. This recurrence of sexual victimization can occur across different developmental time periods (i.e., once in childhood and again in adulthood) or within the same developmental time period (twice during adulthood).

Leah Daigle and colleagues reported that women who were raped in the previous 12-month period averaged 2.9 rapes, whereas men averaged 1.2 rapes. Research from their NCWSV study has shown that 23% of women were repeated rape victims during the course of approximately 7 months. They also reported that repeat rape victims experience a disproportionate amount of all rapes that occur; slightly less than one fourth of the repeat rape victims experienced close to 40% of all the rapes. Subsequent rapes are likely to happen fairly soon after the initial rape. In fact, 48% of the subsequent rapes happen within the same month as the initial rape.

Rape Rates Over Time

The UCR Program estimates of forcible rape indicate that rape rates peaked during early 1990s (42.8 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1992) and steadily declined throughout the remaining 1990s and into the new decade (30.0 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2007). From 1998 to 2007, estimated rape rates decreased 2.9%, with a 3.7% decline from 2003 to 2007.

In 1995, the NCVS estimates show that rape rates were at or near a 23-year low; rape rates for 1995 were significantly lower than the adjusted rates for 1973. Rape rates have continued to decrease from 2.5 per 1,000 persons 12 years and older in 1993 to less than 1 per 1,000 persons 12 years and older in 2005. From 1993 to 2001, the NCVS rape rate decreased by 62.5%.

Measuring How Much Rape Occurs

One of the most controversial topics with the study of rape is counting who experienced rape victimization and who did not. The UCR Program can be used as an indication of the amount of rape that becomes known to the police in a given year. The UCR Program is notorious for its underestimating the amount of rape, mainly because many women do not report being raped to the police.

To glean a more valid estimate of the extent to which rape occurs, others have developed and relied on self-report surveys. Behaviorally specific questions that are based on legal definitions of rape are used in survey questions to obtain a valid measure of rape victimization. For example, descriptive language is used to describe acts that constitute rape. Beginning with Diane Russell's work in the early 1980s, others have used such questions. Mary Koss developed the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) to measure the incidence of victimization and perpetration of rape and other forms of unwanted sexual experiences. Since rape consists of penetration, force, or threat of force that is achieved without consent, Koss included elements of each in her questions designed to measure rape. Penetration is measured by asking about sexual intercourse and sex acts (anal or oral intercourse or penetration by objects other than the penis). Force or threat of force was conceived as physical force such as twisting an arm and other examples of physical force. Finally, lack of consent was defined for the respondent as "when you didn't want to." Lack of consent also was measured by asking the respondent if she had sex when she did not want to because a man gave her alcohol or drugs. A woman is considered having experienced rape if she answered affirmatively to any of the three questions that measured rape. Koss and others noted sexual victimization researchers revised the SES in 2007 to include more behavioral specificity, to convert to gender neutrality, and to revise and update wording for assessing consent and alcohol-related incidents.

The SES has been widely used, and other national-level surveys such as the National Women's Study and the NVAWS also have used behaviorally specific questions to measure forcible rape. Another approach has been to use a two-stage measurement process such as the one used in

the NCVS. Respondents are asked a wide range of victimization screen questions with short behavioral-specific cues, including "forced or coerced," "sexual acts," and prompting with specific types of possible offenders (e.g., casual acquaintance or someone you know well). If an affirmative response to experiencing this behavior is given, the interviewer completes a detailed incident report. In an incident report, respondents are asked about the perpetrator's force or coercion and the degree of the behavior experienced (e.g., threatened, attempted, or completed). It is within the incident report that the type of rape, if any, gets classified. The NCWSV also used a two-stage measurement strategy modeled after the NCVS.

Characteristics of Rape

Injury

More than 20% of males and 30% of adult female rape victims in the NVAWS reported that the offender threatened to kill or harm them; only a small proportion of rape victims reported serious physical injury in addition to the rape. Rapes that occur in the context of a date or another existing relationship are less likely to result in serious physical injury than rapes perpetrated by a stranger. More than one third of rape victims in the NVAWS reported experiencing some form of physical assault in addition to the rape itself, most commonly being slapped or hit. During the rape, victims may experience trauma to their genitals or anus from the penetration or other physical injury, such as bruises, cuts, and scrapes. Even though several victims report being injured, only about one third of those who reported being injured sought medical treatment for those injuries. In a very small percentage of cases, the rape can result in death.

Weapon

Most rapists do not use a weapon during the incident, although if a weapon is used, it is most likely to be a firearm. Offenders are less likely to use other forms of weapons such as knives or other objects. NCVS data indicate that about one third of rapes and sexual assaults involve any weapon. Of the incidents in which the

offender did use a weapon, the offender used a handgun in one in five incidents and a knife in 5% of incidents.

Location

Most rapes occur in private settings (e.g., a residence). The NCVS reported that rapes were most commonly perpetrated while the victim was participating in leisure or other activities away from home or while asleep. The NCWSV study reported that a large proportion of college women who are raped were raped in living quarters, such as a dorm room or apartment.

Time of Day

Most rapes occur in the evening hours. Most of the sexual victimizations reported in the NCVS occurred between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. For college women in the NCWSV study, more than half of rapes occurred after midnight, whereas few occurred during the day.

Alcohol and Drug Use

There is a strong correlation between alcohol and drug use and rape victimization and perpetration. In the NVAWS, almost two thirds of the women who were raped as adults indicated that the offender was under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the incident. Drug and alcohol use is also not uncommon on the part of the victim. According to the NVAWS, almost 20% of women and 38% of the men raped as adults reportedly had used alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the victimization.

For college women, alcohol use has been reported as a risk factor for rape victimization, perhaps because of the party culture commonly associated with college campuses. Alcohol use has been identified as a general risk factor for college women being victimized. Women who drink more frequently are more likely to be sexually victimized than women who drink less frequently or not at all. A large number of studies of college students and young adults have reported that roughly half of all rapes experienced involved alcohol use voluntarily or unknowingly consumed by the perpetrator, the victim, or both.

Number of Perpetrators

Most rapes that occur are perpetrated by a single offender. In this way, rapes typically involve one offender and one victim. Multiple perpetrators sometimes do offend (e.g., gang rape), but these incidents are not the norm.

Who Is the Offender?

There is no single identifying characteristic of individuals who rape. Rapists can be anyone. Some patterns can be identified in terms of who is arrested for committing rapes and who is identified as being the offender via victim surveys. Arrest reports from the UCR Program indicate that most persons who are arrested for forcible rape are White males who are between the ages of 18 and 30 years old. Less than 2% of arrests for rape are made against females. Victim reports of the offender also reveal a similar pattern. According to the NCVS, most single-offender rapes are perpetrated by young, White males.

Even though rape is often thought of as a crime of violence in which a person is attacked in a dark, secluded place by a stranger, rapes are most commonly perpetrated by someone who is known to the victim. The NCVS consistently has reported that more than half of the offenders include friends, dating partners, and casual acquaintances; about 30% of offenders are strangers to the victim. Findings from the NVAWS support this victim-offender relationship pattern in that most rape victims know their rapist. Less than one quarter of rapes are perpetrated by a stranger. Females in the NVAWS reported being raped most commonly by a current or former intimate partner, whereas acquaintances were most likely to be the perpetrators of rapes of males. College women are also most likely to be raped by someone they know, most commonly a boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, classmate, friend, acquaintance, or co-worker.

Who Is the Victim?

Although rape can happen to anyone, some people are at greater risk than others. Across the life course, females are much more likely to experience rape than males. This is not to say that males are not raped; however, most rapes are perpetrated against females.

Young persons are more likely to be raped than older individuals. Females and males are at an increased risk of being raped when they are younger than 18 years old. More than half of female victims and almost three fourths of male victims in the NVAWS were raped for the first time before turning 18. Risk of first rape is next highest for individuals between the ages of 18 and 24 years. When all rapes were examined, women were equally likely to be raped before turning 18 as after. Males are more likely to be raped as a child (under the age of 12 years) than at any other stage in their lifetime. Women who are unmarried, who live in low-income families, who are unemployed, and who reside in metropolitan areas are more likely to experience rape than women who are not similarly situated.

Persons of certain race or ethnicity are more at risk than others of experiencing rape. Minority women and men are more likely to be raped than nonminorities. American Indian/Alaska Native women are more likely to experience rape than women from other types of background.

Responses to Rape

Resistance

Many victims have reported that they attempted to stop the incident from occurring or being completed by using resistance or self-protective action. Self-protective actions are typically categorized into one of four categories based on the amount of force involved and whether it was verbal or physical. Forceful physical self-protective actions are those that are active and aggressive, such as punching, biting, and scratching. Using a weapon to resist would also be considered forceful physical. Nonforceful physical self-protective actions are passive, such as fleeing or pulling away. Forceful verbal self-protective actions are active strategies that are employed to scare the offender or to get the attention of others. Yelling and screaming are examples of this type of self-protective action. Nonforceful verbal self-protective actions are nonaggressive verbal actions, which include pleading with, talking to, and begging the offender.

Generally, women employ at least one of these self-protective actions during a rape, with three

fourths of women having used self-protective actions during the course of a rape. Forceful actions, particularly those involving physical resistance, are most commonly used by rape victims. The type of self-protective action used is important because different types are effective at reducing the likelihood that a victim will be injured and/or that the incident will be completed. Research suggests that self-protective actions are most useful when they are in parity with the amount of force used by the offender. Since rape by definition involves force or the threat of force, forceful strategies are most associated with rape avoidance.

Acknowledgment of Rape

Research has shown that not all victims whose experience meets the legal definition of rape acknowledge that they are rape victims. For example, in the NCWSV study, less than half of the completed rape victims considered the incident to be a rape. Acknowledgment is important for several reasons. Persons who acknowledge that they have been raped may begin a process of healing and recovery, although there is not a consensus regarding the psychological benefit of acknowledgment. Acknowledged rape victims may seek help from outside sources such as their friends, family, or formal services. Persons who do not think they have suffered a rape are unlikely to report their victimization to the police, thus precluding arrest or prosecution of their offenders and being able to access other resources such as a victim-witness assistance program.

Reporting

Despite its seriousness and the harsh penalties associated with rape in our criminal justice system, rape is one of the most underreported victimizations. For college women, less than 5% of rapes are reported to the police. Victims in the community are also unlikely to come forward to the police about their rape. According to the NCVS, only about one third of rapes are reported to the police. Rape victims, however, typically disclose their experience to someone, even if it is not the police. College women overwhelmingly tell a friend about their rape. Family members and help-providers are also people victims talk to about their rape.

There are many reasons why rape victims do not make a formal report to the police. Victims from community samples indicate that most commonly they did not report to the police because the rape was a personal matter, they feared reprisal from the offender, they felt the police were biased, and they were unsure the incident was a crime or that harm was intended. Similar reasons have been given by college women.

Sexual Assault Response Team and Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners

Community outreach to rape victims can include the availability of a sexual assault response team (SART)—a coordinated multidisciplinary community, including law enforcement, victim advocates, and forensic nurses—to provide emotional and mental support; sometimes SARTs are located in rape crisis or women's centers. Sexual assault nurse examiners (SANEs) can perform a sexual assault forensic examination to detect physical oral, anal, and vaginal injuries that can be admitted into legal proceedings as evidence. Marilyn Sommers and her colleagues note the implications of SANE for the criminal justice system; research that has shown injury plays a significant role in a rape case from the victim's decision to report to law enforcement, to the prosecutor's decision to bring the case to court, to the arrest and conviction of the accused.

Effects of Rape

Rape victims often experience a range of negative effects from the incident. In addition to physical injury, rape victims often report experiencing emotional and psychological problems after the rape. Rape victims often experience elevated levels of anxiety and depression as well as report experiencing problems interacting socially. It is also not uncommon for rape victims to experience disturbances in their sexual functioning. Many victims find it difficult to be intimate, even within committed relationships, whereas others may increase their level of sexual activity. Victims may experience negative effects in terms of their worldview and of themselves. Being a rape victim may change the way in which persons view their own vulnerability in that they may no longer see themselves as impervious to victimization. They may also feel as

though they are not able to control what happens to them. Another common occurrence is victims blaming themselves for their own victimization. Instead of recognizing that the blame for their rape lies with the offender, rape victims often scrutinize their own behavior and take on the responsibility. Another psychological consequence of being raped can be posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

As a result of the physical and psychological impact of rape, some victims seek assistance from mental health professionals. About one third of the women and one fourth of the men in the NVAWS who were raped received mental health counseling. Also, economic and social losses often accompany rape. About one tenth of rape victims report some form of economic loss because of their victimization. The NCVS shows that about 12% of victims reported loss of time from work. Of those rape victims, the majority missed between 1 and 5 days of work. The NVAWS also reveals that rape often carries consequences that impact everyday life. Loss of time in social and recreational activities, school, and volunteer work also sometimes occurs.

Rape Victims and the Criminal Justice System

Historically, rape victims have had a tenuous relationship with the criminal justice system. As noted, many rape victims do not report their experience to the police—sometimes because of their suspicion about how they will be treated by the police and the larger criminal justice system. This worry is likely not without basis, since accusations of rape were often met with open skepticism and disbelief. A reflection of this disbelief is observed in how rape victims were treated under the law and how conviction of the accused was difficult to achieve. A woman originally had to be able to show that she forcefully resisted her attacker to secure a conviction against her offender, but most states no longer require that a woman prove she physically rebuked the perpetrator.

In the past, rapes also had to be corroborated. Independent evidence had to be introduced into the case that corroborated the key elements of the woman's account of what transpired. Corroboration could include medical evidence, forensic evidence, physical injury, eyewitness testimony, testimony from someone who had promptly been told of the incident, and signs of struggle. What was problematic is that

many women do not experience serious physical injury, most rapes take place without third parties present, and physical evidence may be lacking. Corroboration laws also implicitly signal the victim that her testimony alone is not credible, which may further dissuade the victim from reporting the rape.

Since the 1970s, rape law reforms have been undertaken, and currently, many protections are afforded to rape victims in the criminal justice system, such as corroboration laws being redacted or relaxed. Rape shield laws are now in place to protect a woman during the course of a criminal trial. These laws generally prevent defense attorneys from using as evidence a woman's prior sexual conduct during the trial unless the woman and perpetrator had engaged in sexual conduct prior to the alleged incident or if she has obvious incentive to lie. These laws allow the judge to make admissibility determinations regarding the victim's past in a closed setting and provide the judge with legal justification for preventing such testimony. The name and identity of rape complainants are routinely kept out of the news, with many newspapers, radio stations, and television stations having policies that protect individuals from unwanted media exposure.

Other elements of the system have also been reformed to address the unique needs of rape victims. Many police departments train officers in how to interview victims of sexual assault and rape, as well as have specialized sex crime units. Many police departments also have Victim Assistance Programs that assist victims and their families as they navigate the criminal justice system. These types of programs are also often found within prosecutor's offices as are sex crimes units with specially trained lawyers.

Rape Prevention and Risk Reduction

Many rape prevention and risk reduction programs have been implemented, especially at post-secondary institutions that receive federal financial aid; for them, rape prevention programs are mandated by the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act. It is not too surprising then that most of the few evaluations that have been completed have been conducted with college students.

These programs primarily focus on changing rape and rape-related attitudes, rape knowledge

and intended behavior, incidence of rape, rape empathy, and rape awareness behaviors. Linda Anderson and Susan Whitson's meta-analysis of 69 studies concluded that the latter two outcomes did not have average effects sizes that significantly differed from zero; all other outcomes had significant average effect sizes. Kimberly Lonsway and her colleagues argue that effective rape prevention takes place by changing men's behavior since they are the primary rape offenders, as well as by educating women as to how to deter rape through reducing an individual's vulnerability to high-risk situations.

Rape Prevention for Men

Only a small percentage of rape prevention programs target how men can prevent rape, and few evaluations of these programs exist. A few programs have demonstrated success in changing men's beliefs and attitudes regarding rape, but the lack of long-term stability of attitude changes is relatively unknown.

Risk Reduction Programs for Women

Education programs, especially those with a self-defense component, show some promise of reducing the risk of rape. Collectively these programs suggest three stages of resistance: (1) assess the situation as potentially dangerous, (2) acknowledge the situation as a potential rape, and (3) act with active resistance strategies. Such programs would include educating women how to recognize vulnerable situations and teaching skills about how to implement specific resistance techniques (e.g., forceful physical techniques).

Program for Both Sexes

One promising avenue for rape reduction is to focus on men and women as bystanders and as agents to change social norms in a peer culture that supports abusive language and behavior. Men and women engage in education and skills practice to teach them reactive interventions after a rape occurs and proactive interventions in high-risk situations such as friends who express sexist comments or try to take an unwilling or drunk person to a secluded location.

Few evaluations of bystander programs have been conducted, but the results to date are encouraging. Victoria Banyard and her colleagues provided the first

empirical evidence that a bystander intervention for sexual victimization prevention resulted in significant and sustained changes in knowledge, attitudes, and bystander behaviors in both men and women.

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See also Intimate Partner Violence; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape, Marital; Rape, Protection Against; Rape, Theories of; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Rape and Consent Issues; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of; Rape Crisis Centers; Rape Law Reform; Rape Myths; Rape Shield Laws; Rape Trauma Syndrome; Repeat Victimization; Revictimization; Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE); Sexual Assault Response Team (SART); Treating Rapists/Sex Offenders; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program; Victim Blaming

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RAPE, ACQUAINTANCE AND DATE

Acquaintance rape and *date rape* are terms describing rape that occurs between people who know each other. In this entry, the term *rape* includes

nonconsensual sexual intercourse and other non-consensual sexual acts. Acquaintance and date rape are the most common forms of sexual victimization, and it is estimated that between 60% and 80% of rape victims know their rapists. Although these forms of rape have been brought closer to the forefront of societal issues since the 1980s, much controversy surrounds them. Most cases of acquaintance and date rape are never brought to the attention of the police, and even fewer are prosecuted. Some victims never seek emotional or psychological assistance in healing from a rape and frequently keep it a lifelong secret. One fact that research has established is that most victims of acquaintance and date rape are women, and most perpetrators of these crimes are male. Because of the high number of victimizations and the seriousness of the crime, acquaintance and date rape are salient issues in victimology and crime prevention.

Defining Acquaintance and Date Rape

Although the terms are used interchangeably, acquaintance and date rape represent two different relationships between the people involved in a rape. Acquaintance rape occurs between people who know each other, but who are not in a dating relationship. The people can be friends, co-workers, neighbors, schoolmates, or in other relationships that do not involve dating. Date rape occurs between people who are on a single date or who are in a dating relationship involving multiple dates. If the relationship has developed into a more serious commitment, then the term *intimate partner violence* tends to be used to define any type of violence that occurs within that relationship, including rape and other forms of sexual assault. Rape and sexual assault are frequently used in dating and intimate relationships by one person to gain or maintain power and control over the other person.

Anyone can be a victim of acquaintance and date rape; however, women are the most frequent victims, and men are the most frequent perpetrators of these crimes. This does not preclude males from being victims and females from being perpetrators. It also does not preclude acquaintance and date rape from happening in same-sex relationships. However, the female victim-male perpetrator dyad in the crime is the most commonly reported. Some age groups of women are at a

higher risk for victimization than are others. In particular, younger women, ages 12 to 24 years, are a high-risk group. This risk is partly because of their life activities, which for this age group includes dating and socializing in a variety of settings, and their perceived vulnerability by offenders. As a result, acquaintance rape prevention education programs in junior high schools, high schools, and colleges frequently emphasize personal safety in addition to having healthy relationships.

Prevalence and Incidence

Although the estimates vary, it is accepted that acquaintance and date rape have impacted millions of people over their lifetimes. Estimates of the prevalence and incidence of acquaintance and date rape come from many sources, including the federal government, state governments, and studies conducted by academic researchers. The prevalence of rape is the number of people victimized within a given time frame. The incidence of rape is the number of total incidents experienced by all victims within a given time frame. The incidence of rape is higher than the prevalence because some people are victimized multiple times, usually by the same person. *The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape* conducted by Mary Koss is generally recognized as the first major study examining date and acquaintance rape in detail. It is from this study that the oft-cited "one in four" statistic emerged—one in four women in this study had been victims of a rape or an attempted rape. This statistical estimate of acquaintance and date rape has remained steady through many years of research. This study also revealed that more than 80% of these women knew the person who raped or attempted to rape them, which is another statistic that has been consistent across many studies.

Estimates of the prevalence and incidence of rape differ across studies because of the varying methodology in gathering the information. Some studies ask general questions regarding rape experiences, whereas other studies ask more specific questions. Studies with specific questions tend to have higher estimates of the prevalence and incidence of these forms of rape because people do not have to self-identify as rape victims. Self-identification occurs when people affirm they have

been raped based on their views of what acts constitute rape. More specific questions address a variety of sexual activities that may be illegal but that person being interviewed may not identify as rape or otherwise illegal. Some people do not identify as rape victims because their experience does not match their perception of “real rape,” which is frequently similar to the stereotypical view of rape described later in this entry. As a consequence, many people who were raped by a date or an acquaintance would likely answer negatively to this question because they may think rape only happens by a stranger.

A Societal Issue

Rape has always occurred in society, but it was not openly discussed until the 1970s. Anti-rape movements began to bring attention to the way victims were treated within the criminal justice system, and educational efforts began to focus on dispelling myths about rape. Many of these myths stem from gender roles and stereotypes that exist in society and are directly related to acquaintance and date rape. Gender roles and stereotypes are beliefs about how males and females should act. They are impressed on people beginning at birth—girls traditionally wear pink clothing and are encouraged to play with dolls; boys traditionally wear blue clothing and are encouraged to play with trucks. Many of these gender roles and accompanying rape myths are about expected sexual behaviors. One such gender stereotype is that women are supposed to be sexually discrete, whereas men should be sexually aggressive. Related, women are supposed to maintain their sexual integrity until they are married, whereas men are expected to engage in premarital sex. Women are also taught to be polite and to avoid conflict, whereas males are encouraged to pursue and solve problems aggressively. These gender roles and rape myths contribute to creating circumstances where people are at risk for being raped and to rape.

Despite educational efforts, society still tends to have a stereotypical view of rape as something that happens between strangers, and this is considered “real rape.” This view generally consists of an unknown person, a male stranger, who attacks an unsuspecting woman. This view persists even though it has been consistently demonstrated that most

people who are raped or otherwise sexually assaulted know their attacker(s). Another myth that society believes in is that victims of rape will suffer extreme injuries such as broken bones and cuts because of the use of physical force by the rapist that is in response to victim resistance. However, most victims are not physically injured, and although most resist, fear usually results in compliance and submission to the will of the rapist. The result of these faulty beliefs is that when acquaintance and date rapes do not fit the scenario, doubt is cast on the credibility of the victim and the accusation of rape.

At the core of the discussion about acquaintance and date rape is the issue of consent. Many times these rapes are referred to as “he said, she said” cases because one person says that the sexual activity was not consensual, whereas the other person says the sexual activity was consensual. Acquaintance and date rape are often viewed by society as instances of miscommunication between sexual partners, suggesting that one or both people involved did not accurately or clearly communicate their desires with regard to which sexual activities were consensual and which were not consensual. In understanding acquaintance and date rape, it is helpful to distinguish among the terms *compliance*, *submission*, and *consent*. Compliance means to do something even if a person does not agree with the activity, submitting means not having enough power or strength to resist, and consenting means actively agreeing to participate in an activity. A rape victim’s compliance with or submission to sexual acts is sometimes confused with consent and is used to place blame on the victim for the rape. Victims may comply and submit to nonconsensual sexual activity out of fear of what will happen to them if they do not.

Even more frequently, acquaintance and date rape is viewed by society as an instance of a woman regretting consensual activity. This perception paints women as vindictive, fickle, and/or unwilling or unable to handle the consequences of having sex. Women are often accused of “crying rape” in an effort to protect their reputations and to avoid being labeled as sexually promiscuous. These perceptions are related to the gender norms and stereotypes that serve to pigeonhole men and women into roles created by the larger society, and make the prevention and prosecution of acquaintance and date rape difficult.

The Criminal Justice System

Victims of acquaintance and date rape usually do not tell anyone they have been assaulted. Those who do will usually confide first in a friend or family member and rarely report the crime to the police. Very few acquaintance and date rapes are prosecuted because of the difficulty of proving them in court when the only evidence is often testimony from the victim and the suspect. Sometimes victims of acquaintance and date rape are not treated well by the police and other components of the criminal justice system. A victim's character is often called into question during trials, and defense attorneys attempt to discredit victims by discussing their sexual histories. One goal of the anti-rape movement is to improve the treatment of women who report their rapes. One accomplishment was the passing of rape shield laws, which prohibits certain types of testimony from being entered into evidence at trial. Disallowed information includes the victim's sexual history unless that history includes prior consensual sexual activity with the person being accused of rape. Although rape shield laws protect victims in many instances, they are not foolproof, and their use cannot be guaranteed. It is this negative treatment that has led to the criminal justice experience being called a "second rape" for victims.

Impact on Victims

The impact of acquaintance and date rape on victims reaches far beyond the event itself, and these feelings and experiences are collectively referred to as Rape Trauma Syndrome. During a rape, victims may feel fear that they are going to die, feel out of control of their bodies, and feel shock and disbelief that someone they trusted could hurt them in such a way. Many victims feel they contributed to the rape through their behavior, making it their fault. For example, victims who have been drinking alcohol may feel this is the reason they were assaulted. Victims may also feel shame, embarrassment, confusion, anxiety, guilt, and humiliation. These feelings impact the decision to tell someone else about the rape, and whether to report to the police and go forward with criminal charges.

Victims sometimes have fears that they will be raped again, and they may take steps to prevent this from happening such as purchasing a handgun

or taking self-defense classes. Victims may have bad dreams, difficulty eating, problems sleeping, and may be afraid to be alone. Some victims have difficulty functioning at work or at school. Personal relationships can be deeply affected by rape. Victims of acquaintance and date rape may have difficulty trusting other people, particularly men that they know, and may experience problems with having consensual sexual relations. Some victims will use alcohol or drugs to cope with their feelings, and sometimes they will self-injure themselves. Victims of acquaintance and date rape should be encouraged to seek professional assistance in recovering from the trauma.

There can be social ramifications for victims of acquaintance and date rape. High-school and college students who are raped may be ostracized from their peer groups. It is not uncommon for people to spread rumors about the victim in an effort to protect the perpetrator. It is difficult for people to believe that someone they know could be a rapist, and it is easier to blame the victim for what happened. These ramifications can happen at a victim's place of employment as well. Sometimes victims transfer schools or find a new job to avoid the negative atmosphere.

Alcohol and Drug Use

Alcohol is a common factor in acquaintance and date rapes, and it is frequently used by rapists to justify their actions and blame victims for the rape. Rapists can claim that they are not responsible for their actions because they were intoxicated. They can also use the victim's alcohol use as a way to call her character into question. Sometimes acquaintance and date rapists use drugs to facilitate the rape. Gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB) rohypnol, ketamine, and other drugs with sedative properties cause symptoms similar to intoxication, which can make it difficult for a person to know whether she has been drugged, particularly if she has also been drinking. In addition, the effects of the drugs happen quickly, and there is little time to seek help once the victim realizes she has been drugged. The drugs leave little toxicology evidence behind and cause memory loss. These characteristics make them attractive to sex offenders. It is illegal to have sex with someone who is intoxicated or under the influence of drugs, because an

intoxicated person cannot legally give consent to sexual intercourse or other sexual activity.

Prevention

Unlike other crimes that can sometimes be prevented through altering the environment (such as removing shrubbery from around the windows or installing exterior lighting around a house to reduce the risk of burglary), the prevention of acquaintance and date rape relies largely on shifting cultural values and norms about sexual violence. As such, the prevention of acquaintance and date rape is largely accomplished through educational programs for both females and males. These programs encourage adopting belief systems that do not support sexual violence, provide information about the characteristics of healthy and unhealthy relationships, and encourage open communication and communicating sexual boundaries with dating and intimate partners. Other programs emphasize personal safety, including recognizing the warning signs of a potentially physically and sexually abusive relationship, encouraging the use of the buddy system when attending social functions, limiting alcohol consumption, and discouraging the use of illegal drugs.

Internet dating sites, social networking sites, and chat rooms are now prominent media that people use for dating and socializing. In many ways, the Internet has replaced the "bar scene" of prior generations as a primary means of meeting new people and advancing a person's romantic and social lives. People can use the Internet without leaving their homes, and they can screen multiple people at one time to determine whom they want to meet. However, the anonymity of the Internet has worked to create its own form of risk when dating and socializing using these media. A person can create an identity that is completely fictional or at least not entirely accurate. As a result, several cases of acquaintance and date rape have occurred through meeting via the Internet. This information is frequently incorporated into rape education programs.

This entry has discussed many aspects of acquaintance and date rape, including its extent, its impact on victims, its place as a societal issue, and its prevention. As stated, the extent of acquaintance and date rape makes it a prominent issue for victimology and

crime prevention. However, the controversy surrounding these crimes, and their private nature, also makes them difficult to address. In a society that tends to excuse and sometimes condone sexual violence, the prevention of acquaintance and date rape is difficult. As a result, acquaintance and date rape are two crimes that will likely be at the forefront of the crime prevention and victimology movement for many years to come.

Wendy Perkins Gilbert

See also Intimate Partner Violence; Rape; Rape, Marital; Rape, Theories of; Rape and Consent Issues; Rape Crisis Centers; Rape Law Reform; Rape Myths; Rape Shield Laws; Rape Trauma Syndrome; Sexual Victimization

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RAPE, MARITAL

Marital rape is forced, nonconsensual sex where the perpetrator is the victim's spouse. The term *marital rape* is used interchangeably with *wife rape* and *spousal rape* and often applies to cohabiting intimate partners as well as to legally married couples. Marital rape was criminalized in all of the United States as of 1993 with the deletion in the criminal statutes of all states of the spousal exemption, which defined rape as

forced intercourse without the consent of the woman other than one's wife. The spousal exemption remains in effect in most non-Western countries. Of all forms of violence against women, marital rape is the least likely to be criminally prosecuted or socially sanctioned. It is not recognized as a social problem in most of the world, research on this form of violence is limited, and its victims have few services available to them. This entry provides an overview of the historical and legal context of marital rape, prevalence information, research on marital rape attitudes and experiences, as well as on intervention and prevention approaches.

Historical and Legal Context

The legality of marital rape in Western societies can be traced to early laws regarding marriage and rape. Roman law of the 8th century codified the status of wives as the property of their husbands. Rape laws were originally framed as property law, focused not on protecting women's bodily integrity but on protecting men's property (wives and daughters) from defilement by other men. Marital rape was even more explicitly codified in British Common Law in the 17th century. British jurist Sir Matthew Hale made the case for the marital rape exemption in the *History of the Pleas of the Crown* arguing that "the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto her husband which she cannot retract." Hale's doctrine was incorporated into laws around the English-speaking world and became a foundation of U.S. rape statutes. Furthermore, the legal principle of matrimonial unity ensured that wives had no legal recourse against their husbands. As American legal scholar William Blackstone wrote, as the new nation was being established, the husband and wife are considered one person under the law, meaning that the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended in marriage. The legal institutionalization of wives' permanent consent to sex and their lack of legal recourse against their husbands led marital rape researchers David Finkelhor and Kersti Yllo to assert that the marriage license was, in effect, a license to rape.

In the second half of the 19th century, the women's movement in the United States opposed the legal oppression of marriage and obligatory sex. The first wave of feminists not only challenged wives' lack of independent legal rights and sexual autonomy but also what they regarded as compulsory maternity. In the absence of safe, reliable, legal contraception and abortion, forced sex and forced child-bearing went hand in hand. Subsequent changes to marital property law did not include the elimination of the spousal exemption, and forced sex in marriage remained a husband's right.

It was not until the second wave of the American women's movement that marital rape again became a controversial topic of public debate. Susan Brownmiller and Del Martin both publicly challenged the rape laws in the mid-1970s, and Diana Russell was the first scholar to conduct comprehensive research on rape in marriage. Grassroots feminist organizations around the country, led by activist Laura X, launched political and legal battles to eliminate the spousal exemption from the statutes of all 50 states. It took nearly two decades of activism to change the laws, but on July 5, 1993, North Carolina became the last state to criminalize rape in marriage. Although marital rape is a crime throughout the United States, currently about half of the states maintain some exemptions from prosecution. Most commonly, a husband is exempted when he does not have to use physical force to have intercourse because his wife is legally unable to consent (because she is mentally or physically impaired, unconscious, or asleep). Efforts are still underway to eliminate all spousal exemptions.

The criminalization of rape in marriage has not resulted in the avalanche of criminal cases that was predicted by those who fought to maintain the spousal exemption. In fact, marital rape remains the most underreported category of sexual assault, and the number of successful prosecutions remains small. Two of the most famous marital rape trials both resulted in acquittals. The Rideout case in Oregon in 1978 was the first in which a husband was tried for rape. The Bobbitt case in Virginia in 1994 achieved notoriety because John Wayne Bobbitt was prosecuted for marital rape after his wife cut off his penis with a kitchen knife. In both cases, there was evidence of prior domestic violence but no conviction on the sexual assault

charge. Overall, marital rape convictions are most likely when sexual assault charges are brought concurrently with other serious charges such as battery, kidnapping, and attempted murder.

Prevalence

The prevalence rates of marital rape indicate that there is a global epidemic of forced sex perpetrated by intimate partners. Diana Russell's ground-breaking research in the 1980s was the first to document high rates of rape in marriage and cohabiting relationships and was followed by Finkelhor and Yllo's study. The researchers surveyed representative samples of women in the San Francisco Bay area and Boston and estimated that 10% to 14% of married women have experienced forced sex by their partner. More recently, the National Violence Against Women Survey, conducted in 1998, found a 7.7% rate of sexual assault by an intimate partner, which leads to the estimate that in the United States more than seven million women have been raped by their partners. A 2005 World Health Organization (WHO) study documented rates of sexual violence by a partner that ranged from less than 10% in urban Japan to more than 50% in rural Bangladesh and Ethiopia.

Smaller scale studies have also addressed the prevalence of marital rape. Several clinical studies of battered women have indicated that between one third and one half of women who have been physically abused report that they were also sexually assaulted by their partner at least once during the relationship. Other studies found that about one quarter were forced to have sex only once or twice, whereas more than 50% were forced 20 or more times in the course of the relationship. Research on men who sexually abuse their partners is limited. One study of 229 men enrolled in a batterers' intervention program found that 53% admitted to activities that are legally defined as rape or sexual assault, even though only 8% answered affirmatively to the question "Have you ever sexually abused your partner?" An important limitation of these studies is that they focus on women who have been physically battered. A study of a nonrepresentative sample of 50 marital rape victims found that 40% had not experienced physical violence beyond the force used to complete the rape.

Marital Rape Attitudes

In comparison with the very limited amount of research focused on actual victims and perpetrators of forced sex in marriage, perceptions of marital rape have been the subject of numerous studies. Studies have typically presented various vignettes describing sexual assaults to subjects (most often college students). By varying certain descriptors in the scenarios, such as the victim-perpetrator relationship, involvement of alcohol, or the victim's dress, researchers assess the impact of many relevant variables that shape perception and attribution. Although the body of research on the perception of rape is extensive, studies that directly address marital rape represent a small subset.

Overall, the research provides evidence that marital rape is viewed as less serious and less damaging both physically and emotionally than other forms of rape. Numerous studies find that the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim significantly affects perceptions; as acquaintance-ship and intimacy in the relationship increase, assessment of the trauma and seriousness of the assault decrease. The stereotypical stranger rape is perceived as more grave than an acquaintance rape, which is regarded as more serious than a marital rape, even when descriptions of the acts of sexual assaults themselves and injury resulting remain constant. Wives who are raped are more likely to be blamed for the attack than unmarried victims.

The most significant characteristic of research subjects to affect rape attitudes is gender, with men consistently endorsing general rape myths more strongly than women. When research focused specifically on rape in marriage, the male-female disparity in perceptions is even greater. Early studies about the legality of marital rape found women much more likely to favor the removal of the spousal exemption than men. Other studies have found women more likely than men to consider marital rape no different than other types of rape. Research on the impact of respondents' age on perceptions has been mixed. However, recent studies have found, overall, less support for rape myths than those conducted decades ago.

Studies of marital rape attitudes have documented that sexual assault within marriage is not taken as seriously as other forms of rape. However, overall, rape myths do seem to be on the decline.

It is important to note, though, that most research on perceptions and attributions regarding rape has been conducted using college student samples. How other groups, especially of different class and racial/ethnic backgrounds, think about rape in marriage is largely unknown. Moreover, social-psychological research has documented the lack of consistency between stated attitudes and behavior. It is not known whether stated views of marital rape are actually indicative of actions toward perpetrators or victims.

The Experience of Marital Rape

Only a few scholars have extensively studied the experiences of women who were raped by their husbands. The studies presented in Russell's book *Rape in Marriage*, Finkelhor and Yllo's *License to Rape*, and Bergen's *Wife Rape* are all based on in-depth interviews with victims and provide detailed documentation of the sexual abuse perpetrated by husbands and cohabiting intimate partners. This research details the range of experiences (including forced oral and anal as well as vaginal sex and penetration with objects) that come under the heading of marital rape. Finkelhor and Yllo developed a typology that identifies three types of marital rape: battering rapes, force-only rapes, and obsessive (also referred to as sadistic) rapes. Other research has confirmed these basic types, although many cases share characteristics of more than one type.

Battering Rapes

Rapes that occur in the context of physical abuse within marriages and cohabiting relationships are the most likely to come to the attention of researchers as well as service providers and the criminal justice system. As noted, it is estimated that one third to one half of battered women are also forced to have sex. Battering rapes are characterized first and foremost by the high level of physical violence that often precedes or accompanies the forced sex.

The men who commit battering rapes are primarily motivated by anger according to Nicholas Groth, who has worked extensively with rapists. Their goal is to express hostility toward women and to hurt and humiliate their victims, and they

do so by using far more physical violence than necessary to subdue their victims. Because of the extensive physical injuries that often accompany these rapes, battering rape victims may seek help from emergency rooms, battered women's shelters, and police (although they rarely reveal the sexual assaults to service providers).

Battering rapes are certainly a widespread and serious problem. However, it is important to heed Russell's warning that wife rape should not be subsumed under the battered women rubric. Marital rape is by no means limited to battered women.

Force-Only Rapes

Force-only rapes occur in marriages that are not otherwise physically violent (or have included only minor violence) where the husband uses only as much force as necessary to coerce his wife into sex. The victims of force-only rapes in the Finkelhor and Yllo study tended to be more highly educated women with professional occupations than the women who experienced battering rapes. The sexual assaults occurred largely in the context of marital conflicts, especially disagreements about sex. Force-only rapes were less frequent throughout the course of the marriages; nevertheless, they were still experienced as painful and frightening attacks.

In force-only rapes, power seems to be the primary motivating factor. Groth describes such rapists as wanting to possess the victim sexually rather than to harm her physically. Sexuality becomes the means to express dominance, control, and mastery. The goal is sexual conquest, and only the amount of force necessary to achieve this end is used. Because victims of force-only rapes are not beaten and have no severe injuries, they are unlikely to come to the attention of medical or criminal authorities and are least likely to find redress in the courts.

Sadistic Rapes

Sadistic (or obsessive) rapes account for only a small portion of all marital rapes; however, they are among the most damaging to their victims. They may involve severe physical violence and torture or intense psychological abuse, but all involve some sexual perversion. The perpetrators

of sadistic rapes are more likely to use objects, involve additional men, stage and script assaults, and most importantly, be sexually aroused by their aggressive and abusive behavior and their wives' suffering. They tend to be obsessed with sex and immersed in pornography, which they often force their wives to reenact.

Groth's research identifies the motivation of sadistic rapists in the erotic fusion of sex and aggression. The assaults often involve ritualistic elements, and the perpetrators are gratified by their victims' torment and suffering. Victims are emotionally traumatized and often deeply ashamed, making it difficult for them to seek the help that they need.

Effects of Marital Rape

Research indicates that marital rape has severe and often long-lasting consequences for women. The physical trauma of the violence and rape include genital and rectal injuries, lacerations, bruises, and broken bones. Miscarriages and unwanted pregnancies are reported by about one fifth of victims. The contraction of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases can also be a consequence of forced sex in marriage.

Russell's representative sample survey found that a greater portion of victims of marital rape report that the assault had a serious effect on their lives than victims of stranger rape. Other research suggests that in addition to the emotional effects, including terror, posttraumatic stress, and anger, marital rape victims are especially traumatized by the violation of trust that the assaults represented. They tended to question their own judgment of men and experience difficulties in subsequent intimate relationships.

One reason that the effects of marital rape can be so devastating is that the crime is largely unreported and victims receive little support from health care providers, therapists, religious advisors, or the criminal justice system. Although there have been improvements in addressing domestic violence and general sexual assault by professionals, marital rape remains a secret trauma for most victims.

Kersti Yllo

See also Domestic Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Rape; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape, Theories of; Rape and Consent Issues; Rape Law Reform

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RAPE, PRISON

Prison rape is a serious, not uncommon, harmful act that impacts victims, operations of correctional facilities, and society in general. However, both scholars and correctional officials lack full understandings of this topic. Although developments in the first years of the 21st century have highlighted the importance of the issue, prison rape has not always been considered important or worthy of much research and attention. As reported in Richard Tewksbury and Elizabeth Mustaine's study of all corrections-related research articles published between 1990 and 1999, in the five major corrections journals identified, only 0.1% of all articles addressed sexual behavior in correctional facilities and 0.8% of articles focused on any type of victimization of inmates while incarcerated. However, there are important reasons to address prison rape, including to understand institutional culture better, the consequences of sexual violence (including injuries and sexually transmitted diseases), and if and how sexual violence is related to other forms of institutional violence. However, as is demonstrated below, little scholarly attention was focused on this issue. However, it was not only scholars and researchers who devoted such a small amount of attention to

prison rape. So too did corrections officials consider the issue unimportant and a topic that had little bearing on prison and jail operations.

The lack of attention and concern with prison rape, however, changed dramatically in the early 1990s. As more attention, via media reports of victims speaking out and the efforts of the non-profit organization Stop Prisoner Rape, was focused on sexual victimization of incarcerated individuals, public sentiment and governmental action began to change. Concerns about the effects of prison rape on inmate victims and on the overall safety and security of prisons and jails led to the passage of the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA). This federal legislation was designed to not only bring attention to the issue but also to lead correctional officials to develop zero tolerance policies, identify and implement effective prevention and intervention programs, spur additional research and data collection, and then lead to the development of operational standards for all correctional facilities—including adult prisons and jails, juvenile facilities, military and immigration facilities, and short-term detention facilities such as police lockups. These standards are designed to address issues of prevention, intervention, services for victims, and effective prosecutions of perpetrators.

Definitions of Types of Sexual Violence in Corrections

When discussing prison rape, several types of sexually violent acts are included in the issue. For many observers, the idea that comes to mind is that which has been promoted through popular/entertainment media—violent, often gang, forcible rape of weak inmates by long-term, violent inmates. However, the idea of prison rape includes not only the stereotypical types of events but also the “less serious” instances of coercive (as opposed to forcible) sexual activities, sexual contacts not involving penetration, and sexual misconduct committed by correctional staff.

In an effort to promote and encourage data collection and research products that are directly comparable with one another, the Bureau of Justice Statistics of the U.S. Department of Justice and the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention defined three types of sexual violence for guiding such efforts. Each of these definitions as established is listed as follows.

- *Nonconsensual sexual acts* are defined as contact of any inmate without his or her consent, or of an inmate who cannot consent or refuse, and contact between the penis and the vulva or the penis and the anus involving penetration, however slight; or contact between the mouth and the penis, vulva, or anus; or penetration of the anal or genital opening of another person by a hand, finger, or other object.
- *Abusive sexual contacts* are defined as contact of any inmate without his or her consent, or of an inmate who cannot consent or refuse, and as intentional touching, either directly or through the clothing, of the genitalia, anus, groin, breast, inner thigh, or buttocks of an inmate.
- *Staff sexual misconduct* refers to any behavior of a sexual nature directed toward an inmate by an employee, volunteer, official visitor, or agency representative; all completed, attempted, threatened, or requested sexual acts between staff and inmates; any incident of intentional touching of the genitalia, anus, groin, breast, inner thigh, or buttocks with the intent to abuse, arouse, or gratify sexual desire; and incidents of indecent exposure, invasion of privacy for sexual gratification, or staff voyeurism.

Although these definitions guide official data collection and the ways that correctional officials design and implement policies and prevention efforts, it was not until the passage of PREA that such definitions were used. Early research regarding prison rape used a variety of definitions, typically developed by individual researchers. However, this lack of uniformity in definitions was problematic, as different researchers measured different things. Consequently, the research on prison rape completed prior to 2003 often reached widely ranging conclusions about how common such actions were. This lack of consistent operationalization of the issue has been identified by Gerry Gaes and Andrew Goldberg as a major problem with the early research on prison rape.

Rates of Victimization

Attempts to answer the question of how often prison rape occurs have produced widely varying responses, with rates running from zero to more than 20% of all inmates. Generally speaking, data

that come from official sources (e.g., documented reports that victims make to correctional officials) and that which uses the broadest definitions (e.g., “had sex with another inmate when you did not want to”) has shown the highest rates of victimization. Most data collected from inmates’ self-reports, and that which uses more narrow definitions (e.g., “were physically forced to engage in intercourse”), tend to show lower rates of victimization.

The first valid and reliable estimation was from Alan Davis’s 1968 study of the Philadelphia jails. This study, drawing on interviews with more than 3,300 inmates, 570 staff, and reviews of institutional records, documented 156 incidents of rape; however, Davis also estimated that the true number of incidents for the more than 60,000 inmates to pass through the system during the 26-month study period was closer to 2,000. Two decades later, Tewksbury’s 1989 study in one Ohio prison, however, reported an absence of self-reported sexual violence. Saum and colleagues’ 1995 study of 101 Delaware inmates revealed only one completed rape and five inmates who reported that another inmate had attempted to rape them. In 1996, A. S. Maitland and R. D. Sluder reported that in one Midwestern, medium-security prison, only 0.9% of surveyed inmates reported having been sexually victimized while incarcerated.

A series of studies in the 1990s and early 2000s by Cindy and David Struckman-Johnson reported significantly higher levels of victimization. Fully 22% of inmates in one study reported being a victim of sexual coercion. And in a study of seven Midwestern prisons, anonymous surveys by inmates revealed that 21% of male inmates reported at least one instance of forced or pressured sexual contact. This study also showed that 20% of inmates reported sexual coercion or assault perpetrated by a staff member.

However, others studying the issue prior to the implementation of PREA reported that only 1% of Oklahoma inmates reported an instance of sexual victimization. Additionally, a 2005 study in Kentucky reported a victimization rate of 8.5%.

Research Inspired by the Prison Rape Elimination Act

After the passage of PREA in 2003, numerous studies of prison rape have been completed.

Included among these efforts are several studies of statewide correctional systems and a major federal effort to identify a national estimate of the rate of victimization.

Studying the Texas prison system, James Austin and colleagues reviewed more than 3 years of data and showed that 2% of the inmates were either a victim or a perpetrator of prison rape. During the course of 3 years and 8 months, a total of 1,938 instances of prison rape were reported by inmates; however, according to Texas officials, only 43 (2.2%) of the allegations were sustained after investigation. In a study of one mid-Atlantic state’s prison system, Nancy Wolff and her colleagues report that 1.4% of male inmates and no female inmates reported nonconsensual sexual activity in the previous year. In contrast, however, Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson’s 2006 surveys of 1,788 inmates in 10 Midwestern prisons revealed that 21% of males and 19% of females report victimization.

One of the important provisions of PREA was that the federal Bureau of Justice Statistics was charged with the task of conducting a national study to estimate the rate of prison rape in all varieties of federal, state, and local correctional facilities. The first two products of their efforts reported on the number and rate of instances officially reported to correctional authorities. Data from 2004 show that more than 8,200 incidents were reported in adult and juvenile correctional facilities. Of these reports, one quarter were substantiated by investigations. Rates were highest in both state-operated and private juvenile facilities and lowest in state prisons. Of all allegations reported by correctional authorities, 41% involved staff-on-inmate sexual misconduct, 37% inmate-on-inmate nonconsensual sexual acts, 10% inmate-on-inmate abusive sexual contacts, and 11% were staff sexual harassment of inmates. In 2005, 6,241 allegations were reported in adult facilities (the 2005 report does not include data from juvenile facilities). The 2005 rate represents a slight increase in the rate of allegations per inmate from 2004 (2.8/1,000 in 2005 compared with 2.5/1,000 in 2004). As in the previous year, the most common reports were of staff-on-inmate incidents (38%).

The most recent, and most methodologically sophisticated, study of the rate of prison rape was released in 2007. This study, conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, draws on anonymous,

computer-administered surveys with a sample of 23,398 inmates from 146 prisons in all 50 states. Results show that during the previous 12 months, 4.5% of all federal and state inmates report a sexual victimization by either a correctional staff member or another inmate. Inmates are more likely to be victimized by staff (2.9% of all inmates) than other inmates (2.1%). Of the 146 facilities where data were collected, only 6 had no inmates report victimization in the previous year.

Conclusion

Clearly, prison rape is an important issue and something that has wide-ranging effects. Although some critics may claim that “only” about 4% of inmates are victimized, when we think about the fact that on any given day more than 2.2 million adults are in our nation’s prisons and jails, we are talking about a significant number of persons. Add to this the fact that little is known about the long-term effects of prison rape on recidivism, health, institutional adjustment/behavior, and a range of other possible consequences, and it is obvious that the issue of prison rape is a major concern in the field of criminal justice and victimology.

Richard Tewksbury

See also Prison Violence; Rape

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RAPE, PROTECTION AGAINST

An important aspect of prevention of rape is a woman’s ability to protect herself from attack. Because effective primary prevention of sexual aggression is still lacking, women, who are the most frequent targets of rape, need education about effective resistance strategies if confronted with an assault. Such an approach does not imply that women are responsible for stopping sexual assault and is actually ethically warranted to help women to respond to an assault until we can prevent men from committing assaults. Active resistance strategies can help women to avoid rape, but psychological barriers to resistance must also be addressed to enhance avoidance of acquaintance rape. Research documenting women’s ability to resist and avoid completed rape can help to inform effective risk reduction focused on resistance and self-defense training. More research is needed to address close relationship contexts (e.g., partner/spouse), history of child sexual abuse, and alcohol-involved assaults that can interfere with a woman’s ability to identify and engage in effective resistance to assaults.

Situational and Behavioral Risk Factors

Research shows that risky situations like bars, parties, and isolated areas increase risk of sexual assault. Alcohol use and violent partners also confer added risk of adult sexual assault for women, as does a history of child sexual abuse. Women’s resistance seems to be effective regardless of rapist type, but little research exists on this subject. Multiple assailants, weapons, indoor attacks, attacks at night, attacks by multiple assailants, attacks without bystanders, and those by intimates are more likely to result in rape completion, perhaps partially because of less resistance or use of less effective resistance. Although most research on rape risk and resistance focuses on stranger and acquaintance sexual assault, sexual assault also occurs in the context of relationships, which is much more difficult to avoid. Still, forceful

resistance, although much less likely in assaults with alcohol involved or in intimate relationship contexts, can be effective if used. It seems that weapons are related to greater odds of completed rape, partly because resistance is less likely in these assaults. Less resistance to known perpetrators seems to be caused by psychological barriers, including fear of angering the man and feelings of embarrassment. In addition, among women who are drinking (which is especially common in college sexual assaults), they may feel responsible for and/or blameworthy for putting themselves at risk, because of society's negative attitudes about drinking women. As a result, they may decide not to resist in such assault situations and/or if they are impaired may be unable to do so.

Effects of Victim Resistance Strategies

Research has shown that offender force and violence is the strongest predictor of the level of victim injury. Victims are more likely to resist physically in such cases and to avoid completed rape. Studies of both college and community samples have shown that women who resist with forceful physical and verbal resistance are more likely to avoid rape and physical injury, whereas nonforceful verbal resistance or not resisting is ineffective. Most important, it does not seem that active forms of resistance such as fighting back increase risk of injury. Data from the National Crime Victimization Survey shows that the efficacy of active forms of resistance seems to hold up even when controls for situational context factors are included. Despite this, research is needed on subgroups of women who may have more difficulty resisting an assailant, such as women who are heavy drinkers, those who have histories of child sexual abuse, and those in ongoing violent dating or marital relationships. Engaging in effective resistance may require unique specialized training approaches for women in some of these circumstances, and risk reduction program must be tailored to address various types of assault circumstances.

Translating Knowledge About Resistance Into Risk Reduction

Traditional rape prevention strategies with women have been focused on risk reduction involving

teaching women facts about rape, information about risk factors, and how to avoid them, but not about risky contexts and situations and effective resistance, including actual resistance/self-defense training. Recent experimental research with college women has shown that teaching self-defense training and addressing psychological barriers to resistance (e.g., fear of angering the man or being embarrassed) can lead to less rape at a later follow-up. In addition, self-defense seems to help women to be more assertive in their sexual communication, engage in more self-protective behaviors, and feel more efficacious about resisting sexual assaults. It seems that teaching women self-defense and working to reduce psychological barriers that hinder resistance to attacks may help women avoid future rapes. More in-depth specialized prevention programs may be needed for child sexual abuse survivors and for women in violent relationships. More attention is needed not only to evaluate resistance/self-defense training interventions, which seem to be promising, but also to evaluate their applicability to various subgroups of victims and assault situations. Translating existing knowledge about effective resistance into education and training for women and girls is important because reducing completed rapes can help to reduce its consequences, which include depression, anxiety, and other psychological and physical health consequences of completed attacks.

Sarah E. Ullman

See also Intimate Partner Violence; Rape; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of

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RAPE, THEORIES OF

Scientists agree that evidence of rape in society dates back as far as the human race, although archeologists have discovered some human societies for which no evidence of rape can be found. Scientists have also revealed instances of “rape” within many nonhuman species. However, the phenomenon of violence and sexuality in humans has long puzzled scientists and raises serious concerns for many feminist, social, and legal theorists. At the root of this perplexity is the apparent inability to define rape. This entry examines four theories that during the years have been formulated to examine, explain, and respond to rape: the feminist theory, social learning theory, evolutionary theory, and synthesized theory. These theories examine rape from both the perspective of the victim and that of the perpetrator. Often the disparity between the theories depends heavily on the definition of “rape” or “sexual aggression” relied on by the scientists.

Defining Rape

Historically, legal documents dating as far back as 1780 B.C.E., such as the Babylonian law Code of Hammurabi, stipulated virgins were innocent of rape, whereas married women were considered guilty of adultery when raped and could be executed. Remnants of this law still exist in the United States. Some courts refuse to recognize rape between married individuals, whereas other courts have required evidence that the marriage was terminated prior to the incident in order to constitute rape.

The ability to provide clear and concrete definitions of rape is thwarted by the vast differences in the way both males and females view sexual relationships. The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, disseminated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and compiled from reports made to law enforcement agencies, codifies and classifies instances of rape. The UCR Program examines primarily the female victim, thus, defining rape as a male-perpetrated crime. Studies, however, have increasingly shown that men are victims of rape and that women are perpetrators as well. The UCR Program also excludes statutory rape (in which rape is defined by the disparity in age between the perpetrator and the victim). Often, in these types of cases, the sexual encounter was consensual and, thus, generally should not be considered “rape.” In recent years, reports that identify rape have begun to include male victims, female perpetrators, studies of rape in prisons, marital rape, date rape, along with violent rape; however, vast disparities between what theorists believe constitutes rape still exist.

The legal definition of rape differs from assault in that “lack of consent” is an element of the crime. Victims are required to show that the sexual assault was unwanted and refused. To what degree a victim must refuse or resist is highly disputed among legal, medical, and social scientists. The efforts to codify instances of rape are an attempt at addressing this issue.

The use of force during sexual encounters generally is required to constitute rape. This definition includes instances of rape in prison, serial rapists, rape used as a war tool, and violent stranger rape. Historically, violent rape has always been proscribed with a few exceptions such as for married females or prostitutes. Many of today's social scientists would

like to see a broader definition used to define rape. Some rape theorists argue that “the use of force without consent” requirement rarely is adequate to take into account instances of acquaintance, marital, or statutory rape. Although theorists do not agree on what constitutes rape in all circumstances, they have formulated theories to address possible causes, treatment, and prevention of sexual violence.

Feminist Theory

One of the first and leading feminist theorists on rape, Susan Brownmiller, contends rape is a form of intimidation consciously used by men to keep women in fear. Other rape theorists argue this is too broad because it implicates all men. However, it is too narrow to encompass all of the purposed types of rape. Primarily, feminist theorists believe that the economic and political gender discriminatory policies promote and facilitate instances of sexual and other violence against women. The historical definitions of rape or *rapere*, which is Latin for stealing, have addressed rape as a property crime, whereby the rapist had not violated the female per se but those who were financially responsible for her, either father or spouse. The use of women as chattel reduced women to mere objects, and the equalization of women in society would eliminate sexual violence against women. In support of this theory, studies of cultures where women were in prominent social, political, and economical positions found low rates, if not the absence, of rape.

The perpetrator according to this theory of rape is not committing a sexual act but instead an act of violence. Here the rapist wishes to possess, dominate, and demean his victim. Some feminist theorists contend the act is motivated by desires of power and hatred for women, not sexual urges. Often it is here that feminists disagree. The more widely accepted feminist view centers around the equalization of social and economic power between men and women as a preventive measure to rape. Studies have shown that poor and less educated women are more likely to be sexually attacked than wealthier educated women. In addition, studies have indicated that often the rapist is of a lower income status and less educated than the victim. Some feminists argue that although increasing the level of income and education for women may

reduce their likelihood of being attacked as compared with lower income women, it may threaten the status of men and intensify their use of rape to reassert their loss of supremacy.

According to studies from the early 1980s, most victims know their aggressor. The feminist theory examines the traditional sex role stereotyping when deciphering the victim. Feminists concluded that women who displayed passive or sacrificing behaviors were more likely to be victims than those with more aggressive personalities. In studies of college students, 30% to 50% of the dating relationships were found to be violent courtships. The higher rates were among the lower income. Again the vast difference in the way appropriate courtship is viewed among women hinders the ability to identify, prevent, and treat rape victims. Factors such as age, education, income, and access to political power have been shown to influence greatly the likelihood of being a victim.

The feminist theory, though, does not explain why men rape men or why females are perpetrators of rape. It is here that some theorists turn to the social learning theory to explain such phenomena.

Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory examines the impact on an individual of continued exposure to rape and other violence against women. Social learning theorists assert that violence such as rape is learned. Proponents of this theory much like feminists contend that the existence of rape in our society stems from the exposure to sexual violence and not to extracultural or nonlearning variables such as genetics. The rapist is created by his environment. These theorists maintain that continued exposure to a stimulus naturally creates positive feelings toward it. Often persons with phobias are treated with methods that involve exposing the person little by little to the phobia and eventually the person can grow accustomed to it if not completely overcome their fear.

The social learning theory codifies the effect of continued exposure to sexual violence into four categories: *modeling effect*, *sex-violence linkage effect*, *rape myth effect*, and *desensitization effect*. The modeling and sex-violence linkage effects contend that individuals exposed in this fashion to rape, pornography, domestic violence, sexual

assault, and other forms of violence are more likely to exhibit sexual aggression and violence. In particular, the modeling effect contends that where an individual is actually taught as opposed to simply being exposed to violence, he or she is at a higher risk for committing violence. The rape myth effect examines social portrayals of females enjoying rape, and the desensitization effect argues that the continued exposure to certain forms and images of sexual violence in horror movies, urban music, Internet, and other forms of media normalize rape.

Unlike some feminists, social learning theorists contend that rape can be precipitated by a sexual desire as opposed to hatred or power. These scientists argue that the effect of continued exposure to sexual violence confuses the aggressor, and in certain cases, he no longer differentiates between rape and sex. Although social learning theorists would agree with many of the feminist contentions that the gender disparity in economics and political power perpetuate the continued usage of these images, they would disagree that the rapist rapes merely to conquer. The social learning theory can encompass sexually violent crimes where the victim is male or whereby the perpetrator is female. The contention that we learn violence, and thus become violent, explains more types of sexual violence schemes than does the feminist theory; however, it is not all encompassing. Moderate social theorists often team with psychologists and other medical scientists to examine the biological effects as well to help explain sexual violence.

Today, theories used to govern the treatment and rehabilitation of sexual offenders profess the necessity of examining both cultural and biological factors. Modern social rape scientists continually examine images in media, antisociality, and self-reports of exposure to violence. However, this theory does little to help scientists understand why there is evidence of rape in nonhuman species and why many who are taught, highly exposed, and abused are not violent, nor does it adequately address the data that indicate some rapists show no evidence of having "learned" how to rape. The evolutionary theory attempts to answer these remaining questions.

Evolutionary Theory

Evolutionary rape theorists examine the evolution of the human species and how it effects and relates

to the commission of violence against women, including rape. Initially the evolutionary rape theory attributed the propensity to rape to mental illnesses or deficiencies. Historically, these theorists saw rape as a rare occurrence only contributed to the deranged or to careless victims. These theorists contended that the rapist was an anomaly to the evolution of the human species. The need to procreate and the need to adapt to further survival are interpreted to be at the root of sexual aggression in these males. The interpretation of rape as a by-product of a procreative agenda lent credence to phrases such as "Boys will be boys" when explaining sexual aggression.

In 1893, renowned evolutionist, Charles Darwin, was vehemently contested by feminists such as Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Eliza Gamble. Blackwell insisted that the evolutionary evidence indicated equality between the sexes, as opposed to Darwin's claim of male dominance. Gamble went so far as to assert that the science established the female sex was superior. In the new millennium, evolutionary science has made a comeback, greatly modified. Scientists contend the evolutionary theory has unjustly been given a bad reputation for being sexist. Modern evolutionary scientists insist that their rigorous scientific methods of research lend not only clarity to the issue of violence against women but also to many social phenomena.

Today's scientists who use evolutionary evidence do so simply to provide a more individualistic analysis as opposed to the often generalized social perspective. Foundationally, these scientists examine the sexual rituals of animals, for example, the male lions in the African Savannah to explain sexuality in humans. The male lions often exhibited sexual aggression. When a senior male lion was challenged for his place in the pride and lost, all of his cubs were systematically killed and his lionesses became mates for the victor. Thus, these scientists contend that sexual conflict between the sexes is inherited. In 2000, evolutionists affirmed that rape can be contributed to evolutionary methods of human male mating strategy. The male's need to reproduce requires him to develop methods by which to accomplish the instinctive prerequisite. They conclude that those males who for whatever reason are procreate challenged resort to rape or sexual violence as a by-product of an evolutionary need to survive.

In 2003, scientists contested this theory, pointing to the failure to consider the female's role in reproduction. Scientists argue that some evolutionists have failed to interpret the evolutionary science objectively. This is pronounced by their exclusion of evidence in their theories of instances such as the hermaphroditic sexual reality in the hyena species. The female and male genitalia of the hyena are analogous. The female thus responds sexually much like "males" and can be found to mount as well as exhibit aggressive behavior toward the males. This sexual aggression was not deemed as a need for procreation. In addition, rape is significantly committed by men who seem to have no difficulty in procreating, who intentionally refuse to copulate with victims, and by individuals who claim no sexual arousal from the act. They contend that these scientific examples of sexual aggression for nonprocreative motives contravert the evolutionist theory.

Often references to natural selection, fitness, and environment are made when formulating conclusions to support the assertion that one has predisposed factors that contribute to sexually violent behavior, namely a need to procreate. The question of whether sex in the animal kingdom is fundamentally about reproduction is questioned by evolutionists, and the study of sexual behavior is continually providing evidence to the contrary. Scientists emphasize that where forced copulation occurs, it is rarely an effective means of reproduction. Furthermore, the assertion that sexual violence is a product of adaptive reproductive mechanisms is well contested. Evolutionists contend that those who are environmentally, socially, or biologically unfit for reproduction instinctively to further their need for survival, thus using mechanisms of rape for that end. However, other scientists contend that the necessary evidence is paucity to show that rape is a successful method of reproduction if it exists at all.

The evolutionary theory unfortunately attributes sexual behavior to procreation. This apparent flaw in the fundamental analysis of sexuality renders much of the practical conclusions ineffective in the prevention or treatment of rape. This theory purportedly contributes to solutions such as warning women about wearing seductive apparel, the innately predatory nature of men, and raising the level of aggression in women. Social learning scientists argue the above methods have not been

shown to influence the rate of rapes nor the identity of the victim in significant ways.

Synthesized Theory

The synthesized theory of rape attempts to combine useful evidence from all three aforementioned theories of rape to better understand the phenomenon while including biological elements such as hormonal implications. The synthesized theorists conclude that the feminist theory is correct in that the drive to possess and control is an underlying cause of rape; however, synthesized theorists also contend that the sex drive of the individual also plays a significant role. Second, the actual technique of rape is learned; however, not all men are of a nature to learn how to rape. Third, evolution has naturally selected men as opposed to women to use force to reproduce. Last, exposure of the brain to high levels of male typical sex hormones increases rape tendencies.

The criticisms of the feminist, social learning, and evolutionary theories discussed prior can be lodged against the synthesized theory here as well. The synthesized theory also raises an additional issue of hormones and their effects on the commission of rape. Unlike the other theories, this theory examines the functioning and mechanisms in the brain to determine how rape is learned and motivated. These scientists contend that all influences must operate via the brain whether environmental or genetic. They argue that the brain of the rapist while committing the offense functions very differently from that of others. This theory must be more stringently tested. Currently, the evidence is not conclusive.

Current Status

Scientists continue to struggle with defining rape and thus with formulating theories to identify its causes. As this entry has shown, four factors significantly play a role in the cause of sexual assault: economic and political inequality between the genders, environmental factors, genetics, and lastly biochemistry. Although great debate continues as to which of the factors plays the greater role in the cause of rape, the collaborative quest to end this tragic social phenomenon continues.

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See also Rape; Rape, Protection Against; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of; Rape Law Reform

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RAPE, VICTIM-PRECIPITATED

Victim precipitation is a concept used to define situations in which the victim initiates his or her own victimization. When applied to rape, victim-precipitated rape occurs when the victim's actions are interpreted by the offender as sexual, thus initiating subsequent behavior (e.g., forcible rape) from the offender. The examination of victim-precipitated rape is not without controversy. Controversy erupts regarding whether applying the concept of victim precipitation to rape is a veiled attempt at blaming the victim for his or her own victimization. Additionally, studies that have explored victim-precipitated rape have been criticized for relying on poor methodology.

Development of Victim Precipitation

Marvin Wolfgang first introduced the concept of victim precipitation when he argued that, in some instances, the victim may provoke his or her own victimization. Wolfgang defined a homicide as victim precipitated when the victim was the first to use physical force. To test his assertion, Wolfgang collected official data on 588 homicides committed in Philadelphia from 1948 to 1952. Wolfgang found that about one in every four murders in Philadelphia were victim precipitated. Subsequent studies have expanded on the work of Wolfgang to look at other factors of victim precipitation, such as self-defense issues, intimate partner homicide, and rape.

Application of Victim Precipitation to the Study of Rape

Theoretically, victim precipitation of forcible rape involves a situation where the behavior of the victim is interpreted by the offender as a direct invitation to sexual relations. What becomes important is the offender's interpretation of the victim's behavior in the current situation. Certain behavioral patterns (e.g., being flirtatious, provocative, or sexually aggressive) and certain situations (e.g., partying at bars late at night or deliberately walking in dark alleys after dark) may suggest to the offender that the victim wants to engage in sexual relations, when in fact they do not, leading to the sexual assault of the victim.

Menachem Amir, a student of Wolfgang's, was the first to apply the concept of victim precipitation to rape. Amir defined victim-precipitated rape as situations in which the victim agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not resist strongly enough to the offender's sexual advances. Like Wolfgang, Amir used official data on rape collected in Philadelphia from 1958 to 1960. Examining 646 cases of forcible rape, Amir found that 122 cases, or 19%, fit his definition of victim precipitation. His findings also showed that most victim-precipitated rape cases involved White victims with a White offender, young (15 to 19 years of age) victims, alcohol use (particularly by the victim), and involved bars as a common meeting place.

Criticisms and Clarifications

Amir's research on victim-precipitated rape was not well received and subject to much criticism. Most criticism revolves around Amir's conceptualization of victim precipitation and his focus on the offender's interpretations of the victim's actions. Additionally, Amir's work was criticized for not only including a definition of precipitation that is broad and unclear but also for proposing instances where the victim was guilty of precipitating her own sexual assault because either the offender interpreted her actions as a "green light" to go ahead and/or she did not forcefully fend off the offender's sexual advances. Feminist scholars were particularly disturbed and argued that Amir used rape myths to justify sexual assault and blame the victim for her own victimization.

Because of such criticisms, it becomes important to distinguish between victim precipitation and provocation. Provocation is a legal concept used to determine the criminal responsibility of the accused. Victim precipitation is a behavioral concept used by social scientists to determine the causes of victimization. Provocation relies on the behavior of the offender (specifically his or her mindset and the level of restraint), whereas victim precipitation relies on the analysis of the victim's behavior at the time of the victimization.

Victim-Blaming and Victim-Defending Views

Victim precipitation is often regarded as a form of victim blaming. The victim-blaming perspective, when applied to rape, contends that the victim contributes to his or her own rape because of his or her actions. For instance, victims may not understand or may ignore certain situations that put them at risk of victimization, such as being out late at night unescorted, wearing provocative clothing, or being intoxicated. A consequence of accepting the victim-blaming viewpoint is that the burden of preventing rape is shifted away from the offender, the police, or the popular culture, and onto the victim herself.

Victim-defending questions the concept of precipitation. Originally developed by feminists in the women's rights movement, victim defending provides alternative explanations for why victims get raped. From a victim-defending perspective, it is

unacceptable to suggest that the victim's behavior justifies the actions of the offender. Rather, the blame is placed on the assailant's intentions to control, overpower, and humiliate the victim. The offender's violence is not triggered by arousal but is motivated by contempt for females. Victim-defending questions the concept of precipitation, as there is no such thing as a justifiable rape.

Controversy remains in determining what constitutes sexual overture. A victim's behavior can be open to a wide range of interpretations, including those of the victim, the offender, the police, a jury, the public, and researchers. Despite the limitations inherent with victim precipitation research, the concept of victim precipitation allows for the consideration of situational factors into the equation, providing a richer, more thorough explanation of rape.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Rape; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Rape and Consent Issues; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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RAPE AND CONSENT ISSUES

At the core of the controversy surrounding rape is the concept of consent to sexual activity. Consent is particularly at issue when the people involved in a rape have a prior relationship with each other. These relationships include spouses, dating partners, boyfriends and girlfriends, friends, and acquaintances. Because most rapes involve people who know each other, defining consent is a crucial

component to the prevention of this common crime. This entry defines consent, discusses the legality of consent in sexual encounters, and describes efforts to prevent rape through providing education about rape and consent to youth.

Addressing the issue of consent has been a major component of the anti-rape movement, particularly with regard to those rapes involving people who know each other. Because these cases frequently involve one person's word against another person's word, consent becomes an important consideration, especially when criminal charges are filed. That the sexual activity was nonconsensual is a general statutory requirement for a rape to have legally occurred. In addition, suspects accused of raping people they know frequently use the "consent defense," asserting that the person they are accused of raping consented to the sexual activity. Rapists sometimes use the "consent defense" to intimidate victims to not report the crime. For example, a rapist may threaten a victim with telling people that the sexual activity between them was consensual. Some rapists take this one step further and tell the police and others that the victim initiated the sexual activity leading up to the rape in an effort to deflect blame from themselves and onto the victim. It is sometimes the case that people who initiate sexual activity are raped. When the activity goes beyond what the initiating party believes is acceptable and what he or she has consented to, the encounter is no longer consensual and becomes illegal.

Defining Consent

When a person consents to sexual activity, this means that he or she knowingly and willingly participates in the activity. The terms *knowingly* and *willingly* require that a person is aware of the decisions being made and is aware of the potential consequences of that decision. This means that for sexual activity to be consensual, one person cannot trick, coerce, or force another person into the activity. Trickery, coercion, and force can occur in many ways, including verbal intimidation, physical force, threatening to spread rumors, and getting someone drunk or high for the purpose of having sex. All of these actions violate the requirements of knowledge and willingness by removing a person's capacity to make the decision to participate or by not making refusal to participate an option.

Consent is often confused with the terms *compliance* and *submission*. Compliance means doing something even if a person does not agree with the action. For example, people comply with work policies even if they do not agree with them because there are likely consequences for violating the policy. Rape victims comply with a rapist's demands to prevent negative consequences such as physical injury. Submission means not having the power to stop an event from happening. An example of submission is a recruit at military boot camp training. The recruit must submit to the will of the drill instructors because he or she is powerless to refuse. Similarly, a rape victim's submission to a rapist's demands occurs when the victim is powerless to stop the rape. Sometimes a rape victim has to both comply and submit to what the rapist wants.

Frequently, rape victims who comply with or submit to the demands of their rapist are accused of having consented to the activity. This belief stems from society's expectations of how a person should respond while being raped. Society tends to believe that a person who is being raped should fight back with the utmost verbal and physical resistance in order to avoid an attack or at the very least to prove that the sexual activity was unwanted. A tendency exists for people to believe that if resistance does not occur, the event was not a rape. Several things must be considered regarding this societal expectation. First, it may not be possible for a victim to resist an attack verbally or physically. Victims who are under the influence of drugs or alcohol, whether they willingly or unwillingly used these substances, are unlikely to resist because of the impact of drugs and alcohol on a person's mental and physical capabilities. Nor can people under the influence of alcohol or drugs legally consent to sexual activity. Some rapists intentionally drug their victims or get them drunk so that both physical force and physical resistance are minimal, and so that the victims will not have a clear memory of the rape. Second, many people are frightened and are unable to react in accordance with society's views. Fear sometimes has a paralyzing effect on people. In addition, people are caught off guard when they are raped, which can decrease the likelihood of being able to resist. Finally, the issue of resistance is sometimes considered by prosecutors in determining which cases should be pursued,

and frequently it is discussed at rape trials. Although case law generally states that physical and verbal resistance on behalf of the victim are not a requirement for prosecutors to charge a person with rape, many cases are not charged if resistance did not occur. This is because the likelihood of a conviction at trial is unlikely—juries prefer to see physical evidence that a crime has occurred, particularly when that crime is rape. Victim resistance may result in injuries to either the victim or the rapist, offering juries the evidence they desire.

Much debate exists about what actions constitute consent to sexual activity. Ideally, consent only occurs when a person explicitly and verbally agrees to participate in sexual activity; physical actions are sometimes difficult to interpret and should not be construed as active consent. In the real world, however, this “consent ideal” can be problematic because movement along the continuum of sexual activity is not always clear-cut and multiple actions occur at the same time. In addition, the ideal of consent assumes that people are comfortable voicing their thoughts and feelings. Therefore, a person’s silence when engaged in a sexual activity should not be construed as consent because a person may remain silent out of fear or discomfort.

The issue of revoking consent after it has been given has been controversial. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, courts began widening the definition of rape by ruling that a person can revoke consent to sexual intercourse after that consent has already been given. Speaking strictly in terms of a male suspect and a female victim, critics of these rulings argue that there is little guidance regarding how soon a man must stop penetration of a woman before the act becomes rape. A related issue is that of continued consent within a sexual relationship. Some people believe that when a person consents to sexual activity one time, he or she has therefore consented to sexual activity with their partner at all other times. This belief is frequently used as a means to justify marital rape and rape within other intimate relationships. In addition, sometimes people believe that because a person has sex with someone, that person has consented to have sex with anyone. This belief is particularly popular among high-school students and can lead to detrimental developments in a young person’s life if he or she is the target of this belief.

Legal Age of Consent

Each state has passed a law to determine the age at which a person can legally consent to sexual activity. Although these laws vary, most fall between ages 14 and 18 years. These laws are designed to protect young people from being coerced or forced into having sex before they are mature enough to make an informed decision. Some of these laws have come under scrutiny because teenagers close in age can be prosecuted for having sex. If convicted, the person accused becomes a registered sex offender, which impacts the rest of his or her life. Boys are more frequently prosecuted for these offenses than are girls. As a result of the dire ramifications of a conviction on such a charge, some states are modifying their laws. These “Romeo and Juliet” laws are designed to keep teenagers from having to register as felony sex offenders because they have had consensual sex with their boyfriend or girlfriend. These laws do not change the age of consent, but they allow consensual sex between boyfriends and girlfriends of a certain age difference.

Preventing Rape Through Consent Policies and Education

In the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of date and acquaintance rape on campuses moved some colleges and universities to develop policies that explicitly define consent to sexual activity. In 1998, Antioch College instituted such a policy, which required that students ask permission for all sexual activity at each point in the intimate encounter. Other colleges and universities instituted similar policies, drawing criticism for their actions. Some critics contend that these policies are cases of “feminism gone too far,” and that they only serve to disempower both people involved in the sexual encounter. Other critics contend that these policies place too much of a burden on potential victims to stop a rape from occurring. Little evidence exists regarding the effectiveness of these policies in reducing date and acquaintance rape.

Rape prevention programs for youth frequently address the issue of open communication between dating partners. This education is designed to encourage people to be clear about their sexual boundaries, and much of it is based on the predication that communication difficulties between men

and women are, in part, rooted in sexual norms and stereotypes. From a very young age, boys and girls are taught to act in ways that are thought to be appropriate for their sex. Girls tend to be taught to be tactful and polite in voicing opinions and are encouraged to avoid conflict. Boys tend to be taught to speak their minds openly, be persistent in getting what they want, and not back down from conflict. Rape prevention education encourages both boys and girls to be very clear about their sexual boundaries and to be unafraid to vocalize their wishes. Young people are also taught to be respectful of each other's wishes regarding sexual activity, and that if any doubt exists as to whether the activity is mutually acceptable, they should stop the activity. Another focus of this education is instilling the belief that engaging in one activity on the sexual continuum does not necessarily lead to another activity on the continuum. For example, just because two people kiss, does not mean they have to have sexual intercourse. The goal of these primary education efforts is to change the mindset of young people so that they will educate their friends and their families in the same manner, creating a cultural shift in beliefs about consensual and nonconsensual sex.

The issue of consent in sexual intercourse is at the forefront of the controversy surrounding date and acquaintance rape. The anti-rape movement has made it a focus area, and primary prevention efforts attempt to address consent through educating young people. Consent is a key element to the legal aspect of rape—nonconsent is a necessary component to charging a person with rape. More research on this issue is necessary for the field of crime prevention and victimology to make continued progress in this area.

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See also Rape; Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape, Marital

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RAPE AND SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION, MEASUREMENT OF

Measurement of crime in general is a difficult and highly criticized task. Measurement of rape and sexual victimization, which are deeply personal offenses, is all the more complex. Sexual victimization incidents are most often perpetrated by someone the victim knows with one or more of the parties using alcohol, drugs, or both. Inaccurate stereotypes about rape and women lead to confusion as to whether the act was a crime. Women are also concerned about what will happen if they disclose incidents. Despite these difficulties associated with the measurement, it is still important to attempt to acquire an accurate picture of rape and sexual victimizations to be more knowledgeable about how to prevent such incidents.

General agreement exists among many scholars that all measures of sexual offenses in the United States underestimate the true extent of the crime. Different measures are considered to have varying degrees of underestimation. Measurement is tied to the definition of rape and sexual victimization—the broader the definition, the greater the extent of victimization.

Multiple attempts have been made at measuring rape and sexual victimization. These attempts include government data collections, private national surveys, and multiple local/regional measures. The following discusses the most common measures of rape and sexual victimization in the United States. Included in this discussion is a brief description of the methodology of each measure, the strengths and weaknesses of the measures, as well as the results in comparison with other measures.

Types of Measurement

Government Data

The main sources of the extent of criminal victimization in the nation are those administered by the U.S. Department of Justice. These sources

include the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). These data series collect crime data by two very different methods. Scholars claim that these data sources substantially underestimate the true incident of rape and sexual assault.

Uniform Crime Reporting Program/ National Incident-Based Reporting System

The UCR Program began in 1929 and is administered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The UCR Program is based on crimes reported to state and local law enforcement agencies and in turn reported to the FBI. The UCR Program collects sexual victimization data on the offense of rape with women as the victim. In an effort to extract more specific information about crime, the FBI intends to replace the UCR Program eventually with the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The NIBRS is incident based and includes four categories of sex offenses: forcible rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling. Unlike the UCR Program, male victims are included as forcible rape victims in the NIBRS data. Not all states have been certified to report NIBRS data. Therefore, the only national data the FBI reports are based on the UCR Program definition.

Several limitations exist to the UCR Program's measurement of sexual offenses. The major limitation of the UCR Program is that it excludes victimizations not reported to police, and victimization research has shown that most sexual offenses go unreported. Most rapes are acquaintance rapes, which are much less likely to be reported to the police. Additionally, the UCR Program narrowly defines rape as sex taken forcibly against a female's will. It excludes male victimization and a wide range of other sexual offenses. Another limitation is that reported numbers of sexual assault may reflect general organization factors about police departments and specific ways in which they manage rape victimizations.

National Crime Victims Survey

The National Crime Survey (NCS), now the National Crime Victims Survey (NCVS), began collecting data in 1972 and is under the auspices of the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The NCVS is based

on a household survey of individuals' experiences with crime victimization and on whether the incidents were reported to the police. The survey provides a detailed picture of crime incidents, victims, and trends from the victims' perspectives.

The NCVS is the nation's second largest ongoing household survey. It collects victimization data from a nationally representative sample of individuals age 12 years or older living in U.S. households. Sample respondents are interviewed every 6 months for a total of seven interviews during a 3.5-year period. The first and fifth interviews are face-to-face, whereas the rest are by telephone, when possible.

The NCVS process of collecting victimization data includes a two-step process. Respondents are first asked to respond to a series of "screen questions" on whether victimization may have occurred. These questions are intended to cue the respondent to remember victimization events. When respondents indicate yes to any of the screen questions, they will be interviewed through a lengthy "incident report" about what may have occurred. The NCVS uses the incident report to determine, and thus count, whether victimization has occurred. The use of the incident-report questions validates the occurrence and allows for more valid categorization of incidents.

The major strength of the NCVS versus the UCR Program is that it collects victimizations that go unreported to the police. The NCVS is also based on a large national sample that allows for comparing rates of sexual victimization across a time period and with other forms of criminal victimization within a clearly bound reference period. Another key strength of the NCVS is the use of screen questions and incident reports, which allows for the assessment of rates, verification of the crime, and a more clear understanding of the issues surrounding the offense.

One limitation of the NCVS as a measure of sexual victimizations is that sexual assault is a sensitive topic that is difficult to discuss. Respondents on the phone interviews may lack confidentiality and feel that they cannot report sexual assaults that involve relatives or family members. In addition, telephone surveying may result in lower disclosure of rape, and repeated victimizations by the same perpetrator have been excluded from the rape estimates.

Overall, the NCVS consistently shows victimization levels higher than those of the UCR

Program. It has been noted that victimization surveys are not inherently more accurate than reported crimes; both sources of data contribute to the scope of violent crime.

Specific Measures of Sexual Victimization

Both the NCVS and the UCR Program have been criticized for narrowly conceptualizing sexual victimization behaviors and for not accurately measuring all the various types of sexual victimization, such as harassment and stalking. Some scholars contend that the uses of victimization surveys that focus exclusively on women's sexual victimization can arrive at a more accurate empirical assessment of the extent of women's sexual victimization. Many of these types of specialized surveys have revealed that sexual victimization is more widespread than that found by the UCR Program and by the NCVS. The following discusses some of the various specific attempts at measuring sexual victimization.

In an effort to measure sexual victimization more accurately, Mary Koss and her associates constructed the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES). This survey was a standardized instrument for measuring rape and a broad range of different types of sexual victimization. The SES instrument used behaviorally specific questions that described specific types of experiences in order to cue victims to report victimizations. Behaviorally specific questions are worded to describe specific acts, such as "the penis penetrated the vagina." It is also important to note, for definitional purposes, that the survey questions were grounded in the existing legal definition of rape/sexual assault. Their SES and modified versions have been used in many subsequent sexual victimization studies both inside and outside the United States.

College Student Sexual Victimization Measures

Much of the specific research to measure sexual victimization, such as the initial studies using the SES and the National College Women Sexual Victimization Study (NCWSV), have been conducted using college student samples. College women are at a greater risk of such victimization, and they are conveniently accessible to many scholars. Like the SES, the NCWSV measured sexual victimization by cuing and screening potential victims with

behaviorally defined questions and then used the NCVS method of detailing the victimization through an incident report. These methods are intended to ascertain a more valid and accurate measure of the types and extent of sexual victimization of college women.

During national-level studies of college women and sexual victimization, the victimization rate is several times greater than rates published by the NCVS. These findings suggested that rape victimization is more extensive than government measures indicate.

National Women's Study

The National Women's Study (NWS), next to the NCVS, was once one of the most frequently cited estimates of the incidence of rape in the United States. This study is somewhat dated as it was a 3-year longitudinal study from 1990 to 1992. Nonetheless, this survey measured and reported rape from a significant sample of American women ages 18 to 34 years. Like the SES, the researchers used behaviorally descriptive questions to elicit victimizations. When comparing the estimates of women who were raped using results from this survey with the NCS data, the NWS estimate was somewhat greater than the NCS estimate. The main limitation of this study was the narrow definition of rape as it measured only completed forcible rape, not other forms of sexual victimization. In addition, this survey did not employ an incident report to "check" or validate respondents affirmative response to victimization screen questions.

National Violence Against Women Survey

The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) was introduced in 1998 as a household survey on personal safety with a significant sample of women 18 years and older. It includes questions about general fear of violence and about incidents of actual or threatened violence experienced during the respondent's lifetime and annually by different types of perpetrators. The NVAWS estimates revealed that women are victimized at a greater rate than the NWS's lifetime estimate and the NCVS data. These results must be interpreted cautiously as estimations were made between the data sources. The NVAWS also collected data on stalking, which

is a form of victimization that has relatively recently gained public and legal attention.

Challenging Issues

Measuring sexual victimization is an exigent undertaking. Issues of measurement can include identifying the types of sexual victimization, which range from sexual harassment and stalking to sexual assault; how to measure validly and reliably; how to collect accurately more detailed accounts of reported sexual victimization; and how best to increase the sample's response rate. Another challenging methodological issue is how to word questions in a survey instrument that are capable of measuring the legal elements of the crimes being measured so they are fully understood by respondents. Other issues of concern include the sequence of questions and specific words to describe behaviors.

Overall, in the last 35 years, progress has been made as well as growth in the number of research studies trying to measure accurately the extent and nature of rape and other types of sexual victimizations. Given continued methodological weaknesses, victimization measures can provide only an approximate estimate of how much rape and other types of sexual victimization occur to females and males.

Betsy Wright Kreisel

See also Age and Victimization; Domestic Violence; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Rape; Sex and Victimization; Sexual Harassment; Sexual Victimization; Stalking; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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Web Sites

- Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victims: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/cvict.htm>
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting Program: <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm>

RAPE CRISIS CENTERS

Rape crisis centers (RCCs) are probably the oldest community-based intervention programs for sexual assault survivors. Even though they are primarily focused on providing services to rape victims and on educating communities about sexual violence, because they were first conceptualized by feminist activists, one of their initial inspirations was to change a society that encouraged the (sexual) oppression of women. RCCs can operate at different levels: on campus, attached to a particular city, organized at the county level or as a statewide coalition. Today more than 1,200 RCCs exist in the United States, some of them being more than 35 years old. Across the world,

RCCs or a local equivalent can be found in numerous countries, including the United Kingdom, Australia, Norway, France, and Germany, as well as Bosnia, Estonia, Japan, and South Africa. As this entry describes, the history of RCCs is strongly connected to the feminist movement.

Development

The gendered nature of rape as a crime committed most exclusively by men, almost exclusively on women, became a major feminist issue in the 1970s as a hallmark of a sexist society's debasement of women. The women's movement was therefore not only about debating the idea of equality, as many feminist activists were involved in victim's assistance. Indeed, it often happened that victims reporting rape were assailed at trial and that their lifestyle was exposed as a justification for their rape. Reacting to those cases where victims themselves were put on trial, practitioners laid the grounds for the victim's well-being movement. Radical feminists led the way in constructing alternative interpretations of offender-victim relationships and victim experiences with criminal justice procedures, viewing the victim as someone who deserved assistance from the system and not as someone to blame.

Among the many faces of feminist activism, RCCs are probably one of the most visible forms. The first American RCCs emerged in the 1970s. They were created to provide crisis services to rape victims, to inform communities on sexual violence, and to rally forces for social change. At first, RCCs relied on grassroots efforts, as follows: Volunteers gathered at private houses, most of the material was donated, and staff had no professional training in the area of counseling. Both theoretical and practical approaches were eminently political—and politicized—as one considered rape through the prism of power and control relationships and gender inequalities in society. Surely, women involved in RCCs were driven by the desire to help the victims, but part of their motivation may have included politicizing these victims in order to achieve the ambition of overthrowing established power relationships between men and women. Because their goals were wider than simply reforming rape-related official procedures, RCCs were considered by some to be radical feminist organizations since

their members were protesting against power relationships and the existing social order. As Amy Fried pointed out, for radical feminists, building a female-based power structure was believed to be a first step toward a rape-free society.

Being run as feminist collectives, the organization of RCCs was very different from that of traditional service providers. They rejected classic hierarchical organization; they were autonomous and not affiliated with other agencies. It is true that, as members did not always share the same values or the same goals, it may have provoked some conflicts, and some authors suggest it was probably not ideal for the implementation of collaborative working.

Across time, RCCs started to form broader coalitions (e.g., in Pennsylvania in 1975, 10 RCCs joined forces to form the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape [PCAR]). Undeniably, coalitions are more powerful, and they are more liable to initiate social or legal reforms. For example, PCAR served as model and inspiration for the creation of the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault in 1976.

In the 1980s, more and more RCCs became professionalized institutions, moving from a helping model based on volunteers' commitment, to a hierarchical organization promoting a counselor-client model. To secure state and federal funding, many RCCs engaged in lobbying or administrative reforms. Because new funding sources became available for agencies providing direct services to other victims of crime, some RCCs expanded into general crime victims centers.

RCCs were strengthened in 1994 when the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was signed into law. The VAWA's programs range from policies to encourage the prosecution of abusers to victims' services and prevention programs. This made available considerably more money for the development of RCC services throughout the country and helped strengthen alliances among the police, the court, and victim advocates.

Services Provided

Although the philosophy of RCCs evolved throughout the years, the basic services provided by the centers remain relatively the same as the ones originated in the 1970s. Most RCCs run 24-hour

hotlines; usually people answering the calls are volunteers trained in crisis intervention. Most RCCs also offer counseling services (individual or group counseling and support groups) run by licensed professionals, sometimes paraprofessionals. Most RCCs welcome any rape victims, women, children, as well as men; at times, support for survivors' families may also be dispensed.

One of the most challenging tasks of RCCs involves the training of staff as legal and medical advocates. In this context, advocacy consists in assisting survivors when they try to make their way through both medical services and the criminal justice system. It also attempts to educate staff from those institutions to prevent what is often called "the second rape." The later notion—academically known as secondary victimization—refers to the often-negative treatment rape survivors experience from officials that exacerbates rape trauma. To avoid this kind of trauma, RCCs focus on collaboration rather than on confrontation with local agencies and authorities.

In addition, many RCCs have managed to develop strategies to mobilize their home community. They assist conventional organizations; they make them sensitive and help them to promote anti-rape values. The centers often run educational campaigns, which includes communication materials, public talks, and informative sessions at schools.

Prevention programs can specifically address rape and sexual violence, as well as violence against women in general. Campaigns can focus on educating women not to put themselves at risk, or they can also teach men that they are not to use their strength to hurt others. Some centers also offer self-defense classes. Through the years, RCCs have been remarkably flexible and innovative and most of them have built a community network under the response to rape.

RCCs and advocacy programs often relied on volunteers, especially in the early years. This clearly had several advantages, the first one being to save money. For some people, it also served the goal of educating civilians—and, as a consequence, their families and friends—about the myths surrounding rape victimizations, which could be perceived as an indirect way of achieving a positive social change. Nevertheless, volunteers cannot be expected to have the same knowledge and expertise as hired professionals. As they are not paid,

volunteers do not have regular office hours, they cannot always do follow-up with recent survivors, case management, or on-call shifts to guarantee proficiency and medium- to long-term interactions. Balancing volunteer work and professional services is a systemic problem, as many agencies do not have any other choice than to rely on volunteer staff. However, with the multiplication of Sexual Assault Response Teams and Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners programs, advocacy programs are challenged to provide the same services as paid professionals do.

The Challenge of Evaluation

Even though RCCs have existed for decades, it is only recently that concerns regarding the necessity to evaluate them formally have been raised. Many practitioners and scholars assumed that RCCs helped victims because they were created to do so and stated that was what they were doing. It was as if the centers and their work were unquestionably helpful. However, the reality may be a little more complex.

To assess RCCs' effectiveness empirically, one needs to compare outcomes of victims who received advocates' support with victims who did not. Studies doing so have assessed that victims who worked with RCC advocates experience less distress. Results suggest that advocates are successful in helping victims navigate the criminal justice system and in limiting victim-blaming reactions. Showing how RCCs can help rape victims is one aspect of the evaluation; yet it is far more complicated to determine whether they influence society on a more abstract level with respect to changing culture toward a rape-free society. RCCs have little to no time to devote to this issue, most of their time being devoted to invisible—behind the scene—work. It is indeed extremely complicated for a social movement to show its efficacy.

Although differences exist in respect to what and how much has changed, the desire to empower survivors and educate society to eliminate violence against women is still alive.

Véronique Jaquier

See also Rape Law Reform; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Service Providers, Training of; Victims'

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RAPE LAW REFORM

Rape law reform has been an ongoing process virtually since women won the right to vote in the early 1900s. Reformers have expressed persistent frustration that despite laws that forbid rape, the crime continues to occur at epidemic rates and yet has remained the most underreported and underprosecuted of all major felonies.

Two major waves of reform, in the 1950s and 1970s, attempted to address the reasons why rape law made cases difficult to prosecute and win. Initiatives during these periods focused on removing unfair legal burdens but were largely ineffective at improving prosecution rates and at reducing incidents of sexual violence. Newer and current reform ideas are aimed at cultural prejudices and

systemic biases against women in general and rape victims in particular.

Past Reforms

Utmost Resistance

In addition to proving forcible sexual penetration without the victim's consent, many states once also required proof that the victim resisted the crime "in the utmost." This not only made prosecution near impossible in most cases, it effectively obligated victims to risk additional physical harm during the crime. Early reforms eliminated the utmost resistance requirement, although jurors still tend to judge victims harshly when they do not aggressively resist their attacker.

The Infamous Judge Hale Instruction

Before the 1980s in most states, judges overseeing rape trials were obligated to instruct the jury that rape was "an accusation easily to be made, hard to be proved, and harder yet to be defended by the party accused, tho' never so innocent." This statement, known as the "Hale warning," has its roots in the common law and was crafted by a judge infamous for his hostile attitude toward women, including his belief that it was not a crime for a man to rape his wife. Sir Matthew Hale, a chief justice in 17th-century England, authored this instruction because he believed that jurors should be extra skeptical of a rape victim's credibility. During reform efforts up to and including the 1980s, states abandoned use of the Judge Hale instruction, although many jurors continue to believe rape is a crime easy to allege and difficult to defend—even as data suggest the opposite is true.

The Corroboration Requirement

Also during the 1970s, states eliminated the requirement that the victim's testimony be "corroborated" or supported by other evidence. Once an element of the crime in many jurisdictions, the requirement that a rape allegation include extra corroboration rendered cases impossible to prosecute because the crime typically occurs in private, the defense claims the act was consensual,

and the only evidence of nonconsent is the word of the victim. Abolition of the corroboration rule meant that more cases could proceed to trial, and yet juries continued to render not guilty verdicts where there was no corroboration of the victim's testimony.

The Marital Rape Exception

In most states, the crime of rape was originally defined as occurring only against a person who was "not the spouse" of the defendant. This definition meant that rape of a wife by her husband was legally permitted. Reform efforts to eliminate this exception have largely been successful, although some states have moved slowly. The last state to eliminate the spousal exception did not do so until the 1990s. Although the exception itself is no longer part of the black-letter law, the rape of one's wife is rarely prosecuted and is still treated as a minor crime in many states such that it is either more difficult to prove or is subject to lesser punishment than the rape of a nonspouse.

Rape Shield Laws

Reformers in the 1970s celebrated the passage of new laws designed to prohibit the use of a victim's sexual history as evidence at trial. This was intended to prevent a common trial tactic whereby the defense would suggest to a jury that a sexually active woman should be presumed to have consented to the defendant's conduct because she had a practice of engaging in consensual sexual activity in the past. Even if this strategy was not explicit, the mere mention of a victim's sexual activity would easily lead to an acquittal because the jury would blame or dislike the victim based on her past behavior. The enactment of laws to prevent the use of this evidence was hailed as a victory, however, in most states, the legislature tacked on exceptions to the rule such that shield laws were ineffective from the date of enactment. For example, one common exception expressly allows for sexual history to be admitted so long as it involves actions between the victim and the defendant. For married victims raped by their husbands, or victims raped by a long-time intimate partner, this exception rendered the rape shield law not just meaningless but harmful. Before shield laws, a

married victim at least had an opportunity to argue that her past sexual conduct with her husband was irrelevant. Shield laws essentially created a legal presumption of admissibility where one had not existed previously.

Across time, rape shield laws have produced mixed results. For judges who needed education to understand why prior sexual conduct evidence was irrelevant and unfair, the laws helped them to be more mindful. But many judges continue to allow the forbidden evidence to be used at trial not only because of personal and cultural prejudice but also because a victim cannot appeal a judge's decision that violates the shield law. Although prosecutors can appeal certain judicial rulings, they are typically disallowed to challenge a decision involving rape-shield issues.

New Reform Ideas

Abolish Rape-Shield Laws

The failure of shield laws to serve their intended purpose has led to new discussions about their efficacy and possible outright repeal, at least in states where they are proving to be more harmful than helpful. Reformers are instead proposing that victims be represented by private attorneys (the prosecutor is not the victim's personal lawyer) who can argue to the criminal judge that the victim's past sexual conduct is irrelevant, and that excluding it as evidence at trial helps to preserve the constitutional rights of all adults to engage in lawful consensual sexual activity. Reformers argue that with a constitutional rather than a mere statutory argument on the victim's side (statutory laws are far less weighty than constitutional rights), victims' sexual privacy will be better protected and the integrity of the trial itself will be free from the unfair taint of irrelevant, personal, and unduly prejudicial information related to the victim's sex life.

Eliminate Element of Force

In nearly every state, to prove the crime of rape, the prosecutor must show not only that penetration occurred without the victim's consent but also that it was done with "force." Since the ostensible purpose of rape law is to preserve the personal autonomy and bodily integrity of women, reformers are

asking why it is not enough to merit criminal prosecution that penetration occurs without consent, irrespective of the use of force. In the context of theft crimes, when money is taken without consent, the crime of larceny has occurred. If force is also used, the more serious crime of robbery is charged. But when bodily integrity is taken without consent, there is no crime in the absence of additional force beyond that which is necessary to cause penetration without consent. Reformers are now proposing a new law titled “rape without force” or “non-forcible interference with sexual autonomy.” If force is also used, a more serious charge can be brought, but if rape law is to be effective at protecting bodily integrity and personal autonomy, then the nonconsent of the victim, alone, should constitute criminal sexual conduct.

Prior “False” Allegations

In most states, the defense is authorized to inquire about, and to use, evidence that a rape victim made a prior false allegation of rape. This special rule does not typically apply to other types of cases. For example, if a victim is robbed, there is no rule that allows the defense to inquire about, and to use as evidence at trial, the fact that the victim made a prior false claim of robbery—or rape—or anything else. The rule generally applies only to rape victims, and only in rape cases, even though false claims related to insurance fraud and other money-motivated crimes are far more common than false claims of rape.

It is tempting to assume that a prior false claim reveals something about a victim’s credibility, but if this is the premise behind the rule, then it should apply to victims of all crimes, not just rape. And even so, the law in all states requires that the judge balance the prejudicial value of such information against its probative value such that allowing the jury to hear about a past lie will elucidate rather than distort the truth. Reformers are now focusing on how to make judges strike a more fair balance such that evidence of a past false claim is excluded unless it will prove materially helpful to the truth-finding function during trial. For example, judges are being advised to appreciate that victims of domestic violence often recant sexual abuse claims, not because the claims are false but because they fear for their lives. Yet recantations are often

treated as prior “false” claims. Reformers hope to inject into rape trials a better understanding of the nature of prior false claims, alongside an argument that the rule not be applied exclusively to victims of sexual violence.

Mental Health Records

In some states, the privileged therapy/counseling records of rape victims are routinely disclosed to the defense, simply for the asking. In other states, the defense must make a showing of need, and then a judge will screen the records to determine whether they contain evidence that bears on an issue legitimately in dispute at trial. In either type of jurisdiction, a defense request for similar records of a robbery victim will be summarily denied as an undue interference with a victim’s privacy rights. Thus, as with the prior false claims rule, reformers have begun to challenge this practice as unfair treatment of rape victims. To make the argument, lawyers have started to appear in court to object on behalf of victims as well as of therapists and hospitals where the records are kept. The act of sending an attorney to court to object is often enough to protect a victim’s privacy. But often these third-parties cannot afford to hire counsel, and in many cases, the victim is not even aware that her records have been requested. Reformers are working to provide free or low-cost legal services to ensure that proper objections are made and that the privacy and due process rights of victims are respected.

Where to Go for Meaningful Reforms

Early reformers went to the legislature in the hope that things like removing the marital rape exception or enacting a rape shield law would repair systemic mistreatment of victims. But 30 years later, the same data on incidence rates and failure of prosecution efforts shows that those initiatives made little difference. One reason seems to be that although women worked together to lobby for legislative reforms, they had no opportunity to ensure proper enforcement of those laws during criminal trials where women as a class, and in their capacity as individual victims, had no voice. New reformers have shifted reform efforts away from the legislature and toward the judicial and executive branches of government.

The Judicial Branch

Using due process arguments, victims are teaming up with private lawyers and public interest advocacy organizations to demand fairer treatment in criminal cases. Although many judges will question the victim's standing to be heard as a nonparty in a criminal trial, if the system interferes at all with the victim's personal rights (as when the defense seeks access to counseling records or asks probing irrelevant questions about her sexual history), the victim has an absolute right to be heard under the law of due process.

Reformers have also begun to focus on the jury system, insisting that the people who sit in judgment during a rape trial need to be better screened so that those with prejudicial ideas about women in general or rape victims in particular are excluded from the jury. This type of screening is already being facilitated as a matter of course on issues of race and ethnicity, typically on behalf of the accused. Rape law reformers are now advancing gender-based arguments to ensure that the integrity of the process is not tainted by unfair prejudice against the victim.

Similarly, judges are being asked to instruct jurors to be mindful of their own biases against women and rape victims when they retire to the jury room to deliberate on the question of guilt.

Another reform effort in the judicial branch involves the filing of amicus (friend of the court) briefs in appellate cases on behalf of victims and women. Appellate courts often render decisions that create new law or reflect a change in legal policy regarding rape law. Amicus briefs can help to inform appellate courts as to the likely impact of their decision on society, particularly the lives of women, children, and sexual violence victims.

Finally, reformers have been developing court-watch programs that literally place concerned citizens in the audience of courtrooms where rape trials are being handled, to "watch" over judges and make a record of any unfair treatment of the victim, the case, or the issue.

The Executive Branch

As the executive branch official responsible for the prosecution of sexual violence, the prosecutor/district attorney has a duty to make decisions that reflect appropriate respect for the seriousness of

the sexual violence. Reformers have begun to recognize the importance of the prosecutor's role and are becoming politically mobilized to hold prosecutors accountable. For example, during an election year, reformers will insist on full disclosure of how the pie of public resources is being spent on rape trials, and what happens to the cases that are reported to the prosecutor's office. How many reports are accepted for prosecution? Declined? What happens to the ones that move forward? How many end in acquittal? Plea bargain? What punishments are handed down in the end? Reformers are demanding annual "report cards" and promising to prevent the election of candidates who refuse full public disclosure of relevant data on prosecutors' handling of rape cases.

Reformers are also starting to ask prosecutors why sexual violence is not treated as a hate crime. In many states, the law allows prosecutors to seek an enhanced punishment when a crime is committed based on hatred directed at a person because of membership in a protected class, such as race or gender. Yet most prosecutors refuse to bring such charges in rape cases. New reformers are hoping to influence social and legal discourse such that sexual violence is routinely conceived and charged as a civil rights issue, at least for recidivist offenders.

The Legislative Branch

Although many legislative initiatives provide only superficial solutions to cultural and systemic problems in rape law, the legislature can help ensure that victims are not mistreated during the processing of criminal rape cases.

For example, reformers have asked legislators to enact laws to provide better oversight and accountability to redress the misconduct of defense counsel and defense investigators in their interactions with victims. Current practice provides almost no options for a victim who suffers intimidation or other strategic attempts to discourage her from participation in the processing of a rape case.

The legislature is also in a position to enact new laws that mandate victims be advised of their rights at the outset of a criminal investigation, such as the right not to reveal any personal or private information unrelated to the investigation, and the right not to speak with defense counsel or a defense investigator. Too often, victims disclose irrelevant

personal information because they do not understand the implications of revealing the information, and they have no way of knowing how the defense may then use it against them either before or during trial. By ensuring that victims are aware of their rights at the outset of an investigation, reformers hope to empower victims, minimize intimidation tactics, and enhance the overall fairness of rape trials.

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See also Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Rape, Acquaintance and Date; Rape, Marital; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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RAPE MYTHS

The stereotype of rape is that it is a violent attack by a stranger, leaving the victim—who fought

back—injured. Most rapes do not fit this pattern; generally victims/survivors know their assailants. For this reason, many (including victims) have trouble accepting forced sex between acquaintances as rape: It doesn't seem to fit the definition. Victims who cannot put the name “rape” to what happened are less likely to report to the police or seek counseling.

Throughout Western history, most policy makers have agreed that “rape” is a felony crime that warrants severe punishment. A notably chaste woman raped by a gang will almost always receive support. However, when the accused offenders are not obviously violent strangers, the stereotype is challenged. At that point, understanding the offender as a “criminal” becomes difficult, and this shifts the blame to the victim, as it is often thought that a nonstereotypical victim must have somehow caused her victimization.

Because of this stereotype, anti-rape measures tend to be based on the belief that rapes are mainly committed by strangers. For example, universities invest heavily in removing bushes that could hide rapists, installing blue light phones, hiring security, and providing expensive escort services. Women are constantly warned never to be alone at night, to guard their drinks with extreme vigilance, and to be trained in measures to fight off stranger physical attacks.

However, every measure from police records to victimization surveys to government-sponsored research reports has shown that as many as 80% to 90% of offenders were known to the victims. In other words, this popular conception about rape does not reflect the reality of the situation. Such popular misconceptions are often called “rape myths,” because they are powerful stereotypes that can have a profound impact on perceptions of rape and the treatment of victims/survivors and offenders both within and outside of the criminal justice system. According to Martha Burt, rape myths are beliefs about the act and/or the parties to the action that are false or based on stereotypes. Kimberly Lonsway and Louise Fitzgerald define rape myths; although believed by many individuals, they are typically false and are used to justify sexual aggression by men.

Of course, men are also the victims of sexual assault, generally by other men. However, since virtually all studies find a low rate of sexual assault

reported by men, victims/survivors are referred to here as “she” and offenders as “he.”

Types of Rape Myths

Rape myths can blame the victim for her victimization, relieve blame from the offender, and/or trivialize the rape itself. Victim-blaming rape myths imply that women are somehow at fault for their own victimization. For example, “She wanted it at the time but changed her mind the next morning” or a suggestion that the victim is lying about the rape for revenge or to excuse a sexual liaison to a husband, boyfriend, or parents. Other victim-blaming rape myths suggest the victim somehow provoked or encouraged her own victimization. Here, some might claim that rape only happens to certain kinds of women, like those who put themselves in dangerous situations, such as parties where drugs and alcohol will be served, or who dress a certain way. Sarah McMahon adds that there is a perception of rape invulnerability of female athletes; many believe that these strong women cannot be victims of rape.

Other rape myths may serve to relieve offenders of blame. Some think that rape may only be a misunderstanding of consent: A common belief is that she said “no” in a playful way but really meant “yes.” Why, then, a woman who “meant yes” is pressing felony charges remains a mystery, solvable only by those who believe this myth. Another rape myth holds that rape may be accidental, for example, in instances where both the victim and the offender are intoxicated or when men sometimes “lose control.”

Rape myths may also serve to trivialize the rape. A particularly damaging claim is that many sexual assaults do not really harm the victim. Others—even victims themselves—might believe that some rapes (including those that fit the criminal code definition of first-degree sexual assault) are simply “bad dates” because they are not stereotypical violent stranger attacks.

Neutralization

Gresham Sykes and David Matza posited that most people who engage in crime believe that crime is wrong, so they develop rationalizations to make the crime more acceptable. In effect, they

neutralize the deviant behavior for themselves and anyone who agrees with them. Three of their Techniques of Neutralization—denial of injury, denial of victim, and denial of responsibility—are particularly relevant to understanding rape myths.

Denial of Injury: “Nobody got hurt.”

To Sykes and Matza, a crime (like rape) can be explained away by claiming that the victim was not injured. For example, promiscuous women or prostitutes are not “really” raped; the rape myth holds that it was a “bad date” or “business deal gone bad”—or even that the victims are not really people who can be injured, as Jody Miller and Martin Schwartz describe.

Denial of Victim: “She had it coming.”

Rape myths deny the victim; that is, they perpetuate the belief that the victim was at fault or deserved the assault. For example, some believe that prostitutes or wives cannot be raped, as they have, by definition, given irrevocable consent. Another common misperception is that an intoxicated victim deserves her fate for having made herself vulnerable.

Denial of Responsibility: “It wasn’t my fault! She wanted it!”

Rape myths serve to shift blame from the offender to the victim, so that the offender is not held accountable. A common defense to the charge of rape is that the sex was consensual and the offender was not at fault. Some people believe that men can temporarily lose control and not realize what they have done until after the rape. Of course, there is no place in law where this is a legal excuse.

The Criminal Justice System

Rape myths have implications for criminal justice processing. Victims, offenders, and criminal justice officials who believe in rape myths may not recognize that a crime was committed. Within the criminal justice system, police may be less inclined to take a victim seriously, write a report, or make an arrest. Evidence exists that rape myths guide police follow-up investigations. Police commonly classify

subjects and situations into “typical” categories. With rape, stereotypes identified by rape myths may guide decision making, especially when officers have large caseloads, the victim is unlikely to follow up repeatedly, and the case does not provide much information. With “suspect rapes” involving certain women (e.g., lower class or victims falling into certain categories), victims are discredited and allegations of rape are often considered false.

Perhaps the most dangerous impact of rape myths is when they interact with police misconduct. Peter Kraska and Victor Kappeler document police sexual violence against women, which can range from improper strip searches to using their position of authority to force women into sex. They suggest that such officers may believe that intoxicated women in bars are of lower status and are worthy targets of rape, in effect neutralizing their own behavior. Even if police make an arrest, prosecutors may decline to pursue charges if they blame the victim for her own victimization. When a prosecutor pursues charges, myths may affect jury selection or the jury may not convict. Jurors often take into account factors such as gender or offender appearance, and they often rely on rape myths.

Prevalence of Rape Myths

Rape myths are not confined to the criminal justice system. In an enormous literature, studies have shown that men, athletes, and students are more likely to hold ideas supporting rape myths. It is progressively more difficult, however, to locate these populations as many men today know that the “right answer” is to deny holding such beliefs. McMahon has demonstrated that survey measures may not show such beliefs, but that focus groups and individual interviews have revealed subtle and pervasive rape myths.

The Media and Rape Myths

Mass media has long been suspected of forming and perpetuating stereotypes. Broadcast media in particular only present rare cases of certain types, which perpetuates stereotypes. In an attempt to sell stories, facts are presented in a way that grabs attention. To show the effect of the print media on attitudes, Renae Franiuk and colleagues ran a

randomized experiment, finding that those exposed to fictitious rape myth endorsing stories were more likely to believe an alleged offender was innocent; respondents exposed to rape myth challenging articles were more likely to believe an alleged offender was guilty. A sign that the media are an important socialization tool can also be seen in that even among women, those who watch more general, daily television shows are more likely to hold some rape myth-supportive beliefs.

Eliminating Rape Myths

Rape myths are prevalent—although they may be subtle—in society and have implications on how victims are treated. Schwartz and Walter DeKeseredy call for a national program targeted at patriarchal attitudes supportive of violence against women. A national campaign may be the first step in eliminating rape myths.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Rape; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Rape and Consent Issues; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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RAPE SHIELD LAWS

Rape shield laws are statutes or court rules that mostly date from the 1970s and are virtually universal today. Most states adopted shield provision laws as part of the more general reform of rape laws. The rationale for reforms originated from feminists, social scientists, and legal scholars, who stated that laws and rules of evidence unique to rape encouraged criminal justice professionals and jurors to use extralegal factors as a basis to establish guilt or innocence. A rape victim's past sexual conduct and credibility was at the center of these laws. The prevailing thought was the more chaste a woman is, the more likely she would have avoided a sexual advance and to have a justifiable rape allegation. In contrast, an unchaste woman was more likely to have consented to the sexual acts that she would later claim amounted to rape. Furthermore, this crime, unlike others crimes, required there be corroboration of the woman's claim (e.g., reasonable resistance). Legislatures did assent to excluding the chastity requirement by allowing rape shield provisions to limit the extent to which defendants (and their lawyers) could introduce evidence of a victim's sexual history in rape trials.

Ideologically, these evidentiary laws were enacted to prevent secondary victimization by protecting the privacy of the victim and limiting the prejudicial practice of discrediting the victim's rape allegations based on his or her sexual history. Research has suggested that without these in place, victims are deterred from reporting the offense and from participating in the prosecution. Thus, the laws intended to make it more likely for victims to report the actions and not worry about self-incrimination or

past conduct. This is of importance since research has shown that although rape is one of the most under-reported crimes, acquaintance rape is often perceived as less serious than rape between strangers.

Although rape shield laws preclude admission of other sexual experiences, most state statutes and rules do admit evidence of sexual history. Specifically, sexual history between the plaintiff and the defendant is admissible if the defendant provides information regarding pregnancy, disease, or the source of semen. Other states allow sexual history evidence for proving consent and for impeaching the complainant's credibility, and 11 state rape shield laws have "catch-all" exceptions. These exceptions permit the introduction of evidence, even that which normally might be barred by a rape shield law, if the defendant can demonstrate that sexual history evidence is relevant in establishing innocence.

Clearly, the controversy regarding rape shield laws presents conflicting demands. On the one hand, research suggests that strong provisions help protect the privacy and dignity of victims while consequently encouraging victims to report rapes and reduce the ability of defendants to erode the victim's credibility. However, other research maintains that strong shield laws also limit the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights in their ability to establish a complete defense strategy. To date, the constitutionality of these laws has been upheld. Specifically, courts have held that the state's interest in protecting sexual assault victims from harassment and humiliation at trial, as well as the highly prejudicial effect such evidence may have on a jury, outweighs the rights of the defendant. In fact, some courts have expanded the use of rape shield laws beyond the original intent.

Expansion of Rape Shield Laws

Although the goal of the reformers to shift the focus of the trial from the victim (e.g., sexual history) to the defendant's actions has proved to be difficult, research has shown that recent changes to the rape shield laws have been expanded to include other evidence that legislatures deem prejudicial. One example is the clothing of the victim that the defendant tries to introduce to show that the victim consented to or asked for the sexual contact. State statutes that do restrict the

admissibility of clothing, however, make exceptions where it is introduced to show a struggle (or lack thereof) or proof of the presence (or absence) of bodily fluid, such as semen or blood. Rape shield laws have also been expanded in most states to protect victims of all sexual offenses, regardless of the victim's age or sex.

Rape Attribution Studies

Most rape attribution studies using rape scenarios and college students as subjects agree that a woman's past sexual life should not be an issue in a rape case. Indeed, research has shown that to quiz a woman who says she was raped about whether she has had two or more sexual partners is not only cruel and degrading but irrelevant to the question of whether she consented to sex. Other research uses perceptions of criminal justice professionals to determine the likelihood of sexual history evidence being admitted at trial. Regrettably, informal norms about sexual history, what the rape shield law intended to circumvent, are still highly relevant to case outcome.

Impact

Evidence suggests that the primary beneficiaries of rape law reform have been women who are raped by strangers. Specifically, cases with aggravating circumstances (e.g., weapons and serious injuries) have a greater likelihood of prosecution and conviction. The law has had little or no impact on victims of nonstranger rape. In fact, some argue that rape law reform is more symbolic than productive in nonstranger cases. This number is high, as research reports 80% of rape victims know their attackers. Clearly, greater effort is needed to affirm that changes are actually implemented and practiced.

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See also Rape; Rape and Consent Issues; Rape Law Reform

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RAPE TRAUMA SYNDROME

Rape trauma syndrome (RTS), originally theorized as an acute stress reaction to the threat of being killed while living through and surviving completed or attempted rape, has evolved into three overlapping but distinct bodies of literature regarding psychological trauma. This entry provides a definition of the syndrome as originally theorized and its value and limitations, key advances in knowledge regarding the human trauma response as related to epidemic yet minimized prevalence rates of sexual victimization and resultant traumatization, a brief comment on use of RTS in the prosecution of rape and sexual assault, and some suggestions on prevention.

Original Definition

Rape is the forcible entry of one person into the most intimate parts of another person's body with an aim toward imprinting the victim's soul against her or his will. Whether or not the victim sustains visible bodily injury—and most do not—rape is an act of profound cruelty experienced as abject powerlessness, a sexualized act of dominance that reduces the victim's sacred personhood to an inanimate object to be used at the sole discretion of the perpetrator. Until the mid-1970s in the United

States, rape and other forms of sexual violence were culturally (mis)understood and purported to be not much more than a nuisance, predominantly nonconsequential for the victim, other than, for female victims, lowering their prospects or value as Wife. Rape and other forms of sexual victimization are currently considered by criminal justice authorities as among the most severe and underreported violent crimes in America today.

RTS was originally theorized, in 1974, by researchers Ann Wolbert Burgess, a psychiatric nurse, and sociologist Lynda Lytle Holmstrom, to describe the patterned post-assault experience of victim/survivors of completed or attempted rape, which they characterize as a traumatic stress reaction to the threat of being killed. This first empirical investigation on victims' responses to rape used a convenience sample of all persons admitted to an urban hospital emergency department for treatment for rape within a 1-year period. Of the 146 individuals who were treated, which included children, adolescents, and males, 92 interviews from the adult female rape victims were analyzed. The researchers detailed the pattern of emotional and physical distress, coping, and healing victim/survivors go through while suffering the effects of victimization, immediately after the violation and over time. RTS, as described by Burgess and Holmstrom, consists of two post-assault stages of recovery: the *acute phase* followed by the *reorganization phase*, both of which involve profound psychological, physical, behavioral, and social consequences that wield the capacity to disrupt and alter the victim/survivor's life, forever, to varying degrees.

The acute phase of RTS occurs immediately after the sexualized assault and generally lasts days to weeks, although victims vary as to the amount of time they experience it; often acute phase symptoms overlap with the symptoms of the long-term process of reorganization. Similar to the shocking and overwhelming experience of victims who have survived other types of inescapable life-threatening situations, the acute phase is marked by fear of physical injury, mutilation, and death, and it is characterized as radical disorganization of multiple aspects of the self and daily life; thus, it is also referred to as the *disruptive phase*. The primary task of this stage of recovery is to quell the crisis of intrapsychic disequilibrium the rape triggered in the victim so she might feel safe in and familiar

with her own body—its sensations, effects, and behavior—again.

The impact of rape in the acute phase is manifest in one of two styles—*expressed* or *controlled* reactions. In the expressed reaction, the victim shows outward signs of fear, anxiety, shock or sense of disbelief, anger, apprehension, guilt, shame, embarrassment, humiliation, degradation, feeling dirty, self-blame, revenge, and panic. Behaviorally, the expressed reaction may manifest as crying, laughing, screaming, sobbing, joking, tenseness, shaking, restlessness, and pacing. Within the controlled-type of reaction, the victim masks or hides her feelings, displaying little overt outward response, and may appear calm, composed, disaffected, numb, subdued, bewildered, sedate, or stifled. Controlled behaviors mask the serious psychological wound the rape victim has endured and are likely to be an attempt to suppress hidden inner chaos. As a result of the range and intensity of feelings experienced, victims are prone to mood swings and may alternate between the responses, surprising the victim/survivor and confusing those around her or him not familiar with rape trauma.

The acute phase also includes somatic, cognitive, and behavioral reactions. Cognitive reactions include being “haunted” by intrusive thoughts regarding the incident and how the victim could “undo” it as well as sleep pattern disturbances, such as difficulty falling and staying asleep. Somatic reactions include general fatigue and an overactive startle response; physical trauma caused by bruises, tears, abrasions, and depending on the specifics of the incident, genitourinary disturbances such as infections, vaginal discharge, tearing, and/or soreness, anal bleeding, tearing and/or soreness in the rectal area, irritation of the mouth and throat when forced orally; skeletal muscle reactions such as headaches, general aches, and soreness; and gastrointestinal irritations such as nausea, vomiting, and/or disturbed eating patterns. Those with a preexisting condition, such as alcoholism or psychosis, may experience a reactivation of previously controlled symptoms; Burgess and Holmstrom refer to this as a “compounded reaction,” which may complicate movement into and resolve of the reorganization phase of recovery.

The acute phase is followed by the long-term reorganization phase during which the survivor seeks to make sense of the assault, integrate the

traumatic experience into his or her overall life experience, and rebuild the rape-resultant shattered beliefs about the world, other people, and the self. The primary recovery task in the reorganization phase, which can last from weeks to years and beyond, is restoring order to the survivor's lifestyle and daily living practices and reestablishing a sense of self-efficacy and control in the world. The duration of the reorganization phase varies, because of factors such as the age of the victim at the time of the incident, personality and coping styles, whether the violence was disclosed and when, the immediate reactions of those told, and the overall social and emotional support available and given to the survivor.

Until the trauma is integrated, the reintegration phase is characterized by changes in lifestyle, continued sleep disturbances, and dealing with significant psychological distress. Lifestyle changes are defensive reactions taken to feel safe again (e.g., withdrawal from familiar people or social places once frequented; installing a security system; compulsively checking locks and windows; changing apartments, jobs, schools, or phone numbers; and making new friends). The survivor in the reorganization phase may still be dealing with physical issues from the victimization (e.g., pregnancy, injury, scarring, and/or other physical issues). Burgess and Holmstrom reported that the survivor must contend and work through significant psychological issues in the integration phase of recovery (e.g., nightmares, depression, suicidal ideation, phobias, or overgeneralized fears directly related to a specific aspect of the assault), which continue to disrupt victim/survivors' lives until they are able to make meaning of their victimization and to integrate its consequences into their overall life experience.

Strengths and Limitations of Rape Trauma Syndrome

Rape, up until the 1970s, was conceptualized in criminal justice and legal realms, social science literature, as well as other popular cultural arenas as a rare phenomenon, committed primarily by strange aberrant males, without much consequence to the person raped, and that which warranted concern for the accused rather than the victim/survivor. The widespread prevalence and destructiveness of these gender-biased myths is well documented, as is their result in a deflection of attention

away from the behavior of the perpetrator and toward the behavior of the victim/survivor.

The considerable value of Burgess and Holmstrom's landmark descriptive theorization of RTS is that it (1) demonstrated that rape is a terrifying event that triggers the human trauma response; (2) suggested inaccurate understanding of (sexual) trauma has significant consequences on victims' subsequent behavior; (3) provided the means for prosecutors to explain behavior thought by jurors to be inconsistent with how a "real" rape survivor would/should behave; and (4) stimulated an extensive body of empirical investigation on sexual trauma challenging entrenched social denial and distortion of the subject.

As the oeuvre of traumatic stress and sexual victimization literatures have grown, however, RTS has been critiqued on the grounds that (1) original study findings have not been replicated by voluminous subsequent investigation in that victim responses vary more widely than reported thanks to several increasingly known factors (e.g., social support), although the general recovery phases and their tasks are operative; (2) RTS in many instances meets the criteria for the more inclusive diagnosis of acute stress disorder (ASD) or posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and is not found in any edition of the *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, the standard diagnosis reference guide for psychological conditions; (3) theoretical constructs, specifically the "compound reaction" and "hidden" versions of the syndrome, are unclear and have been subsequently refined as a complex traumatization, the result of criminal revictimization and/or multiple traumas, and the fact that many victim/survivors never label their experience using the criminal justice terms *rape* and *sexual assault* because of their familiarity with the perpetrator, or the absence of weapons or (overt) force; and (4) the term has evolved to include multiple meanings, which is particularly problematic when used for forensic testimony in criminal prosecutions.

Key Advances in Knowledge of Sexual Victimization and the Human Trauma Response

Since the late 1980s, large-scale, population-based public health and criminal justice research investigations have challenged myths emphasizing rarity

and strangeness with regard to sexual victimization: 18% of adult women and 3% of adult men report having experienced rape, completed or attempted, in their lifetime; 25% of girls and 16% of boys report having experienced some form of sexual abuse before age 18 years; and many populations have higher prevalence rates. Most of these victimizations are committed by males known to the victim/survivor as family members, intimates, peers, acquaintances, and trusted authority figures. Sexual violence on a scale this large can only exist within a culture that supports it.

Human beings, on the whole, seek to avoid pain—including bearing witness to the anguished pain of others—particularly when lacking a framework for understanding. As such, the human trauma response is a dialectic characterized by an involuntary movement between the expectation of danger—a “hypervigilance” taking the form of intrusive, uncontrollable body memories, flashbacks, nightmares, and anxiety during wakefulness—and an emotional numbing—a “construction” presenting symptomatically as denial or an indifference to pain, lack of empathy, difficulty expressing feelings, and abhorrence of intimacy and tenderness. PTSD is the psychiatric diagnosis for this symptomatology when it lasted beyond a 3-month period. This dialect, however, operates on individual as well as societal levels, with rippling individual and social consequences.

Judith Lewis Herman’s seminal work, *Trauma and Recovery*, posits the primary experience of psychological trauma—whether instigated by human disregard, malice, or a natural disaster—is one of profound disempowerment of self and disconnection from others. Hallmark characteristics are feelings of shame, stigma, isolation, and when human instigated as in sexual victimization, a deep betrayal of trust, of both self and other. Trauma significantly impacts interpersonal attachments and the ways people relate to and perceive the victim/survivor, as well as the way that the victim/survivor relates to and perceives others. Although true for all forms of traumatization, this is particularly true for sexual trauma caused by harsh cultural misconceptions and victim-blaming attitudes and institutional practices, which result in significant negative impact on victim/survivor disclosure and help-seeking rates, intervention treatment efforts, and criminal justice reporting and prosecution rates, which are notoriously low.

Use in Legal Context

Defense attorneys in rape and other sexual victimization cases seek to capitalize on the general public’s uneducated belief in gender stereotypes and rape myths—which are expressed in jurors’ victim-blaming attitudes. Since the early 1980s, prosecutors have used RTS or descriptions of the impact of rape to explain common victim behaviors in an attempt to assist jurors in sexual violence prosecutions by countering the common myths and stereotypes that consistently hamper these prosecutions.

At this point in history, legal experts strongly advise against using expert testimony that includes RTS for the limitations discussed above. Even when RTS has been admitted into court jurisdictions by passing various federal and state rules of evidence regarding the introduction of scientific testimony, since the purpose of the testimony is to provide an accurate context for which jurors can evaluate a victim’s behavior in relation to the facts presented, it is recommended that testimony focus on descriptions of myths surrounding sexual violence, the dynamics of sexual victimization, and the common victim reactions in relation to behavior. Furthermore, RTS is not a recognized psychological diagnosis, although it is often considered a subcategory of PTSD; therefore, testimony using such language is vulnerable to attack by defense attorneys or to be overturned by appellate courts on the basis of an improper foundation to introduce such testimony.

Prevention

Research in the area of resiliency to the long-term effects of traumatization is increasingly highlighting the role of “social support.” Effective intervention to mitigate traumatization and revictimization necessitates alleviating social shame for victim/survivors so they can get help and holding perpetrators responsible for their actions in courts of law and other social venues. Primary prevention of rape and sexual trauma—that is, stopping it before it happens—necessitates changing key social norms that contribute to the sexual victimization of women, and men, and gender-based violence in general.

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See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Rape; Rape Myths; Repeat Victimization; Sexual Victimization

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RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

Rational choice theory (RCT) originated partly in response to a growing interest among researchers, policy planners, and practitioners of criminal justice in the 1970s in focusing on crime itself as a central unit of analysis so that something might be done to reduce the impact of crime in the “here and now.” In essence, the rational choice approach seeks to understand how crime happens, without necessarily needing to document why. Derek Cornish and Ronald V. Clarke, both researchers with the Home Office in England, are considered the first to bring rational decision-making perspectives into mainstream criminology. While examining youths released from detention after what seemed to be successful interventions during their custody (e.g., the youths did not violate rules, were sociable, and otherwise exhibited good behavior) some reoffended after release, whereas others did not. This led Cornish and Clarke to consider the impact of the specific situation (environmental factors) in which the youths found themselves as

part of the explanation. This observation parallels the ecological work of the Chicago School that observed that people seemed to leave behind their criminal involvement when they left the social and economic pressures of the downtown core and moved—when they could—to the more affluent suburbs. Here, as with the youth Cornish and Clark observed later, they were the same people but in a different environment, which therefore resulted in different levels of criminal involvement.

This practical focus runs somewhat against the prevailing wisdom that the key to preventing crime is to understand why people become criminal and then design and implement preventive programming of those at risk of becoming criminal, and treating those that already were. At its core, the rational choice perspective posits that, for most offenses, we are missing valuable opportunities for crime reduction if we ignore the role of individual decision-making processes that lead some to commit crimes, whereas others in similar settings and contexts do not. The importance of situational specificity is a defining characteristic of this theory.

Assumptions and View of Human Nature

The main assumptions that RCT requires to be true, or at least mostly true, for most situations and individuals are as follows. First, it is in human nature for us to pursue any given task with a mind to its accomplishment with the least amount of effort, regardless of its morality or universal acceptability. Second, such objectives are pursued within a rational context that prioritizes potential actions against expected costs and benefits (i.e., risk vs. reward). If the benefits outweigh the costs, then the action is at least, on its surface, worth considering. Third, an iterative feedback loop is created that helps process these cues, feelings, and expectations. In this rational calculus, individuals interpret cues from their environment situation and, in a more or less intentional way, apply these to their understandings of past outcomes from previous decisions made in similar contexts. Fourth, although not a formal demand, it is expected that the bulk of decisions will tend to be made in furtherance of self-interest. Fifth, offenders are remarkably similar to nonoffenders, and the former do not typically decide to commit a crime.

Application

Rational choice theory is one of the core theories in what is often referred to as environmental criminology. Along with routine activities theory (RAT) and pattern theory (PT), the rational choice perspective sets out the basic push/pull factors that are thought to be of central importance to understanding crime events. RCT is particularly important in environmental criminology as it serves as the link between the more meso- and macro-levels of analysis used by RAT and PT.

Rational choice theory provides researchers with a structured approach when thinking about the environmental and the social factors that allow us to exploit opportunities to both encourage people to do the right (sanctioned, legal) thing while impeding the ease with which the wrong (unsanctioned, illegal) thing can be done in any given context. In this regard, it works hand-in-hand with situational crime prevention (SCP) schemes. By understanding something of the decision-making process of most offenders, it is possible to identify the largely patterned nature of crime opportunities and make them less suitable, lucrative, or enjoyable via a mixture of environmental planning and product design efforts.

Taking seriously the settings in which offenders and nonoffenders alike operate—that is, how we all go about our daily routines—is the starting point. To reduce crime opportunities, the RC approach would attempt to introduce measures on a micro-scale that

1. increase the risks associated with a criminal act,
2. reduce the potential reward for its completion,
3. interrupt the ease with which the offense can be committed,
4. remove the excuses available to the offender, and
5. reduce provocations or temptations that may prefigure criminal behavior.

SCP generally, and crime prevention through environmental design in particular, promotes strategies that exploit the physical and the social environment to effect these five outcomes. Increasing the risks associated with an offense is difficult as it requires the situational cues to stack up against any

noted benefits in the minds of the potential offender. Signage in mass transit stations posting the number of persons caught shoplifting in the past year would be an example of trying to interrupt criminally intentioned offenders from attempting such an act in the current setting. Similarly, warnings of security patrols or alarms may also serve as disincentives to burgle the premises. Minimizing rewards complements the increasing risks strategy in an obvious way. Consider the entertainment systems in most newer vehicle models, where face-plates, or similar devices that are easily removed by the owner when unattended, make stealing the music player of limited or no value. In addition to adjusting the risk/reward couplet in favor of crime prevention, it is possible to make it simultaneously easier to follow the law than to break it. Easy to understand income tax rules make it harder to justify continued, creative bookkeeping, on the one hand, and clearly fraudulent practices, on the other, as it becomes easier to be discovered by authorities and less likely you can explain it away as accidental or unintentional. Reducing provocation/temptation to commit an offense is a less intrusive method in achieving crime reduction or prevention. Together, these five objectives involve disrupting the scripts or crime templates that feed back into repeated criminal behaviors. How these concepts are thought to operate can be broken down into involvement and readiness categories of decision making.

Involvement Decisions

Although some people end up becoming offenders as a result of a snap decision, or so-called crimes of passion, most offenses do not result from such situations. Instead, nearly all offenders have made a series of decisions previous to the offense that, in effect, pave the way for criminal involvement during the long run. Debates occur regarding the speed with which this propensity to crime takes place, but the more important issue at hand for RCT is that some people are more ready (predisposed) to commit offenses than others. As has been shown above, this proclivity for rule violation stems from first entertaining the idea of breaking the law, examining the successes/failures of others, trying the behavior, and then readjusting one's expectations from one's own experiences and

those conveyed by others. By observing what works and does not work about criminal involvement, the evidence begins to mount as to whether it is time to become actively involved in crime, to continue to commit more crime when the opportunities present, or if it seems to be best to slow down such involvements or desist completely. Such learning and interaction with peer groups—and adapting some strategies but not others—shares common ground with the Chicago School but, again, without the degree of focus on “who” or especially “why” some chose to commit offenses, instead on the “what, when and where” questions. Offenders, according to RCT, are aware that they are contemplating criminal behavior and are prepared to act on this readiness when the situation is to their advantage to do so.

Event Readiness

Involvement decisions cover the long range, strategic planning of individuals as they build (or find) their respective moral compasses. At a more interesting level for crime prevention, however, is the more situationally specific decision of whether to commit a crime, right here, right now. This layer of decision making is much more conscious and overtly rational than the manner in which individuals acquire long-term predispositions to rule breaking. Readiness decisions are made within a short time horizon and, as one might expect, with patently incomplete information. Nevertheless, this is the situation facing offenders as they decide to move beyond a state of readiness and actually make it happen. People may not decide, in a literal sense, to drive while intoxicated when they set out for an evening’s entertainment at a night club or bar; however, it is the case that they put themselves into a situation where it is a possibility. If steps are not taken to avoid driving while intoxicated (such as making arrangements for transport via a designated driver), if that person chooses to drive home anyway, he or she has at a minimum decided that it is OK to commit this offense. More controversially, when a person decides to experiment with crack cocaine, or heroin, for example, one is unlikely to do so with the rational intent of becoming addicted. Yet a series of decisions is made that make it acceptable that one would be in a position to experiment with such substances.

Bounded (Limited) Rationality

Both involvement and event readiness decisions are made with the best available information and understandings of past experiences. Notice, however, that this does not demand that the information upon which individuals base their decisions be accurate, or that the logic with which they are applied be valid or effective for a given objective. A range of factors can impede the rational calculus beyond simple errors of logical reasoning, or misreading of the event-specific cues regarding the risk-reward determination. The most obvious is incomplete information. Crime opportunities that are discovered as a result of happenstance may lead a potential offender to overestimate the likelihood of a successful, spur-of-the-moment theft. Police sting operations take advantage of this line of reasoning in particular. In some jurisdictions, police use “bait cars” to capture would-be car thieves in the act—and on film, as many such vehicles are fitted with wireless microphones and cameras. Even those offenders who have diminished rational capacity as a result of drugs, alcohol, or mental disorders still make active decisions about when, and when not, to commit crime.

Criticisms

Criticisms of RCT start with its conception of rationality and argue that offenders are not nearly as cogent as described by its adherents. Crimes of passion, such as those resulting from a violent altercation between a couple that started as a result of an argument regarding household finances is an example. Still other criticisms argue that RCT misses several important structural (macro-level) variables that are commonly studied in crime, delinquency, and deviance research—gender, race, and socioeconomic inequality. Others find that RCT is too focused on preventing so-called street crimes, while ignoring root causes to crime generally.

Regardless of one’s preferences for how to study crime, or what one’s objectives ought to be, RCT provides a template for how it is possible to understand how crime happens, at a micro-level, by drawing our attention to the role of decision making in environmentally specific contexts.

J. Bryan Kinney

See also Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access (VIVA); Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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REASSURANCE POLICING

Reassurance policing (RP) is a comparatively new perspective in the community policing tradition. It focuses on targeting those crime and disorder incidents that influence and “drive” public perceptions of rising crime and fear of victimization and, thus, experiences of insecurity. Although previous police strategies have prioritized crime reduction and prevention, RP focuses on the impact that crime and disorder have on levels of neighborhood security. This entry explores the emergence of RP, its practical implications, and how this approach addresses problems of crime and disorder.

Crime, Reassurance, and Police Strategy

From the 1970s until the mid-1990s in the United Kingdom, national crime statistics indicated that the level of crime was rising. During this period, policing strategies, such as zero-tolerance policing and intelligence-led policing, tended to focus on the objective of preventing and detecting crime. In the mid-1990s, however, along with several other jurisdictions, crime levels in the United Kingdom started

to fall and have continued to remain comparatively low. Nevertheless, reports from the British Crime Survey suggest that around two thirds of the public actually believe that crime is getting worse. This lack of correlation between recorded crime levels and public perception was concerning to policy makers and was something that several chief police officers began to refer to as the “reassurance gap” around 2001. They argued that the ability to narrow this gap required a change in the trajectory of development of policing policy and practice, and consequently, they suggested a need for a renewed interest in the notion of community policing. It is set against this backdrop that the concepts associated with RP emerged.

What Is Reassurance Policing?

In October 2003, the Police Standards Unit of the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers launched the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP). The idea of the NRPP was to design and test the capacity of a systematic approach to the local delivery of policing services to reduce both objective and subjective levels of neighborhood insecurity, while increasing levels of trust and confidence in the police. The approach that was designed and tested was built around three interlocking components:

1. Police officers need to be visible, accessible, familiar, and effective at a very local level.
2. They should target the signal crimes and signal disorders in every neighborhood that has the biggest influence on public perceptions of security.
3. Police staff should aim to coproduce solutions to the signal problems by working closely with communities and other local agencies, as this is likely to increase sustainability.

These components effectively integrate and synthesize the benefits that have resulted from other previous policing reform strategies, such as problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing. What was distinctively new was the emphasis on tackling “signal events.” By targeting resources and assets upon those incidents that act as signals of risk to communities, RP identified a rationale

for ensuring that policing interventions were precisely focused on the needs of individual communities and neighborhoods. This required a systematic and structured approach to community engagement in order to collect community intelligence on what really mattered to people, as opposed to relying on national performance indicators to determine policing priorities. Although an emphasis on the importance of the police engaging with communities adheres to most previous formulations of community policing, RP considerably extends and develops this. The community intelligence that is derived from engagement processes is the basic material that is used to analyze what issues are priorities for a particular community. As such, RP fundamentally aims to move the power of control back to communities so that individuals have a direct influence on how they are policed and policing is tailored to these needs.

An important element of the research that underpins RP theory is that it recognizes that public insecurities are not just determined by crime alone. In some areas, crime is an important determinant of neighborhood insecurity, but in other areas, antisocial behavior and physical disorders will be more influential. Thus, RP does not seek to distinguish between the relative importance of crime and disorder. Rather it suggests that in most areas both need to be tackled effectively and proportionately in order to manage neighborhood security.

Wider Influence

In contrast to most other policing perspectives that focus primarily on crime reduction, RP extends the remit of the police, arguing that they need to be directly concerned with subcriminal behaviors and public perceptions. In so doing, RP has been the key influence both conceptually and practically on several recent police reforms, most notably the national rollout of neighborhood policing across the United Kingdom. The evaluation of the NRPP demonstrated that a systematic approach to the delivery of local policing services, conducted in a manner precisely attuned to community needs, can impact on how safe people are (in terms of their likelihood of being a victim of crime) as well as on how safe they perceive themselves to be. This is because the problems that evoke fears among a particular community may not reflect the issues

deemed fearful from a police or government perspective. As such, the ability to reassure the public must include understanding the problems within and across communities, together with the individual and collective effects these incidents of crime and disorder have. That RP has achieved such an influence on the direction of police reform reflects a sense shared by several commentators and policy makers that insecurity and fear of crime are key social problems of the contemporary era.

Nicola J. Weston

See also British Crime Survey (BCS); Community Policing; Fear of Crime; Problem-Oriented Policing

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REDUCING BURGLARY INITIATIVE

In 1999, the British government committed more than £250 million to the Crime Reduction Programme (CRP), to be administered by the Home Office in England and Wales. After the British government's 1998 Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR), the CRP was launched as an initiative in evidence-based policy—with the specific intentions both of grounding crime prevention in reliable knowledge about what works and of learning lessons from practical crime prevention activities—especially about cost-effectiveness—so that they might be passed on to future government programs and local crime prevention partnerships. A major component was to be the *Reducing Burglary Initiative* (RBI). This entry examines the RBI's history, implementation, and issues of evaluation.

History

The then–Home Secretary (Rt. Hon. Jack Straw, MP) commended the RBI to Parliament specifically as an evidence-based initiative. The CRP itself was justified to Parliament (in July 1998) with reference to the Home Office report *Reducing Offending*—a review of research enquiring into what works in the reduction of crime. The review aimed specifically to reverse what the British government perceived to have been the prevailing message taken from previous research (i.e., that “nothing worked” in the reduction of offending). Minister’s confidence was expressed in their wide-reaching *Crime Reduction Strategy*, but they were also encouraged by the claims of in-house Home Office crime prevention research and development. Two particular features of this research and development program were influential: first, an emphasis on “situational” methods of crime prevention, especially the application of techniques in ways that might enhance the efficacy of the police, such as problem-oriented policing; and second, an approach that is oriented specifically toward practice.

Nevertheless, the RBI was also the progeny of the British government’s 1998 CSR. In essence, the CSR is a mechanism for reallocating resources among the various spending programs of the government, the governance of which lies with HM Treasury. Equally part of evidence-based policy making, HM Treasury management of the CSR required spending departments to put forward analyzed evidence in respect of their proposals—including the Home Office CRP—and, importantly, in return for its investment, expected them to account for the cost-effectiveness of their resulting programs, using rigorously analyzed evidence, assembled according to its own guidelines. The HM Treasury required the CRP to be subject to rigorous, independent evaluation of its cost-effectiveness. Thus, the evaluation of the RBI was from the outset likely to become a hostage to these two contending definitions of evidence-based policy making: on the one hand, Home Office interest in the validation of utilizable techniques to reduce crime; and on the other hand, HM Treasury’s concern to establish that “what works is what counts” in the expenditure of public money.

Sixty-odd local *Strategic Development Projects* (SDPs) comprised the first phase of the Burglary Reduction Initiative and were subject to the most rigorous evaluation. Local Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRP; established by the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998) were invited to bid for funding as SDPs. They were asked to identify areas comprising 3,000 to 5,000 households that had experienced at least twice the national recorded domestic burglary rate during the previous 3 years. A successful number of bids to become SDPs subsequently worked with Home Office consultants to develop detailed implementation plans. These plans resulted in several different kinds of proposed measures, targeted at different aspects of each local burglary problem. In the end, around £60,000 (at 1999 prices) was granted by the Home Office to support each of these plans, although many SDPs also planned to “lever-in” additional resources (usually staff) from partner agencies in support of their range of measures.

The political tension produced by these countervailing definitions of evidence-based policy led to pressure being placed on the independent evaluation. This pressure resulted in the premature publication of results by the Home Office and in reliance on an inadequate and unreliable methodology for the assessment of cost-effectiveness. These methodological errors tended to bias the results toward Conclusion Error—accepting the results to be true when they might not be.

This entry is based on an evaluation of 21 SDPs undertaken by Tim Hope and his associates, who sought to avoid many of the potential errors, biases, and distortions that may have occurred in the other reports.

Project Implementation and Outcome

Several aspects of the SDPs were anticipated to bring about successful outcomes.

Strategic Planning

According to the Home Office’s consultants, the methodology of implementation was thought to comprise the identification and analysis of the burglary problem, the devising of solutions, an assessment of the likely impact of these solutions, a review of progress, the refinement of approaches, and the evaluation of success.

The results of the evaluation of the impact of the 21 SDPs on the 20 target areas found that there were three groups of projects:

- *Group A* ($n = 6$)—projects that brought about a statistically significant reduction in burglary in their target area over and above the local burglary trend.
- *Group B* ($n = 7$)—projects that brought about a reduction in burglary in their target area, although this was not significantly different from the local burglary trend.
- *Group C* ($n = 7$)—projects that seemed to bring about an increase in burglary in the target area, although only one of these was statistically significantly different from the local trend.

The chances of success of a project seemed to be enhanced if targets and objectives were set in the light of local burglary patterns and trends—what was referred to by the Home Office as the “local chemistry of burglary.” However, this chemistry would seem to be much more complex—and its dynamics more difficult to understand—than had been anticipated. In some circumstances, there may have been a favorable “virtuous” spiral of burglary reduction already occurring in the community, and there was also the possibility of inadvertently upsetting such trends and making matters worse. The problem for crime reduction projects was therefore knowing when, or even if, to intervene, and when to support what might be called the “natural” crime reduction activities that were going on within the community, that is, those that have little directly to do with the crime prevention project. Not many projects were able to do this, not because the evaluators’ denied them the information they needed but because of an absence both of a theory about local crime trends and a methodology to analyze them reliably. More sophisticated analysis of local crime trends and patterns would seem to be needed, similar to that used in Hope and associates’ evaluation research.

Packages of Measures

Projects were encouraged to include a mixture of “tried and tested” and innovative tactics. The developers encouraged the projects to remove contradictions and improve the mixture of measures

to ensure a systematic approach that would have a good chance of maximizing effectiveness.

The more successful projects comprised integrated packages of measures in two senses:

- Projects were not isolated either from crime trends or from other crime reduction and area-regeneration programs occurring in the wider area. Although several projects seemed to have a greater impact on their surrounding areas than in their own target areas, this can be perceived as a consequence of a wider set of activities, of which the projects were part, rather than a “diffusion of benefit” from their specific burglary-reduction efforts.
- Interventions that mutually supported and reinforced each other seemed more successful. This was especially noticeable for projects that reinforced their delivery of security and target-hardening with publicity and other “stakeholder-engagement” programs that sought to actively involve community residents, thereby reinforcing their own private security activities.

Crime Prevention Measures

Specific prevention measures were devised by the local projects, with assistance from the developers. Subsequently, these were classified into the following generic categories:

Areawide Situational Crime Prevention (SCP)—including alley-gating, environmental improvements, and closed-circuit television (CCTV) schemes

Enforcement—including gathering, analyzing, and using intelligence, disrupting offending behavior, high-visibility policing, and witness protection

Location-Specific SCP—including the surveillance and target hardening of individual dwellings

Tackling Offender Behavior—including youth diversion and drug abuse prevention and treatment schemes

Property—primarily property-marking schemes

Stake-Holding—including education, public awareness and publicity campaigns, and resident involvement schemes

A significant investment in SCP measures delivered to the community was more likely to be part

of successful projects than either enforcement or tackling offender behavior. In terms of expenditure, certain types of interventions seemed more likely to be associated with unsuccessful projects. A greater proportion of the least (Group C) and less successful (Group B) projects' expenditures went toward police enforcement activities—including “gathering, analyzing, and using intelligence”; “disrupting offending behavior”; and “high-visibility policing”—apparently to little avail. Similarly, a higher proportion of expenditure in these projects was devoted to measures intended to tackle offending behavior, and they spent the least resources on “stake-holding” projects to engage the local community, including education, publicity, and awareness schemes. This suggests that, in the short run, the activities of local offenders are most likely to be addressed indirectly via an increase in the level of private security among their potential victims in the community rather than through direct contact with them by public agencies.

Crime Prevention Tactics

There were also different tactics for applying these measures to ensure maximum cost-effectiveness, particularly a contrast between a *targeted approach*—based on the idea of identifying at-risk or vulnerable domestic burglary targets—and a *coverage approach*—where all possible targets are covered so that no one remains vulnerable.

The most popular targeted-approach was a strategy of reducing repeat victimization (RV). Seventeen out of the twenty SDPs proposed some form of repeat victimization prevention strategy as part of their agreed plans. Eight projects were proposed solely to target new burglary victims shortly after they had been victimized, whereas nine projects were proposed to add targeting components, such as targeting already repeat victims, “cocooning” nearby neighbors of recent victims, and targeting other vulnerable groups, for example, elderly households. Two major flaws with this strategy emerged across the projects. First, where changes in the rate of RV could be measured, there were no projects where it reduced—and some where it actually increased, even in situations where projects achieved a significant reduction in the overall burglary rate. Second, it emerged that part of the

reason for this was that the plans for RV prevention proposed by the projects—which were consistent with Home Office advice and had been approved by the expert project developers—faced considerable practical difficulties when implementation was attempted, to the extent that several, although not all, abandoned or considerably modified their targeting strategy. The main reasons for why this occurred are as follows:

- Too few victims/repeat victims resident in the target area.
- Some projects had persistent problems associated with the system of referrals of eligible cases from the crime-reporting and investigation process and/or delivery of prevention (usually some kind of target-hardening) to the identified target dwelling.
- Several projects faced low take-up among eligible victims, and high rates of refusals and noncompliance with the prevention offered them, often much to the surprise of the projects themselves. A variety of reasons exist for this, including an evident preference on the part of victims for self-help, linked to suspicion of the project's motives or personnel, victims' inability or refusal to contribute a share to the costs of the installation, and particularly in the case of households in multiple occupations, an inability to locate or ensure the compliance of the property owner.

Action Planning

If success for the projects would come about through strategic and tactical planning, then the more effort that was put in advance into devising strategies and subsequent action plans, the more confident were the Home Office consultants that success could be attained. Yet this conflicts with the aim of innovation: Because effectiveness depends, first and foremost, on successful implementation, approaches with a lower or known risk of failure during implementation ended up as more effective than more “radical” approaches that contained a greater or unanticipated risk of failure.

Generally, many planned interventions were never fully implemented with only about 58% of the total number of planned interventions (116) using more than 5% of their project's total

resources. Although the more successful projects (Group A) planned *fewer* interventions, they implemented proportionately *more* of them than the least successful projects (Group C). It seemed that the “smarter” projects chose approaches with which they were familiar rather than the more innovative approaches, although, of course, these also needed to have some promise of success rather than (1) merely being consistent with general agency practice or (2) innovative ideas from central government (such as RV reduction) that proved not to be particularly practical or effective (see the “Crime Prevention Tactics” section above).

Problem Solving

There were also two views as to what kind of problem solving would be needed. On the one hand, there is the view that problems are best solved by being anticipated and taken care of in advance, primarily through detailed action planning. On the other hand, it may be that the range, diversity, and complexity of practical and operational problems that might emerge during implementation cannot be anticipated easily and that solutions are more likely to develop from the practical and immediate experience of overcoming problems at first hand—an approach that sees implementation as a complex process of change, adjustment, and continuing innovation.

Although much attention has been given to problem solving as a method of working out what to do about specific, local crime problems, generally much less attention has been paid to taking a problem-solving approach to implementation. The more successful projects were also those that were able to take remedial action swiftly and soon when proposed interventions began to experience difficulties in practice. It was revealing what happened when they encountered implementation difficulties with their RV strategies. The more successful projects (Group A) were more likely to have abandoned or seriously modified their RV plans—usually to widen coverage or eligibility to other vulnerable groups or to residents generally. In contrast, the least successful projects (Group C) were much more likely to have persisted in seeking to implement their RV plans despite evidence that they were encountering difficulties. Since four of the six projects that persisted with their RV strategies

ended up seemingly bringing about an increase in burglary by their activities, it is difficult with this evidence to avoid the conclusion not only that their RV prevention tactics were ineffectual but also that persisting with them was misguided. Thus, the smarter and more successful projects were those that had the wisdom and/or resolve to look for alternative solutions to emergent implementation problems rather than to persist with their original plans.

Managing Delivery

Bids for the RBI were made by the multiagency CDRPs. Three levels of organization of the SDPs are likely:

Steering level—the level at which strategic planning would take place.

Management level—this would be where day-to-day project management would be carried out, responsible for action planning, including detailed targeting, specification, and negotiation with relevant stakeholders to the respective prevention measures.

Implementation level—this is the level at which the various prevention measures would be delivered to the community.

It seemed implicit in the planning of the RBI that the multiagency method of working would be appropriate and unproblematic at all levels of activity—not only for strategic decision making but also for management and delivery.

Although all projects were genuine partnerships, and all exemplified the new relationships embodied in the local CDRPs, the most successful projects had an organizational structure that used partner agencies differentially in ways that were fit-for-purpose. Although it may be best at the strategic level to maximize the number of partners involved to maximize local support and commitment, fewer agencies, with clear lines of responsibility and established procedures, are needed at executive and implementation levels. Since most projects more often resembled urban regeneration and environmental improvement programs, it is perhaps not surprising that the most successful projects were coordinated and implemented by partnerships between local authorities and regeneration contractors—agencies

with some expertise in this kind of work—in comparison with those that directly involved the police in day-to-day project management.

Projects with fewer partners, especially those led by the police, were generally the least successful largely because the police view of crime prevention tended to predominate. Police are more likely to favor enforcement—usually human resource-intensive (and, therefore, costly) police operations—that proved relatively ineffectual in burglary reduction. But neither did police managers seem to have the capacity or readiness to change or modify plans if they were proving ineffective. Partly, this is because of the police occupational culture—still more used to following standard operating procedures than problem solving. Additionally, since the police were tied into Home Office performance-driven accounting regimes that emphasized intelligence policing and RV prevention strategies, there may have been some reluctance among police personnel running the projects to question or abandon these measures in the face of difficulty. Since these particular performance criteria do not bear on local authorities, the latter personnel may have been under less constraint to demonstrate their performance in these particular ways and, thus, freer to pursue approaches that proved, in the end, to be somewhat more effective in reducing local burglary.

Tim Hope

Author's note: Crown Copyright is acknowledged in the passages of text that have been adapted from Hope et al. (2004).

See also Burglary; Crime and Disorder Act; Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project

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REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING

In 1989, John Braithwaite published his influential book, *Crime, Shame and Reintegration*. In it he canvassed his theory of reintegrative shaming. Reintegrative shaming theory has been posited as

being a general theory of crime because it synthesizes the predictions of several theoretical perspectives of criminal behavior into a single framework. Its most distinctive contribution is to focus attention on the effect of “shaming,” with shaming conceived of as encompassing all forms of social disapproval. The theory argues that the importance of social disapproval has previously been underestimated by Western criminal justice institutions, as well as by criminological theory more generally. Reintegrative shaming theory is premised on the idea that justice interventions will be most effective at reducing reoffending when they communicate disapproval of offending in a way that reintegrates an offender back into a law-abiding community.

This entry presents a brief summary of reintegrative shaming theory (both the original theory and its revised form) and a discussion of the role that shaming and shame play in predicting crime. Reintegrative shaming theory is both relevant and important to the subject of this encyclopedia because it provides an alternative way of thinking about crime control, which in turn has implications for reducing the level of victimization experienced in the community.

Reintegrative Shaming Theory Thesis

Reintegrative shaming theory attempts to give an account both of why some kinds of individuals and some kinds of societies exhibit more crime. Reintegrative shaming theory suggests that the key to crime control is a societal commitment to shaming offenders in a reintegrative manner. Braithwaite has demonstrated that societies with low crime rates are those who do not tolerate crime and who shame offenders potently and judiciously. His theory suggests that those who commit crime are those who are insulated from shame regarding their wrongdoing. At the same time, the theory suggests that shame can be applied injudiciously and counterproductively. The theory seeks to specify the types of shaming that cause rather than prevent crime.

Shaming is conceived by the theory to encompass all forms of social disapproval, which are intended to invoke feelings of shame and remorse in the person being shamed. Hence, by using the term *shaming*, as opposed to *disapproval*, it signals

an expectation that disapproval will result in a shame-related emotion. The conception of shaming provided by the theory has been left distinctly broad, such that shaming is not necessarily public or humiliating in nature. It can be subtle, such as a frown, a slight shaking of the head, or a snide comment. It can be a direct verbal confrontation where offenders are told how guilty they should feel and how their inappropriate act may have had a detrimental impact on others. It can be indirect confrontation by gossip, which gets back to the offender, or it can be broadcast through the media to a mass audience, or by a private medium through slogans spray-painted onto an offender's house. It can also be officially pronounced by a judge in the course of a sentence handed down by the court.

The theory's primary argument is that the communication of shaming (i.e., disapproval) is of central importance to understanding the effect that criminal justice actions have on the subsequent offending behavior of individuals. Two forms of shaming that occur in response to offending can be distinguished: (1) shaming that is reintegrative in nature and (2) shaming that is stigmatic in nature.

Shaming that is reintegrative in nature is carried out in a respectful and healing manner. Here, disapproval of an *act* is communicated with respect, and special effort is given to avert labeling the offender as a bad person, and to terminate disapproval with rituals of forgiveness or reconciliation. Shaming criminal behavior is complemented by ongoing social rewarding of alternative behavior patterns. It is predicted that reintegrative forms of shaming will result in less reoffending. Conversely, shaming that is stigmatic involves communicating disapproval of a *person* with disrespect, where offenders are labeled with outcasting identities (e.g., thief, tax cheat, and rapist), and there are no rituals to terminate disapproval. Reintegrative shaming theory predicts that this latter type of shaming results in greater levels of reoffending.

Relationship Between Shaming and Offending

As noted, the theory of reintegrative shaming synthesizes the predictions of several theoretical perspectives into a single framework for explaining crime. These theoretical perspectives include labeling, subcultural, control, opportunity, deterrence, and learning theories. A major contribution of

reintegrative shaming theory is that it attempts to specify the conditions under which these older theories hold true.

It is proposed that when shaming is communicated in a stigmatizing fashion, this is where labeling theory has explanatory power. Once a person is stigmatized with a deviant label (e.g., thief), the theory proposes that a self-fulfilling prophecy unfolds as others respond to the offender as deviant. Stigmatization is thought to lead to a master status trait, whereby the offender comes to internalize their deviant identity over all other identities. The offender then experiences marginality and becomes attracted to subcultures that provide social support for deviance. Criminal subcultures supply a collective solution to the status problems being faced by people who have been stigmatized and outcast. In the subculture, stigmatizing shaming works to reinforce offending because it is the law-abiding citizens who are shamed; deviance becomes a way of life that is difficult to change and is rationalized as a defensible lifestyle within the deviant subculture. Opportunity theory is also integrated into the framework. Subculture formation is fostered by systematic blockage of legitimate opportunities for certain members of the community (e.g., offenders). For example, if an offender is systematically denied economic opportunities because of the stigma of their previous behavior, then criminal subcultures will form among similarly outcast members of the community.

Control theory can be considered on the reintegrative shaming side of the theory. Reintegrative shaming theory asserts that individuals are more susceptible to shaming by other individuals when they are in relationships of interdependency. When interdependency is high—for example, when people are strongly attached (a concept of control theory) to their parents, partners, schools, community, employers, and so on—shaming of wrongdoing will be more effective. Criminological research on deterrence has also influenced reintegrative shaming theory. Such research has shown that sanctions imposed by relatives, friends, or a personally relevant group have more effect on criminal behavior than sanctions imposed by a remote legal authority. It has been suggested that this occurs because repute in the eyes of close acquaintances matters more to people than the opinions or actions of criminal justice officials.

Braithwaite proposes that the entire theory of reintegrative shaming can be viewed as a social learning theory. It is a theory where people learn criminal identities in criminal subcultures and learn law-abiding identities in interdependent communities. Most critically, the unthinkableness of certain crimes is learned by the disapproval (i.e., shaming) that highly respected others communicate toward such crimes.

In sum, shaming is described as affecting offenders' subsequent propensity to reoffend because it acts as a deterrent and has moralizing qualities that build the offender's own sense of conscience. The theory suggests that shaming is an effective deterrent because it poses a threat to relationships that are valued. This is particularly so when the shaming comes from those to whom the offender is close. Furthermore, because reintegrative shaming communicates that certain behaviors are wrong, it builds internalized controls that such behavior should not be repeated in the future.

New Directions

Several emotion theorists have a theoretical perspective on why reintegrative forms of shaming should reduce crime. They believe it has more to do with the nature of shame as an emotion than with shaming, reintegration, and stigmatization as regulatory practices. In other words, reintegrative shaming results in lower reoffending, at least in part, because it is more likely to promote feelings of shame in an offender. According to this perspective, shame can also be a destructive emotion because it can lead one to attack others, attack self, avoid, or withdraw. All of these are responses that can promote crime. Hence, a critique of Braithwaite's earlier theory of reintegrative shaming was that it was just a theory of shaming, with the emotion of shame left undertheorized. In other words, its weakness was in its failure to concentrate on the emotion of shame that shaming practices are supposed to induce. Although Braithwaite clearly envisaged shaming leading to a shame-related response, which in turn influences criminal behavior, the implication of whether shame gets bypassed or acknowledged in the process received little attention in the original formulation of the theory. In response to the recognized weakness of the original theory, a revision of the theory was

undertaken in 2001 to elaborate on the role that shame-related emotions play in mediating the relationship between shaming and subsequent behavior.

In the revision of the theory, John and Valerie Braithwaite suggest that individuals respond to, or manage, shame differently, and that the way in which this shame emotion is managed has important implications for future behavior. A considerable research tradition shows that one way of managing shame is through acknowledgment of the emotion, and that this response is associated with empathy for victims, less anger, and less externalization of blame. Thus, it has been posited that reintegrative shaming results in lower offending, at least in part, because it is more likely to promote acknowledgment of shame by offenders. In contrast, it is argued that stigmatic shaming is less likely to elicit acknowledgment of shame, or a sense of remorse, in an offender because it serves to humiliate an individual. Here, individuals are more likely to bypass shame, whereby they externalize blame for what has happened and are more likely to direct anger toward the entity expressing disapproval, which is an emotional state that has been referred to as unacknowledged shame or shame displacement. Such feelings of hostility increase the probability of defiance and noncompliance exhibited by the offender in the future.

Empirical Support

Despite the popularity of reintegrative shaming theory in the field of criminology, and its importance to the practice of restorative justice, only a few empirical studies purporting to test its underlying assumptions have been published to date. Of the studies that have explicitly tested the predictions of reintegrative shaming theory, most have been conducted in the context of juvenile or blue-collar crime. Recent research has attempted to investigate reintegrative shaming theory in the white-collar crime context to see whether the theory offers a useful framework in which to explain white-collar offending. In general, these studies either support the hypothesized relationship between the shaming variables and noncompliance or find partial support for them. The research has also found supporting evidence for the mediating role that shame-related emotions play in the shaming/compliance relationship. Despite growing empirical support for the

theory, however, much more research is needed before firm conclusions regarding its validity as a general theory of crime can be made.

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See also Crime Prevention; Deterrence; Family Group Conferencing; Peacemaking/Sentencing Circles; Restorative Justice; Social Control and Self-Control Theory

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REPEAT VICTIMIZATION

Repeat victimization has both a narrow and a broad definition. The narrow definition refers to repeated offenses against the same person, household, business, or other target however defined. The broad definition refers to repeat offenses against targets with equivalent profiles such as nearby households, the same type of electronic products, or individuals with similar demographic or lifestyle characteristics.

Most violent and personal crime is repeat victimization. For all crime types covered by the

International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS), more than 40% is repeated against the same targets in any given year—a conservative estimate. Repeat victimization has a heightened risk in the period immediately after victimization. Since society is more informed about where, when, and to an extent repeat crime is likely to occur, this means as members of society we really ought to be able to do something to prevent it. It is often not intuitively obvious what should be done or how, although sustainable measures will tackle both long- and short-term repeats. Developing crime prevention tactics to tackle repeats is sorely neglected, and most of the research remains to be done.

Offenders are creatures of habit, selecting the same or similar targets because they have learned the likely amounts of time, effort, skill, and resources they need, and the risks and rewards involved. Hence, success breeds repetition, although repeats can be driven by frustrated attempts. Particularly attractive targets may also draw crimes from different offenders. Some households or businesses may contain particularly valuable products, or some persons may seem particularly vulnerable and attractive. For example, targets of hate crimes who are visually distinguishable may be repeatedly victimized by different offenders with a shared motivation. Victims of personal crime are statistically more likely to also experience property crime, and some explanation is provided by lifestyle theory: People who frequently go out, to bars and clubs for example, may be at risk of alcohol-related violence and theft, while their homes are left unguarded against property crime. Routine activity and crime pattern theory provide the best explanation of aggregate patterns of repeats. The same targets go to the same places where they interact with the same offenders, whether on the streets, in the home, or online. This is as true for domestic violence (typically with one offender and victim who routinely interact), neighbor assaults (because of their proximity and frequent interaction), crimes that occur along the routes that victims and offenders take to and from work and leisure activities, and cybercrimes including fraud, identity theft, and hacking where the same targets are repeatedly victimized. Murder seems to be the only crime where repetition does not occur.

Research on repeat victimization emerged in the 1970s, not least because of methodological studies

relating to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). But the key catalyst was the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project in the mid-1980s. This was the first research to overtly develop the prevention of repeat victimization as a crime prevention strategy. Research, policy, and practice developed hand-in-hand during the next 15 years as told in Gloria Laycock's "Repeat victimisation story." Studies sponsored by the National Institute of Justice included testing problem-oriented policing approaches, further NCVS analysis by Jim Lynch and colleagues, and efforts to prevent repeated domestic violence.

Empowering victims with an aim of preventing repeat victimization means work has become integrated with that of victim services. It is better to tell victims the truth about heightened risk rather than to mislead by suggesting that lightning doesn't strike twice. For police and policy makers, preventing repeat victimization can bring efficiencies via the drip-feeding of resources to persons, places, and targets most in need. A range of good practice has evolved. Successful crime prevention efforts tend to be situational in nature, reducing opportunities for repeat crimes. They are characterized by a strong preventive mechanism and good implementation, although these are not necessarily easy to achieve. It is simply not yet clear how to intervene to prevent the recurrence of some crimes. And it is not always easy to motivate victims to take preventive action, particularly if expenditure is required and since future risks may still seem low.

Policy relating to victims and crime prevention is increasingly informed by research evidence, particularly surveys. Yet the key crime surveys, including the NCVS, ICVS, and the British Crime Survey (BCS), tend to omit much of the experience of repeat victims from national crime counts. They do this by limiting or excluding series crimes, which means that only the first few crimes that a victim experienced are counted. The practice undoubtedly originated out of good intention, probably when it was thought some victims were exaggerating or inaccurate, but it continues to this day. In the 1970s, it was thought the NCVS excluded around 20% of U.S. crime by ignoring frequent victims, but research in 2007 shows the exclusionary effect is far greater with both the NCVS and the BCS often excluding half or more of violent crime. This systematic and prolonged

distortion of national crime rates is likely to bias evidence-based policy away from the most vulnerable victims. This is particularly unfortunate because the effects of frequent victimization can be multiplicative rather than additive. Although it might be a little embarrassing for governments to begin to recognize frequent victimization, this is no excuse, and post hoc attempts to rationalize their exclusion remain unconvincing to many in the field of crime prevention and victimology.

There were few if any convincing explanations of the significant drops in crime experienced in most industrialized countries in the 1990s and 2000s. Katherine Thorpe's BCS analysis found multiple victimizations fell 51% in the decade to 2006, whereas single incidents fell only 16%.

Tackling crime concentrations by interrupting their repetitive nature should be known as a Pease Response to crime (after the director of the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project) and is an emerging area of research and practice. Repeat victimization occurs at the interface between repeat offending, geographical hot spots, and frequently stolen hot products. Preventing repeats may thus provide inroads into the trickiest concentrations of crime. As a key emerging area where victimology overlaps with crime prevention, most of the research on repeat victimization remains to be undertaken.

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See also Co-Occurrence of Victimization; Correlates of Victimization; Hot Spots; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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REPEAT VICTIMIZATION, THEORIES OF

Repeat victimization is important because most criminal events take place as some form of repetition. There are theories of the role of repeat victimization for policy and practice, and there are theories of why it occurs.

The narrow definition of repeat victimization is that it is the recurrence of crime against the same target. The broader definition now includes repetitive victimization across different dimensions. Spatial repetition produces *hot dots* and *hot spots* on maps. Repetition of target characteristics or *virtual repeats* results in frequently stolen *hot products* and places that are *risky facilities*. Most clusters of crime are types of repeat, including *sprees* (temporally focused by the same offender) and *series* (same offender, same target). Twelve types are shown in Table 1, and although they overlap (e.g., same offender and same modus operandi usually means the same crime type), the typology has heuristic value and illustrates a set of theories and concepts relating to repeat victimization.

Theories of Repeat Victimization for Policy and Practice

The most important theory of repeat victimization to date is that it can improve the efficiency and effectiveness of crime prevention practice. Offered

Table 1 Twelve types of repeat victimization

	<i>Target</i>	<i>Offender</i>	<i>Place/Location</i>
Spatial	Same residence, business, vehicle, or other target: <i>hot dots</i>	Same offender at same place	<i>Near repeats</i> (neighbors, etc.); <i>hot spots</i> ; <i>risky facilities</i>
Temporal	Quick repeat against same target	Quick repeat by same offender—can be a <i>spree</i>	Quick repeat not necessarily by same offender
Crime type	Same crime type against same target	Same offender, same crime type—a <i>series</i>	Same crime type in same place (e.g., drug dealing)
Tactical (modus operandi [m.o.])	<i>Virtual repeat</i> —same m.o. for target of same characteristics—produces <i>hot products</i>	Same offender, same m.o.	Same m.o. facilitated by same location (e.g., graffiti on white wall)

as a passing hypothesis in Michael Gottfredson's work, the theory was formally developed by Ken Pease following the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, a 1980s demonstration project to prevent burglary in public housing. Repeat burglary was observed to be frequent, and Pease theorized that preventing repeats could prove an efficient strategy for crime prevention; limited resources are allocated to at-risk targets. In Kirkholt, repeat burglaries were prevented as part of a set of measures, and repeats were largely eliminated with overall burglary significantly reduced.

The Kirkholt work was a catalyst for additional studies. It was soon found that repeat victimization occurs for all crime types but with personal crimes generally proving more repetitive. Repeats were found to recur quickly, but the risk decayed over time. This led to theorizing that prevention resources should be put in place quickly to prevent repeats. More recent studies show that *near repeats* are more likely; that is, neighbors of those recently burgled are at more risk. The reason for near repeats is because it is a known area; the layout of the residence and expected household contents would be similar, but explanatory theories are discussed below. The near repeat is the spatially defined version of the *virtual repeat* wherein targets with the same or similar characteristics are victimized on that basis. So the same types of cars are victimized in similar locations, and the same type of consumer products are stolen because they

are attractive—linking repeat victimization to theories of hot products and product design.

It was theorized that the prevention of repeat victimization would be less likely to produce displacement than more general crime prevention efforts. This is because it would interrupt an offender's expected train of events or "script" and could be classed as a specific component of a general theory of familiarity decay (wherein offending is less likely as things get less familiar). Likewise, it was theorized that, since police respond to crime, then repeat victimization would be a useful performance indicator for policing, and it was introduced as a performance indicator in some areas. A summary of hypotheses relating to repeat victimization as a crime prevention strategy is given in Table 2.

With regard to other areas of policy and practice, it was theorized that the work of victim services would be more effective with a greater orientation toward repeat victimization. It is better, goes the theory, to provide victims with the unattractive truth (that repeat crime is more likely) rather than the untrue platitude that lightning does not strike twice. It was hypothesized that the provision of advice relating to, and assistance in preventing, repeat victimization, would empower victims.

Repeat victimization has also influenced methodology, that is, the theory of how research should be conducted and crime measured. It has been proposed that the extent and importance of repeat

Table 2 Theory and hypotheses on preventing repeat victimization

1. It is an efficient means of allocating, in time and space, scarce prevention resources to crime problems.
2. It is relevant to all crimes with a target. This includes hate crimes, domestic and commercial burglary, school crime (burglary and vandalism), bullying, sexual assault, car crime, neighbor disputes, credit card fraud, and other retail sector crime, terrorism, domestic violence, and child abuse. Even murder can be a repeat of attempted murder.
3. Prevention resources should be allocated according to the fact that the risk of repeat is highest in the immediate aftermath of a crime.
4. Repeats are more likely where the crime (e.g., a bank robbery) was successful.
5. It naturally allocates resources to high-crime areas, crime hot spots, and the most victimized targets.
6. It can allocate crime prevention to nearby targets (near repeats) and targets with similar characteristics (virtual repeats).
7. It is a practical form of “drip feeding” of prevention resources. Resources need only be allocated as victimizations occur from day to day.
8. It is less likely to result in displacement than unfocused crime prevention efforts.
9. It changes the crime situation so offenders are made uncertain and deterred. This is more likely to produce a positive domino effect such as a diffusion of crime control benefits.
10. It generates a positive domino effect from common goals and positive work between agencies (e.g., police, housing, social services, and victim organizations), which facilitates cooperation.
11. It empowers agencies to do something tangible and constructive to help crime victims.
12. It can lead to positive feedback from victims to agencies—still a relatively rarity—promoting good community relations.
13. It can sometimes—but not always—use off-the-shelf prevention tactics rather than requiring inventive and sometimes difficult problem solving.
14. It can enhance the detection of serious and prolific offenders.
15. It presents possibilities for preventing and detecting organized crime and terrorism.
16. It can inform thinking on repeat crimes typically perceived as “victimless” where the repeatedly victimized target is the state or nation.
17. Police managers, from the national to the local level, can use repeat victimization as a performance indicator.

victimization is such that all crime-related studies need to take it into account. The crime concentration rate (the number of crimes per target) has become the third measure of crime to complement the crime incidence rate (crimes per capita) and the prevalence rate (targets per capita). Repeat victimization has influenced statistical analysis. Specifically, the distribution of victimization in a population (exhibited as a long tail in a frequency distribution) is such that statistical method that does not account for this tail is less applicable. More recently, it has been shown that most key crime surveys significantly undercount crime by

excluding many crimes experienced by the chronically victimized.

Theories Explaining Repeat Victimization

Some repeat victimization would be expected by chance but in amounts trivial when compared with what is observed. There are two main explanatory theories of nonchance repeats:

1. *Flag theory.* Repeat victimization occurs with greater frequency against particularly attractive or vulnerable targets. This is the theory of *risk*

heterogeneity (unevenness of risk) or of the *flag theory* (victimization flags some targets as being risky).

2. *Boost theory*. Victimization leads to a greater likelihood of a repeat victimization. That is, victimization *boosts* the likelihood of repeat victimization, a theory also known as that of *event dependence* or *state dependence* (because the likelihood of one event or state depends on the previous event or state).

The theories are interrelated because a target must flag itself as attractive or vulnerable in order for a crime to occur that boosts the likelihood of another. Both theories are undergirded by routine activity theory and rational choice theory. It is “rational” to offend against a target that appears more attractive or vulnerable. It is “rational” to repeat the victimization of a target that is now known to be easy, entail little risk, and offer high rewards. Routine activity theory is implicit because repeat victimization makes it clear that offender decisions are influenced by characteristics (and therefore theories) of the target play as well as characteristics (and therefore theories) of the environment in which crime occurs.

Tests of Preventing Repeats

Empirical tests of the theory that preventing repeat victimization can prevent crime have been limited in scope and have produced mixed results. Most studies examine residential burglary with some focusing on commercial burglary, sexual victimization (particularly in the pioneering work of Christine Gidycz and her colleagues), and domestic violence, despite that repeat victimization has been shown many times to be widespread in terms of crime type and context. This overview relates to studies using the narrow definition of repeat victimization against the same target.

Efforts to prevent repeat victimization have stumbled at different stages. Some efforts have been located in areas where rates of repeat victimization were not high even before the project. This can occur when political factors determine where crime prevention resources are allocated. Weak preventive tactics are another problem. If the tactics have a weak preventive mechanism, then crime

will not be prevented. For example, education of victims of sexual assault may lead to changes in knowledge and attitude but not necessarily to changes in behavior or risk. Lack of implementation of tactics produces other problems. If good tactics are not implemented in sufficient quantity, then crime will not be prevented. For example, if advice is offered on security that would prevent crime but that security is not adopted, then nothing has been done to reduce the risk of repeat crime. Some projects provided funds for security or partial funds and incentives to promote implementation. In Deborah Wiesel and John Stedman’s research funded by the National Institute of Justice to prevent repeat burglary in Dallas, Baltimore, and San Diego, the police did not have funds to provide the security they recommended, so implementation rarely occurred, despite that this was one of the few projects to assess other measures taken by victims.

Other practical issues have been identified. Official police data of recorded crimes are notorious for underrecording repeat victimization. This makes it difficult to identify appropriate areas or targets, difficult to identify preventive responses, and difficult to know where to allocate resources. This measurement failure can be related to evaluation failure. Evaluation failure can occur if crime was prevented, but there are insufficient levels of repeat victimization to detect success in evaluation. It can also occur if crime was not prevented, but the evaluation is insufficiently informed to determine this with certainty.

Recent efforts at theory testing suggest that what works to prevent repeat victimization are as follows: a strong preventive mechanism, that is, a set of suitable preventive tactics, and good implementation, that is, ensuring the victim/target adopts the tactics. Several studies that have examined prevention efforts have also studied the effect on victims. Generally speaking, victims seem to prefer to know (when the alternative is to not know) that the risk of repeat crime is greater. They also seem to prefer a police response that seeks to give practical crime prevention advice rather than the platitudes that previously characterized the response to crime. However, since these have usually been a secondary component of research seeking to evaluate crime prevention impact, they cannot be stated with certainty.

From the value-based perspective that preventing crime is a good thing, efforts to prevent repeat victimization to date have been disappointing. It would seem relatively simple—in theory—to put something in place to prevent the “same” crime from occurring again. But things are proving more difficult in practice. However, with surprisingly few evaluated rigorous efforts to date, future efforts would need to build on this knowledge base to develop more informed responses.

Tests of Explanatory Theory

Qualitative interviews with offenders provide insight into how and why repeat victimization occurs. A burglar interviewed by Mike Sutton said he would go back repeatedly to the same shops because it was so easy and they had not done anything to stop him:

I've done some shops four or five times and all they've done is repaired the counter and replaced the window.... (Farrell and Pease, p. 125)

Another noted how he learns:

If I do a place and it's got good stuff in it—I think to myself “I'll come back two months later.” Guaranteed, y'know what I mean? If it's good I'll come back. I did this [victim] once three times before he got a [security] system up there—alarm bell. After I saw the alarm I thought “Aah, I'll leave it now.” (Farrell and Pease, p. 126)

These were examples of boost explanations. Yet there is also insight provided by explanations as to why repeat victimization does not always occur. Although many burglars repeat crimes against the same residences, some do not. One suggested he thought risk would increase, stating,

With a house they tend to have neighbors and they tend to say to the neighbors “I've been burgled—keep your eyes out” or they make sure that someone is in the house all the time. (Farrell and Pease, p. 126)

Other burglars observe rules such as “never go back” because they fear identification by neighbors.

Quantitative analyses of crime victim surveys have been a key tool for theory testing. Victims are sometimes asked whether they knew the offender(s) involved and/or whether they had reason to believe it was the same offender(s). With variation by crime type, around three quarters of repeat victimization is by the same offenders. This further suggests the explanatory importance of the boost theory of repeat victimization.

A major empirical finding that remains largely unexplained is the role of repeat victimization in the 1990s crime drop. Katharine Thorpe studied repeat victimization in England and Wales during the decade where, from the mid-1990s, the volume of many crime types fell by around half—in a fashion not dissimilar to the U.S. crime drops of the 1990s. The number of single-incident crimes fell 16%, but the number of repeat crimes fell 51%, concluding that the large decline in repeat victimization played a major role in the crime drop.

Final Thoughts

The study of repeat victimization has opened a rich vein of theory and hypothesis testing for victimology and crime prevention. Policy and practice theory has developed alongside etiological theory. Much work remains to be done if this research is to realize its potential for the alleviation of suffering.

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See also Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project; Repeat Victimization; Victimization, Theories of; Victimization Surveys

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REPRESSED/RECOVERED MEMORIES

In the early 1990s, courts across the United States saw an increase in the filing of civil and criminal cases by adults who alleged abuse, typically sexual, that had occurred when they were children. Likely the result of increased public attention to child abuse, new legislation that extended statutes of limitation in such cases, and improvements in mandatory reporting laws, victims alleged that they could not have filed their claims sooner because either they did not recall the abuse until adulthood or did not appreciate the causal relationship between long since ceased abuse and currently presenting injuries.

Often referred to as “repressed” or “recovered” memories, scientists also refer to the phenomenon of not being able to recall abusive events as “dissociation,” “traumatic amnesia,” and “dissociative amnesia,” among other things. Labels aside, the fact that the brain is able to avoid conscious recall of traumatic information has been recognized in medical literature for more than 100 years. Researchers who studied World War II veterans and survivors of the Holocaust, for example, found that many test subjects endured periods of time when they had no recall for the traumatic events they had experienced.

In the 1990s, when victims of child abuse described experiencing something similar, their claims were met with skepticism—primarily by advocates and expert witnesses working on behalf of offenders in civil and criminal litigation. Accused offenders even formed a support group called the False Memory Syndrome Foundation, although no such syndrome has ever been scientifically verified. This group was founded by the parents of a victim who alleged credible and corroborated allegations of abuse against her father.

Foundation members claimed that repressed/recovered memories had been implanted in their accusers and were the result of leading questions or suggestive therapy, although studies consistently show that it is virtually impossible to successfully implant a false memory of abuse. With the exception of extremely young children, research consistently reveals that people fiercely resist efforts to falsely convince them that they were abused.

Language used to discuss repressed/recovered memories has caused some confusion. “Repression” and “dissociation” are meant to express the theoretical ways in which the brain avoids conscious recall of traumatic events. Some people use the word “amnesia” to describe the experience of not remembering. The phrase “recovered memories” usually refers to the process of remembering something that was once unavailable to the conscious mind, and it is “recovered” as a result of a stimulus event such as smelling or hearing something, or seeing a movie or a photograph, that reminds the victim of the abuse. The most widely accepted term to describe the experience of “repression” is “dissociation,” and the most commonly held theory used to explain dissociation is that the brain cuts off, or separates out, experiences that are

emotionally overwhelming. In this way, the body avoids pain by storing the information in a manner that insulates the individual from psychological injury. And yet, in an aptly named study, Bessel van der Kolk notes in “The Body Keeps Score,” that traumatic experiences remain stored someplace in the body, usually manifesting in symptoms indicating extreme stress such as self-mutilation, eating disorders, anxiety, and sexual dysfunction.

When a victim remembers an event that was once unavailable to memory because of dissociation, questions can develop as to the authenticity of the information recalled. Although most studies find that such memories are no more likely to be incorrect than “ordinary” memories, some researchers claim that the process of recovering such information is highly vulnerable to distortion. One study purports to prove not only that recovered memories can be distorted but also that entirely false memories can be implanted. Titled “Lost in the Mall,” researchers claimed they were able to persuade 25% of test subjects to believe, falsely, they had been lost in a shopping mall as young children. The methodology behind this study has been heavily criticized, but even if the data were sound, courts have generally ruled that a study about whether people can be misled to believe they had once been lost in a mall has little bearing on whether a particular individual’s memories of child abuse are valid.

Researchers agree that it is exceedingly difficult to conduct research on the mind’s ability to repress or recall abusive events as this would require scientists to somehow cause test subjects to experience abuse so that their reactions could be studied. But it is noteworthy that researchers have tried, but failed, to make test subjects falsely recall receiving a rectal enema as a child.

When cases involving repressed/recovered memories of abuse are presented in litigation, the accused may seek to use an expert to testify that the victim’s memories are false or so unreliable as to be inadmissible in a court of law. The victim may also seek to use the skills of a different expert to testify that the experience of repression is not uncommon, and that the victim should not be denied justice when, through no fault of his or her own, the victim failed to remember the abuse and/or assert his or her rights sooner.

Although the law is still evolving, most states have recognized that repression/dissociation is an accepted medical and psychological phenomenon, and thus, victims are generally allowed access to justice even many years after the abuse has ended under the so-called delayed discovery rule. This rule provides that no person should be denied the right to seek legal redress based on the passage of time when the “discovery” of the abuse and related injuries could not have occurred earlier. Likewise, as testimony about false memory syndrome is widely perceived as unsupported by methodologically valid research, accused offenders and experts seeking to testify that a victim’s memories of abuse were implanted are usually forbidden to do so.

Wendy J. Murphy

See also Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

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RESOLVING CONFLICT CREATIVELY PROGRAM

The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) is a universal (or primary) multiyear intervention program for preventing violence and creating caring communities of learning. The broad aim is to improve school success and safety for all children. The RCCP is one of the largest

and longest-running school programs focusing on conflict resolution and intergroup relations in the United States. It is one of a growing number of evidence-based programs that promote the positive impact of social and emotional learning in schools. It has been found that students who have strong social and emotional skills are better connected to the school community, which in turn acts as a protective factor against violence, substance abuse, emotional distress, and early sexual behavior.

RCCP objectives are to (1) reduce violence and violence-related behavior, (2) promote caring and cooperative behavior, (3) teach students life skills in conflict resolution and intercultural understanding, and (4) promote a positive climate for learning in the classroom and school. These objectives are operationalized through a classroom curriculum taught by teachers, who receive 25-hour introductory training and ongoing coaching from RCCP staff. Classroom skill development occurs through a series of age-appropriate workshops, including active listening, expressing feelings and dealing with anger, assertiveness, collaborative problem solving (including negotiation and mediation), appreciating diversity, and countering discrimination.

Administrators are brought on board early as they are key to establishing “discipline” as a vehicle that helps children learn to take responsibility for their actions and develop self-management skills. Administrator support is also a pragmatic necessity, as teachers need common planning and release time for professional development and implementation planning sessions. Workshops for parents are another important cornerstone of the whole school approach, where they learn and discuss the concepts of creative problem solving and conflict resolution, and practice the same skills and strategies their children are learning in school. Thus, all members of the school community (administrators, teachers, students, and parents) learn, model, and practice a common skill base to strengthen relationships.

The RCCP began in 1985 as a collaboration between the New York City Public Schools and a New York chapter of a nonprofit organization, Educators for Social Responsibility. A National Center was established in 1993 to develop multiyear partnerships with school districts to support RCCP dissemination efforts throughout the United

States. A range of school districts were involved in the initial evaluations of the RCCP, including Anchorage, Alaska (1999); Atlanta, Georgia (1997); New York, New York (1997); and Lincoln County, Oregon (1997–2000).

Anchorage, Alaska, surveyed teachers and students from 36 public schools. The findings showed that the level of RCCP implementation correlates positively with common use of conflict management language; sense of community among staff; articulation of feeling and understanding of conflict triggers; and academic achievement for students. This evaluation suggests that fostering RCCP characteristics through including these elements in classroom instruction on a consistent and regular basis promotes the emotional, social, and ethical development of students while fostering a caring and cooperative learning environment.

New York City surveyed students from 15 elementary schools. This study found that regardless of gender, grade, or risk status children who receive an average of 25 RCCP classroom lessons reported significantly slower growth rates in hostile attributions, aggressive fantasies, aggressive problem-solving strategies, and teacher-reported aggressive behavior. For this same group of children, teachers reported increased positive social behaviors and emotional control and greater improvement on standardized academic achievement. The research further suggests that each year a student participates in the RCCP has an additive effect on slowing rates of many of the risk factors for aggression and violence.

Atlanta, Georgia, surveyed teachers, parents, and students. This study found that teachers reported less violence in their classrooms (64%) and an increase in student cooperation (75%). Students reported feeling better about themselves (92%); parents reported an increase in their own communication and problem-solving skills (90%). Suspension rates at the middle school decreased significantly compared with the increasing rate among middle schools without the RCCP. Dropout rates at the RCCP high school decreased significantly compared with the increasing rate among non-RCCP high schools. Student and teacher attendance improved in RCCP schools.

Lincoln County, Oregon, surveyed teachers, parents, and students from 15 schools. Teachers reported their preparation for implementing the

RCCP was effective in increasing knowledge and understanding of conflict resolution principles; preparing them to infuse RCCP principles and practices into their regular curriculum and classroom management strategies; and providing appropriate demonstration lessons that could be used in the classroom with students. The majority of teachers reported they used conflict resolution principles and materials at least once per week; taught lessons on conflict resolution, feelings, cooperation, peace, communication, and affirmation (district-identified priorities); and taught curriculum units on diversity in the classroom. Students reported that they used the conflict resolution strategies to some extent and those who engaged in conflict resolution behaviors felt good about themselves, cooperated with others, and cared about what other people felt. Parents reported that their children used the conflict resolution behaviors to a high or medium extent. The impact of the RCCP on students included the following: fewer stayed home from school because they felt unsafe (compared with middle-school students statewide); fewer felt likely to carry weapons to school; they were less likely to be involved in a physical fight at school or off school grounds; they were less afraid of being beaten up on their way to or from school; they were less likely to be robbed or to witness students stealing; and they were less likely to be pushed by someone just being mean. Overall, students reported their environments were better in terms of safety, racial diversity, and staff respect of students' views.

Youth violence and safety is an ongoing concern. In response, two out of three schools now use a violence prevention program. The evidence base of the RCCP shows that it targets factors that lead to violence, as well as reduces the precursors of aggressive and violent behavior.

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See also Peer Mediation; School-Based Violence Programs, International; School-Based Violence Programs, United States

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RESTITUTION

In the context of victimology, restitution is an important alternative to deterrence, rehabilitation, and retribution. Although the two former focus on the criminal, and the latter focuses on reinforcing the legitimacy of the criminal justice system by, possibly, affording the victim with some sense of "closure," restitution focuses on the victim's loss and offers insights, means, and techniques for mitigating or minimizing the physical, psychological, and social impacts that are experienced personally by people as victims. In fact, restitution addresses the problem of victim suffering along many dimensions and on several levels. Along the conceptual dimension, for example, it changes the way we conceive of crime, punishment, and the criminal with what many consider a more sufficient respect for victims. On the macro-level, it suggests changes in the design, practice, and procedure of our criminal justice system; changes that take the victim's situation into account more fully. And on the micro-level, it suggests changes in the way we might treat victims empathically after a criminal experience. This entry defines restitution as understood in the Anglo-American legal tradition, provides some historical perspective on restitution, presents some of the core issues surrounding restitution as an alternative response to crime, and in its course it supplies a brief consideration of the conceptual, macro-level, and micro-level changes that it implies.

Definitions

It just makes sense to many, given that people are responsible agents and that the state has taken the role of public guardian, that those among us who break our laws knowingly and intelligently should be required to work in order to pay for the damage that they cause; and if the wrongdoer is truly incapable of working, then it seems equally sensible that their victims, at least, should be compensated by way of public funds accumulated through the

collection of fines. The term *restitution* was invented as a shorthand for this common sense approach to crime and the criminal, but as legal scholars exalt in ever more refined particulars, three terms are now required by way of clarification. Hence, *reparation* is generally employed as an inclusive term, with *restitution* and *compensation* being reserved for the different forms that reparation may take. *Compensation* is generally employed when talking about reparation for damages to property or injury to persons, and *restitution* when talking about forms of redress that must be added to compensation in order to restore the financial and physical status quo ante, so far as that is humanly possible, and to mitigate the consequences of the wrong including psychological harm. All three terms are most popularly restricted to characterizing monetary forms of amelioration, although there are a few who would extend *reparation* to include deliberate attempts to rehabilitate wrongdoers socially with an eye toward restoring social harmony.

The extent to which this common sense definition reorients our understanding of crime and the criminal should not be underestimated. Crime, for example, is reconceptualized as any act that intentionally and maliciously does serious harm to a person or their property, as opposed to a statutory prohibition presenting it as an affront to the state or an act that does violence to an ideal vision of how people should behave. Perhaps this is a subtle distinction, but it is meaningful nevertheless as it forefronts the principle that governments exist, first and foremost, to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. Also, by making it most clear that crimes in actual practice are personal afflictions visited by one person upon another, directly or indirectly through their property, it reminds us that there are at least two *people* involved, a wrongdoer and the injured rather than an evildoer and the state. This realization inclines us toward prioritizing remedies over chastisements. And this inclination leads us, as well, to consider the possibility of resocializing wrongdoers, although some may not respond, rather than treating them necessarily as rebels, heretics, and things to flout.

History

For a considerable period of time, death or restitution were the preferred responses to crime as

evinced by the Code of Hammurabi, the Torah, the Sumerian Code, and Roman law, each borrowing from the historically previous code rather liberally. Offenders unable to pay were banished. Upon the Roman Empire's demise, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes invaded the British Isles, replacing Roman criminal law with their tribal customs, chiefly the "blood feud," a custom of exacting revenge for a perceived wrong in an eye-for-an-eye fashion upon the offender or any of the offender's kin. Intriguing, though, was the parallel option of satisfying the wrong by paying compensation to the victim or the victim's family, presumably prior to consummation of the blood feud alternative. Frankish law, for example, contemplated payments for theft, rape, arson, assault, and murder.

In time, the option of payment gained sufficient purchase, although glacially, to displace the blood feud as the favored custom. By the 7th century, for example, a series of laws, called "dooms," began prescribing monetary fines for different kinds of criminal wrongdoing. By the 9th century, victims and their families were habituated to seeking redress from royal officials by way of these dooms, and by the 11th century, the blood feud all but vanished as a remedy for criminal offense on the British Isles.

Then, in the 11th century, William the Conqueror swore, after subjugating all of England, that as king he would maintain the Church of God and all Christian people in true peace by prohibiting all orders of men from committing injustice and oppression. Thereafter, enjoining the observance of equity and mercy in all judgments, he began collecting fines for certain offenses. From this privileged beginning, the state's monopoly on the prosecution, punishment, and profit of crime began to establish itself and to reign unchallenged in even the most turbulent of places. Barons, entitled to hold "manorial court of law," took the profits of justice by requiring that offenders pay not only the victim but also a commission to their lord for effecting reconciliation. Desirous of this income, Henry II, in the 12th century, expanded the king's authority by declaring certain offenses "breaches of the king's peace," a phrase originally restricted to committing an offense within the king's presence, that might be redressed only by recourse to the king's courts; whereupon, during the course of time, fines were paid directly to the

state, and not the victim, and chastisement of the offender, rather than restitution for the victim, became the enforced redress.

Restitution and Punishment

As chastisement and restitution have, for 8 and some odd centuries, been conceptually distinguished, it is not uncommon, among those considering the matter at any length, to question whether restitution is in fact punishment. After all, it appears in form as merely a court order to pay for losses, and to many it suggests simply a scheme to rehabilitate defendants. Consequently, it seems most akin to a civil judgment, enforced by similar means, whereas a fine or imprisonment, by way of contrast, relates to the defendant's individual culpability rather than to the victim's situation.

Historically, of course, restitution or compensation by an evildoer is closely related to the concept of punishment. Only as the king or his functional equivalent began to exercise more direct control was the concept of compensation or restitution separated from the criminal law and relegated to the law of torts. And, more to the point, those in favor of restoring restitution to the panoply of criminal justice alternatives note that forced restitution is inflicted deliberately on only those found culpable for behavior that is forbidden by law. It is also noted that in the due course of such infliction, the offender is subjected to the discomfort and shame of being arrested, charged, put on trial, and forced into working and into turning over the fruits of his or her labor. Hence, coercion, censure, deprivation, and other consequences normally considered unpleasant are all inflicted on the wrongdoer, not accidentally, but just in order to impose suffering on the culpable person and to render him or her worse off than before.

Restitution and Human Dignity

Some things should not be thought of as commodities. Marketing embryos, human beings, human organs, life-preserving medical treatments, or women's reproductive capabilities are regarded, in most contexts, as too intrusive, too insensitive, or too thoughtless of the intrinsic dignity and significance of human beings. Likewise, extracting money for a criminal wrong may be considered

impersonal and demeaning. It may be considered a commodification of the human torment and bereavement occasioned by crime, and as such, it may be thought by many to denigrate society, the victim, and the perpetrator. From this perspective, such a reduction of human dignity invades our social life, changing it for the worse. It reshapes our culture, thwarting nobler forms of human relationship, reducing them to matters of monetary calculation evaluated in terms of productivity lost, cost/benefit considerations, and the market choices made by victims respecting, for example, their choices of profession or labor.

But, contrary-wise, others note that it is the understanding that people have of a social practice that determines to a very great extent their attitude toward it. For example, if reparation is understood as payment under a social contract for being a good citizen under extraordinary circumstances (i.e., victimization), such payment seems an affirmation of both personal dignity and the value of good citizenship. Similarly, if restitution is understood as a kind of endowment or grant in appreciation for good citizenship under extraordinary circumstances, its award does not seem to denigrate the individual. So perhaps it is reasoning in the wrong direction to think that people are used by money. Perhaps it is the uses that we make of money that define its impact on our culture and social life.

Restitution and Class

Perhaps the most obvious question is whether rich people will be able to commit crimes with impunity. And if the costs of a crime are so high as to burden the rich, won't the poor be unable to pay them off? Of course, those of a restitutionary bent agree that we cannot allow the particular economic position or socioeconomic background of a wrongdoer to affect substantially the making of restitution. So, the simplest answer is that there must be no restitution without work. Regardless of available resources, the convicted wrongdoer should be required to work off the restitutionary debt at whatever employment ensures a maximal output.

But even though everyone might be working to make restitution, everyone's work is not equally valued by our society. So, can't some people pay off their restitutionary debt faster than others even though they might owe the same amount? To meet

this objection, restitutionists suggest that the state first pay full restitution to each crime victim and then set about gaining reimbursement by counting all of the wrongdoer's work, of whatever market value, as paid at the same rate. This is to avoid a kind of "class bias" in the system whereby someone whose work can command a higher hourly rate on the market (say a rock singer) will not have an easier time making restitution than someone whose work is less able to demand a high rate (say a college professor). In the case of a rock singer, for example, the normal amount that he or she would make by giving a concert might be turned over to the court, which would then count only the amount that the singer would have received at minimum wage toward satisfying the restitutionary debt. The singer's work is, in effect, valued in the same way as an ordinary laborer's with the "excess profit" going toward the public good.

Charles Frederick Abel

See also Civil Litigation; Victim Compensation

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offender, and community that seeks to repair the harms caused by a crime—is steadily gaining credibility as a powerful alternative in the response to crime. According to Daniel van Ness and Karen Strong, the phrase *restorative justice* was launched by Albert Eglash in 1977. Restorative practices have been adopted into most criminal justice systems, especially for youth. International organizations have delivered recommendations and statements to promote the implementation of restorative principles and practices to address crime. This entry proceeds by discussing the history of restorative justice, the various definitions of restorative justice, its use in policing and prevention, and the future of restorative justice.

History

Restorative justice is not an invention of recent decades. For some authors, a reparative type of response to injustice was the mainstream in earlier times. Early small communities could not afford exclusion or enduring conflict in their midst, because the struggle for life needed intensive cooperation and mutual support. They probably tried to find constructive solutions to internal conflicts and to avoid casting out as much as possible. For several scholars, the centralizing of power gradually shifted the meaning of norm transgression from harming another and social life to breaking the King's or the Pope's law. The settlement of the aftermath of a "crime" was taken away from its main proponents, and reparation for the victim became subsidiary to punishment to enforce law compliance. In that view, the state has done much damage to the quality of conflict resolution in communities. The state stole the conflict from its rightful owners.

Other authors reject this view as being mythical and based on an unscientific approach. They suggest a history of escalating violence and revenge prompted injustice and damages that were responded to by actions to pay back, undertaken by the victims, their families, and clans. The emergence of central power then gradually blocked this violent private retaliation and was replaced by an increasingly sophisticated, legally ordered system of punishment. Violence in communities was reduced and monopolized in the hands of the state.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

All around the world, restorative justice—a collective reparation process involving the victim,

Restorative justice is deeply rooted in ancient wisdom, even if its predominance in practice may be uncertain. This appears also through the recent emancipation of native peoples, especially in New Zealand and in North America. Restorative justice has made their ancient traditions visible, which in many cases (but not all) are oriented toward objectives as encounter, community involvement, and reparation.

In its modern form, restorative justice reappeared in the late 1970s, and it became an increasingly important factor in practice and policy in the 1990s. Its reemergence was based on multiple roots. Victims' movements claimed an expanded role in criminal justice. Victims' rights movements were initially narrowly focused at promoting victims' rights in the conflict with the offender, and they held a strict oppositional view on victims' and offenders' interests. In their "zero-sum" approach to justice, the more attention that is paid to the offender's rights and needs, the less space there is for the victim's. Today, most victims' advocates are oriented toward a broader scope of social, personal, and juridical needs of those victimized. They now understand that making simply a coalition with the traditional criminal justice system is often counterproductive for the victims. More than imposing punishment on the offender, seeking reparation and compensation may result in deeper and continuing satisfaction. Deliberation, rather than enforcement, may contribute to mental peace.

Another source of restorative justice is communitarianism. As a reaction to the fragmentation of postmodern Western societies, some propagate the revival of community as the organic resource of informal mutual support and control. Communities are at the same time perceived as a means and as an end for restorative justice. They are a means in that communities are needed as the "niches" wherein reintegrative shaming and restorative processes can take place; they are an end, because it is believed that achieving restorative processes in a community is constructive to the revival of community life. Within the communitarian agenda, restorative justice has been inspired by religious beliefs, as appears through the spiritual basis of the Victim Offender Reconciliation Program (VORP) in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, which is often mentioned as the grassroots origin of restorative practices, and through the publications of one of

the founding fathers of the restorative body of ideas. The communitarian agenda has also been boosted by the emancipation of native people, especially in North America and New Zealand. Their community-based, peace-oriented, and deliberation-driven ways of dealing with conflicts and norm transgression deeply influenced restorative practice and thinking.

Given its diverse roots, broad field of implementation, and currently different forms, it is not surprising that restorative justice does not seem like a clearly defined set of thoughts and implementations but as a confused, seemingly even incoherent assembly. Adding to the confusion are seemingly similar movements under banners like transformative justice, relational justice, community justice, peacemaking justice, and others.

Definitions

Only recently have practitioners and researchers recognized a fundamental commonality underlying most versions of mediation, conferencing, circles, and other reparative or compensatory practices. That is probably one of the reasons why no generally accepted definition of restorative justice exists and why different, sometimes even opposing, views exist. But if the words *restoration* and *justice* do have a meaning, it should be possible to find the key characteristics of what can be called restorative justice.

Maybe the most quoted definition is by Tony Marshall: "Restorative justice is a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offense come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offense and its implications for the future." This definition has two problems. First, it does not consider that the outcome of the process must be reparative or restorative. Second, Marshall's definition excludes actions that may lead to reparative outcomes without "parties coming together."

In 2002, Howard Zehr proposed another definition, which orients the process toward restoration: "Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs and obligations, in order to heal and put things right as possible" (p. 37). This clearly remains a process-based definition, which

may exclude (partly) reparative actions through imposed obligations.

Gordon Bazemore and Lode Walgrave have proposed a simple and essentialist definition: "Restorative justice is every action that is primarily oriented toward doing justice by repairing the harm that has been caused by a crime" (p. 48). This definition is reduced to its most crucial characteristic, the aim of reparation, and does not mention underlying principles nor specific requirements or rights for parties. It also may include nondeliberative interventions, such as victim support, or imposed restitution or community service if it is intended as a symbolic compensation for the harm to social life.

This "maximalist" version of restorative justice is controversial. Paul McCold, for example, is strongly opposed to it and confronts it with his holistic "purist" version, uniquely based on voluntary cooperation by the stakeholders, rejecting any use of coercion under the restorative justice label. He refers to Marshall's earlier definition, and considers the deliberative and inclusionary process as the key characteristic of restorative justice. Both Walgrave and Bazemore replied that a purist vision would keep restorative justice at the margins of the social response to crime, leaving the mainstream to the traditional punitive criminal justice system.

The opposing viewpoints are ameliorated somewhat by the increasing awareness that restorativeness is not just a clear-cut feature. It is an option that may penetrate different actions in different degrees. Between fully restorative programs or systems and minimally restorative ones, graduations of partly or moderately restorative approaches exist.

Walgrave, therefore, suggests an adaptation of the earlier Bazemore and Walgrave definition and considers as restorative justice an option on doing justice after the occurrence of an offense that is primarily oriented toward repairing the individual, relational, and social harm that is caused by that offense.

In this version, the focus is shifted from "action" to "option." Restorative justice indeed is not a monopoly of certain fully restorative actions opposed to all the other nonrestorative actions. It is, on the contrary, an option, a vision, and an intention that may inspire in different degrees a variety of initiatives, programs, and systems.

The proposed definition is outcome-based, whereas most of the "restorativists" are sympathetic to the process-based approach. They all promote informal voluntary settlements as being crucial for achieving restoration maximally. The communicative potentials of mediation and family group conferences, for example, indeed favor the authentic assessment of the harm suffered and may more easily lead to a genuine agreement on how it can be reasonably repaired or compensated. The offender's acceptance to make up expresses his understanding of the wrongs committed and harms caused as well as his compliance with the social norms; the recognition of harm confirms the value and recognizes the rights of the victim. This is all much more restorative for the victim, for the community, and for the offender as well, than if the offender is simply imposed a sanction.

It is interesting to note that in the historical background and development of restorative justice, the terms *restitution*, *reparation*, *compensation*, *atonement*, *redress*, *community service*, *mediation*, and *indemnification* have been used interchangeably in the literature and that the term *restorative justice* is a fairly new one, which can mean different things, depending on the country, state, and community where such programs exist. Restorative justice is, so to speak, an umbrella term for all sorts of ways to undo the wrong caused by crimes or offenses. Restorative justice focuses on losses, repairs the damage inflicted, seeks satisfied parties, and views the victim as the central person of the whole process.

Restorative Justice and Policing/Prevention

The importance of restorative justice philosophy can be seen in the fact that it has been incorporated in newer concepts of policing, prevention programs, and within the context of justice systems.

The traditional style of policing was to keep public peace and order, enforce laws, make arrests, and provide short-term solutions to occurring problems. It ignored the old principles and aspects of the community's and citizens' welfare and their working together with the police. Dissatisfaction with the traditional policing style led to the development of community and problem-oriented policing. Elmar G. M. Weitekamp, Hans-Jürgen Kerner, and Ulrike Meier concluded that citizens want a

strong police force with a high visibility in their neighborhood and that citizens want police officers that are their friends and helpers who are prepared and willing to handle all kinds of problems within the community. These expectations can best be accomplished by adding to the existing concepts of problem- and community-oriented policing the offenders as an important party and even more important the victims of crimes. By introducing such a balanced restorative justice model, this approach includes all aspects in an integrated manner such as crime, fear of crime, crime prevention, and the improvement of the quality of life for all people who are involved.

In looking at the newest developments of restorative justice within the context of existing justice systems, one finds that they resemble, in fact, very old and ancient forms of restorative justice as used in acephalous societies and other forms of humankind: family group conferences, family conferences, peace circles, community circles, or circle hearings as used by indigenous people as well as healing justice approaches such as the Aboriginals, Maoris, Inuits, the Native Indians of North America, African tribes, and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions such as the South African one. The new concepts and models treat crime, according to Ron Claasen, as an offense against human relationships; recognize that crime is wrong and when happening can alienate the community, the family of the victim, and the offender; and further lead to damages, disrespect, disempowerment, and feelings of insecurity. The goal of the restorative justice approach is to recognize the injustice, and thus, some form of equity will be restored, leading the participants of this process to feel safer, more respected, and more empowered.

The Future of Restorative Justice

Despite the positive and exciting new developments, it has to be pointed out that so far only very little has been achieved by restorative justice. Most crimes in the world go undetected. John Braithwaite pointed out that 90% of the occurring victimizations will always be untouched by restorative justice processes since most victims are victims of white-collar crime without even realizing that they were victimized. Everybody seems to talk about

restorative justice, but in reality, one finds such approaches only here and there, and most crimes, if at all coming into the criminal justice system, are still handled in a retributive style; therefore, the days of a restorative justice paradigm as a full-fledged alternative to both the rehabilitative and retributive approaches are still far away.

Even if we would come close to such a system, it has been pointed out by numerous critiques that it is of utmost importance that procedural safeguards and standards are developed for restorative justice.

Society will also have to face offenders for whom the restorative justice approach will not work and who have to be incarcerated in order to protect citizens, communities, and societies. However, the State and its institutions should in these cases also apply a restorative justice approach as far as possible and base the reaction on a restorative justice philosophy. A good example that a restorative justice approach can be applied at all levels is the Belgium experience where they have in the prison system ways to start a healing process between the offender and the victim in very serious cases. That a restorative justice approach can also be used even in cases of severe homicide demonstrates the work of Mark Umbreit.

However, although restorative justice models seem and sound very promising in theory and achieve much better levels of satisfaction for victims, offenders, and all other persons involved in such programs, evaluations of these programs are usually plagued by one or more of the following shortcomings:

1. Despite a tremendous amount of legislation to introduce and reinforce restorative justice models and programs, they are applied in a very unsystematic manner and have not, with maybe the exception of New Zealand and Austria, gained a major role in any justice system.
2. Restorative justice models often do not serve as alternatives to incarceration and often lead to stronger, wider, and different nets of social control.
3. Restorative justice models often admit only a small number of minorities and a disproportionately high number of juveniles, first-time offenders, and property offenders.

4. Competing agencies, with unclear missions, who have different stakes in restorative justice and often compete or contradict restorative justice, harm the movement more than do restorative justice a favor.
5. Poor planning, unsystematic implementation, and even more importantly, the shortsighted evaluations of restorative justice programs constitute a major problem and are responsible for the often trivial results achieved by existing programs.

In addition to these shortcomings, several paradoxes also exist in the field of restorative justice: Germany, for example, is the only country in the world that does not use the terminology *victim-offender mediation*. If one looks at the German term used in law, literature, and practice (*Täter-Opfer Ausgleich*), it translates into English as “offender–victim mediation.” Austria uses the terminology *Aussergerichtlicher Tatausgleich*, which translates to out-of-court settlement (mediation). Although the Austrians use neutral terminology, it points out that in their mediation schemes, the victim comes first in the restorative justice process and in victim–offender mediation schemes as well. This seems to be supported by restorative justice philosophy. If, on the other hand, the focus or the central person of the whole process should be the offender, one should logically call that process offender–victim mediation, which clearly implies that the offender comes first and then the victim last. If one takes this matter seriously, one has to question the German approach toward restorative justice, since the terminology indicates that there is a lack of understanding of the basic philosophical roots of restorative justice and victim–offender mediation.

A second paradox in this context can be found in Spain and France. Jesus Trujillo points out that France and Spain use the terminology *penal mediation*. Penal mediation was introduced as a process in which the victim, the offender, and a mediator act under the control of the prosecutor. However, this constitutes a paradox since bringing together the term *penal*, which stands for punishment, and *mediation*, which stands for restoration, contradict each other.

It is a paradox that countries with well-developed and influential victim support have a mediocre

restorative justice movement, and that those countries with weak or poor victim support have a better and stronger restorative justice movement; it does nevertheless make some sense. Weitekamp pointed out one of the factors of the rediscovery of restorative justice in the last century was that the victims of crimes were completely left out of existing criminal justice programs and procedures, and they were the big losers in the justice process. Before victim–offender mediation and other forms of restorative justice were rediscovered, Margery Fry asked whether our ancestors were not wiser with reference to the extensive use of restorative justice approaches to solve problems.

This gap between victim support and restorative justice constitutes a dilemma and a good way out. To enhance the victim the best way would be if both movements would join forces. Inge Vanfraechem was one of the first to point out that both movements could and should join their forces since both would benefit from it. Although victim support often receives victims who are unwilling to go through the judicial process, they could easily be referred to restorative justice programs that handle cases not necessarily completely outside of the judicial system but certainly do not represent the judicial system. On the other hand, victim support has a lot to offer the restorative justice movement, since it provides services that cannot be provided by mediators or conference facilitators. One of the worst scenarios is that those two movements will start to compete with each other and that a power fight would start over who is more important. The losers of this battle would clearly be the victims of crimes.

Although the restorative justice movement is at this point and time stronger than ever and has so far achieved a lot, important additional improvements can be achieved in the following areas:

1. Natural or true experiments are urgently needed to determine whether victim–offender mediation and restorative justice schemes actually work better than the traditional judicial procedures.
2. Although there is some indication that the recidivism rate is not worse or even better if people participate in victim–offender mediation programs and restorative justice schemes, better studies are needed to find out more about this important aspect.

3. Quite a bit is known about levels of satisfaction of victims, offenders, and other people involved in victim–offender mediation programs and restorative justice schemes. However, this knowledge comes almost exclusively from Australia, New Zealand, and North America. Research in other countries is needed.
4. Almost nothing is known about the long-term effects of the mediation or restorative practices on the victims, offenders, and all other people who are involved or excluded from such processes.
5. Countries could implement national offices to monitor what is going on in their respective countries with regard to victim–offender mediation programs and restorative justice schemes.
6. Continued surveys could be conducted on the development of the practice of victim–offender mediation programs and restorative justice schemes.
7. Some sort of quality control for restorative justice programs as well as for laws dealing with these matters is needed.

So, where might the restorative justice movement go from here? As this entry has shown, restorative justice has great potential, but one has to watch carefully which direction the movement goes in order to evaluate the movement correctly and to prevent it from going in a direction that does not fulfill its aims.

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See also Dispute Resolution; Family Group Conferencing; Peacemaking/Sentencing Circles; Reintegrative Shaming; Victim–Offender Mediation

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RESTRAINING ORDERS

See Protection/Restraining Orders

REVICTIMIZATION

Revictimization is a serious, multifaceted, yet poorly understood public health, public safety, and criminal justice problem in the United States and abroad. Although the phenomenon has long been observed by those who work with adult victim/survivors, particularly with those who have been sexually (re)victimized and/or battered by their intimate partners, it is often framed pejoratively by directing blame toward those revictimized rather than toward those who exploit and perpetrate violence against the vulnerable. This entry provides definitions of revictimization with an emphasis on women's experiences, cites statistics regarding how often it happens, describes its consequences, discusses associated factors and theorized causes, and ends with a brief commentary on future directions.

Definitions

Repeat victimization or revictimization is the phenomenon in which individuals who have been victimized in childhood are victimized again at a subsequent point in their adult lives. The term is most often used in relation to sexual (re)victimization, although more recent conceptualizations of the phenomenon use expanded definitions that include other forms of childhood and adult mistreatment, such as neglect, physical assault, and emotional abuse.

Although repeat victimization has been recognized clinically for more than 100 years beginning with Sigmund Freud's description of "repetition compulsion," the formal study of revictimization has only begun in earnest within the last 20 years, with the first literature review of research on the topic published in 1996. The phenomenon has been conceptualized, defined, measured, and examined using multiple approaches from different disciplinary perspectives, including psychoanalysis,

feminist activism and theory, clinical psychology, criminal justice, and public health. Throughout the 1990s, scientific investigation sought to verify anecdotal observations reported by advocates and clinicians that victimized children are at significantly increased risk to be abused again in adulthood compared with those not maltreated. Although considerable evidence now exists confirming the existence of revictimization, knowledge of its causes, effective treatment and prevention strategies, as well as its myriad costs and harms to individuals, families, communities, and societies remains limited.

Revictimization has been defined using differing age ranges to delineate discrete points in a life cycle as well as how acts of victimization are conceptualized and measured in research studies. The most common definition refers to experiencing an incident or form of sexual abuse in childhood or adolescence, and then the same or different form of sexual victimization—rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, sexual coercion—in adulthood by an intimate partner, another nonstranger, or someone not known to the victim. Recent public health approaches have defined revictimization as an incident or series of incidents of victimization, including sexual assault or abuse, physical assault, emotional abuse, and/or neglect experienced in childhood or adolescence, defined as under the age of 18 years, and at least one other discrete incident of victimization occurring at 18 years of age or older.

Child maltreatment, whether physical, sexual, psychological, and/or emotional in form, particularly when abusers are family members or care providers for disabled persons, can be an ongoing interpersonal dynamic or care-giving context rather than a single event, however, as it may be when the perpetrator is a stranger to the child. Child sexual abusers often spend years grooming their victims using increasingly invasive forms of coercive boundary violations and sexualized acts; emotional and psychological forms of abuse in (dysfunctional) families of origin are generally embedded in relationship dynamics rather than in discrete incidents. Relationship violence in adulthood, such as the control and domination of one intimate or dating partner by the other in the private sphere, and hostile environment sexual harassment in school or on the job in the public sphere are similar criminally abusive contexts. Feminists

have pointed out that gender-based violence is further situated within sociocultural structures that confer unequal social power, authority, and privileges to males and females, adults, and children, thus complexly and often negatively impacting the social responses, support, and resources afforded to those who are revictimized.

Risk and Prevalence Rates

Overall, considerable evidence exists demonstrating that among females, childhood sexual abuse (CSA) leads to an increased vulnerability for sexual revictimization in adulthood, and increasingly, evidence shows that all forms of childhood maltreatment heighten vulnerability for both sexes for repeat interpersonal victimization. Recent population-based and prospective studies continue to show that the best predictor of victimization is having been victimized at a previous time in one's life.

Just as childhood sexual victimization rates are epidemic (1 of 6 girls and 1 of 33 boys is sexually abused before they turn 18), revictimization too has been shown to exist at epidemic rates among women in general, and at elevated rates among African American, college student, disabled, economically disadvantaged, treatment-seeking, homeless, sexual minority (especially bisexual), sex worker, and military female populations.

Although most research has focused on sexualized forms of childhood maltreatment, all forms of childhood maltreatment substantially increase the risk of being revictimized. Researchers Rachel Kimerling and her colleagues reported in a 2007 study involving more than 11,000 ethnically diverse women living in California that 12.2% of all women are revictimized through physical or sexual assault. The prevalence of repeat victimization was 50.2%, compared with 14.1% among women abused for the first time during their adult years.

Experiencing physical abuse, emotional abuse, and/or neglect in childhood places individuals at a significantly higher risk for being stalked, being kidnapped, and witnessing violence as well as for being battered by an intimate partner or sexually assaulted. Furthermore, the pathways from child to adult victimization are patterned. The 2007 California revictimization study reported that although each form of childhood maltreatment

was strongly associated with at least a fivefold increase for subsequent violence in adulthood, the type of victimization a child lives through creates a significantly greater risk for experiencing the same form of abuse in adulthood. In one of the rare prospective studies on revictimization, published in 2008 (more than 1,100 men and women with documented histories of child maltreatment were followed up 30 years later), it was reported that individuals who had lived through multiple forms of maltreatment in childhood had the highest rates of revictimization in adulthood.

Effects

Increased scientific understanding of the human trauma response to interpersonal violence, specifically, that it results in a complexly interactive set of consequences with biological, psychological, interpersonal, and cultural dimensions, has significantly advanced our understanding of revictimization. Women who are revictimized experience higher levels of psychological distress and certain types of mental health disorders, including a more than twelvefold increase in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a threefold increase for depression and anxiety, and increased rates of dissociative disorders and higher rates of suicidal and addictive behaviors compared with women abused in childhood only. Revictimized adults have greater difficulty regulating their emotions and coping with stress, have poorer self-images, and exhibit greater self-blame and higher levels of shame than those victimized only in childhood or adulthood, all of which complicate and translate into an array of interpersonal challenges.

Victimization experience—especially without swift intervention—can significantly challenge a child's psycho-social and behavioral development, particularly negatively impacting her or his experience of, ability to have, and expectations regarding family and other interpersonal relationships. Revictimization also impacts people socially as well as intrapsychically, somatically, and behaviorally, and these interpersonal and situational challenges are increasingly being recognized as key contributors to the cycle of violence in which half of child victim/survivors get caught. Revictimized adults struggle more in interpersonal relationships and in private and public settings than their

nonvictimized peers. Intense feelings of social isolation and stigma, challenges assessing and responding to external threats others may pose, difficulties trusting others in general, increased risk-taking behavior and sexual dysfunction, and disrupted educational, employment, and marital lives are hallmark legacies that mark the lives of those who have been victimized repeatedly.

On the whole, revictimized individuals, female and male, are exposed to a significantly higher number of interpersonal traumatic events in adulthood compared with their non-abused peers. Living through a single form of repeat victimization often leads to deleterious effects on the victim/survivor's physical and psychological health; experiencing multiple forms of victimization has an incrementally negative impact on the victim/survivor's health and well-being. Growing evidence exists that the range of revictimization experience as well as the frequency and severity of these events has a cumulative traumatic effect on individuals. The more often one experiences a traumatic event, the greater the range and severity of the trauma-related symptoms experienced, suggesting early intervention is the key to prevention as well as to mediating traumatic impact.

Why Revictimization Occurs

Revictimization is essentially an interpersonal, social phenomenon. In an effort to understand why one in two children are revictimized in adulthood, however, the bulk of investigation and published literature on the subject has focused on maladaptive personal factors associated with a legacy of child abuse (e.g., PTSD, alcohol and drug abuse, risky sexual behavior, impaired risk recognition, dissociation, and interpersonal challenges). No single factor associated with childhood victimization has been found to distinguish those who are abused again from those who escape further maltreatment. Furthermore, this emphasis implicitly plays into entrenched "blame the victim" philosophies circulating within the larger society, and such misattribution of responsibility has serious, and stigmatizing, implications for the health and well-being of victim/survivors of violence. Victim-blaming tendencies negatively influence the reactions of those to whom the victim/survivor discloses their experience as well as

funding priorities for services and research, and social policies and practices that wield the power to hold perpetrators accountable and, presumably, to diminish their opportunity for continued criminality and abuse.

Ecological models, such as the one Liz Grauerholz developed in 2000 for repeat sexual victimization, attend to risk factors at multiple levels of social experience—personal, situational, institutional/community, and sociocultural—as they represent the array of contexts in which individuals operate. Building on this framework in their 2003 review and reformulation on the subject, Terri Messman-Moore and Patricia Long advocate for the examination of clusters of risk factors—specifically as they operate in situations involving the victim and the perpetrator—that function through their interaction to increase a victim/survivor's vulnerability to revictimization.

Messman-Moore and Long propose two primary mechanisms that functionally cluster risk factors together. Exposure risk is theorized to involve risk caused by increased contact with sexually aggressive men, for instance, in male-dominated environments, such as military bases and fraternity houses, in bars, drug dens, and other locations that people use alcohol and other drugs, and through recreational sexual activity with multiple sexual partners or by work in the sex-trade industry. Psychological vulnerability is theorized to place a victim at risk because of the perpetrator's targeting of those he identifies as psychologically vulnerable, for instance, because of intoxication, dissociation, drug use, unconsciousness, cognitive or physical disability, social stigma, low self-esteem, lack of family (particularly maternal) support, or knowledge of previous sexual abuse. Victimiziers justify their aggression by viewing a victim's freezing, incapacitation, or inability to resist as invitation, their decreased ability to respond effectively to unwanted sexual advances or threats as insincere, and knowledge of past victimization as proof of desire.

Recent research and theorization has helped to address the significant gaps in knowledge regarding the factors and processes that drive or protect against revictimization, but significantly more is necessary to develop and implement effective prevention and intervention efforts for this entrenched social problem.

Future Directions

Individuals who are caught in the cycle of (re)victimization require an intensive and disproportional set of medical, legal, mental health, employment, and other social services. Research and advocacy point toward the critical need for integrated responses created collaboratively among mental/health care, legal, education, employment, and social service systems, as well as early intervention and programs developmentally and culturally targeted for different populations.

Prospective designs capable of determining causality and how risk factors cluster, longitudinal research capable of measuring a population over time, as well as qualitative designs and case studies capable of examining repeat victimization as situated within broader dynamics of family and other forms of interpersonal violence are needed, as well as theory guided by ecological, life course, and cumulative trauma perspectives. More research is needed on male revictimization, ethnic and sexual minorities, disabled, and other vulnerable or marginalized populations.

Ultimately, however, individual and systems-level intervention, prevention, treatment, and research efforts are hindered, as is the ability of individual victim/survivors of revictimization to overcome complex legacies of cumulative traumatization, by shallow, yet widely held, perceptions that individuals caught in a cycle of (re)victimization bring it upon themselves. These cultural misperceptions too must be shifted through knowledge and compassion to end this vexing epidemic.

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See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Repeat Victimization; Sexual Abuse; Vicarious Victimization; Victimization, Theories of

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RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS AND RESILIENCY

The prevention of criminal activity is highly dependent on a thorough understanding of how a variety of factors impact (or shape) the onset, persistence, and desistance of such activities. At the micro-level of analysis, this often constitutes focusing on the risk and protective factors associated with criminal activity. Definitively, risk factors are those variables that increase the likelihood that a criminal offense will occur. Alternatively, protective factors are those variables that function to moderate the effects of risk factors. That is, protective factors possess minimal impact in low-risk environments; in high-risk environments, however, their effects are positive and significant. Both risk and protective factors are directly related to a third term known as resiliency. Resiliency is the concept describing when individuals in high-risk environments abstain from involvement in serious criminal activity. In the most true sense of crime prevention, resilient individuals are the statistical anomalies; those individuals who because of their high risk are predicted to engage in delinquent and/or criminal activities but refrain from involvement.

Risk Factors

The concept of risk, or the interest in investigating the effects of risk factors, is not new to the fields of victimology and crime prevention. For several decades, criminologists have addressed empirical questions related to the causes of offending and

victimization and have linked this research back to the prevention of criminal activity. Each of these questions possessed at their core the intrinsic value of identifying individual, environmental, or situational factors that increase the odds of the occurrence of a crime or victimization. The logic follows that a thorough understanding of the causes of delinquency and crime will provide insight into how to reverse the impact of the causes in hopes of decreasing the undesired behavioral outcomes. To draw on an example from the medical field, if research has documented that poor eating habits and obesity lead to heart disease, it logically follows that improving a patient's eating habits should result in a decreased likelihood of future damage to the cardiac system. So, much like changing eating habits can decrease the risk of heart disease, changing the friends who one associates with can alter the risk of involvement in delinquency and crime (assuming, of course, that peer association has been found to be a significant risk factor within the field of criminology).

Although understanding the effects of risk factors on delinquency and crime is important in and of itself, criminologists have also initiated several efforts to understand how the nature of risk factors impacts delinquency and crime. Some questions that researchers have addressed are as follows: (1) Does the timing of when a risk factor is experienced matter? (2) Is there variation in the impact of risk factors from certain environments (e.g., neighborhood, family, and school)? (3) Does the probability of engaging in delinquency/crime or being victimized increase as the number of risk factors experienced increases? The answers to these questions inevitably provide policy makers with a more informed understanding of the potential programs that can be initiated to prevent crime and victimization.

The Timing of Risk Factors

Research has documented that the aggregate rate of offending increases in late childhood and into adolescence, peaks early in adulthood, and then precipitously decreases during the remainder of the life course. To help make sense of this criminological consistency, scholars have sought to understand the effects that risk factors possess on the age-crime curve. Since the 1970s, research has been accumulating

suggesting that risk factors to crime and delinquency are age-graded. That is, a particular factor might increase the risk of delinquency and crime at one particular age, yet have minimal impact on one's behavior during a later period in the life course. For example, research has documented that the effects of parenting (or poor parenting) are particularly impactful during the childhood period of the life-course development. This should make logical sense since one's parents or caregivers typically have the most impact on a child's development in the early formative years. Upon reaching adolescence, however, the impact of parenting significantly decreases, and instead, the effects of an individual's peers with whom they associate substantially increase their influence on behavioral outcomes. Although scholarly exceptions exist and a debate about strength of these influences ensues, much of the criminological community holds the belief that at some level risk factors vary in their degree of influence across the life course.

Variation of Risk Factors From Different Domains

In addition to examining how risks differ according to *when* they emerge across the life course, research has also documented the variability in importance associated with *where* risks develop. Although scholars have generally investigated the sources of risk from a variety of different locations, four domains seem to capture the majority of scholarly attention. First, a lengthy research agenda has developed focusing on the sources of risk located within the individual. In fact, the interpersonal deficiencies within individuals have been found to have both biological and psychological roots. Second, since much of the early development of human behavior occurs within the household, a substantial interest in the identification of risk factors has occurred while focusing on the impact of the family (i.e., parents). Third, as individuals transition through developmental stages, and in particular from childhood to adolescence, scholars have emphasized a focus on the influence that one's peers have on a variety of behavioral outcomes including crime and victimization. Finally, a longstanding sociological tradition has pointed to the environment, particularly the neighborhood, as a source of risk that shapes human

behavior. Combined, these four areas arguably account for the majority of sources through which risks can manifest and impact the development of delinquent and criminal behavior.

The Accumulation of Multiple Risk Factors

Although risks have the potential to develop and impact human behavior from a variety of different domains, the literature has failed to account for the existence of a single robust predictor. For example, although associating with delinquent peers has been found to be correlated with an increased likelihood of participating in criminal activity, the existence of this factor alone is not a powerful predictor of these same behaviors. As such, research has documented that criminality is more highly predictive when individuals experience the accumulation of risk factors. That is, the prevalence of criminal activity increases as individual's exposure to risk increases.

Scholarly research has revealed that the probability of engaging in delinquency and other problem behaviors is directly associated with the number of risk factors to which an individual is exposed. In past research assessing the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in children, scholars have isolated six family variables: marital discord, low socioeconomic status, large family size, paternal criminality, maternal psychiatric disorder, and child welfare intervention. This research found that the rates of disorder were a function of the number of risks to which the child had been exposed. Children exposed to an isolated familial risk were no more likely to suffer from psychiatric illness than those not exposed to any risk factor; the presence of two or three factors occurring in collaboration, however, produced a fourfold increase in the prevalence rates, and four or more risk factors generated a tenfold increase. Research focusing on crime and victimization has echoed these findings and has supported the assertion that the probability of occurrence increases substantially with each additional risk factor.

Protective Factors

The concept of protection, or the interest in understanding how protective factors moderate the effects of risk, is also not new to the fields of

victimology and crime prevention. Although the focus on protective factors is primarily rooted in the developmental psychopathology literature, traditional criminological research has also directed attention to the potential influence of protective factors within high-risk environments. For example, more than 50 years ago, criminological research examined the effects that variables might have in reducing the likelihood for youths to be delinquent. This research generally suggested that boys with good self-concepts were less likely to be delinquent than those having poorly developed self-concepts. Although not necessarily considered protective factor research at the time, early studies like this provided the criminological foundation through which protective factors potentially ameliorate the effects of residing within high-risk environments.

The theoretical foundation of the impact that protective factors possess is rooted in their ability to counteract the effects of high-risk environments. As identified, protective factors are those variables that serve to buffer, moderate, or insulate individuals from high-risk status. This conceptualization suggests that protective factors become impactful after the establishment of a particularly high level of risk. In fact, the higher the level of risk, the more likely it is that protective factors are capable of moderating the effects that risk factors possess. Stated differently, it is within particularly risky environments that protective factors function to moderate an individual's likelihood of developing problems.

Conceptualizing Protective Factors

Although the theoretical role of protective factors has been generally accepted among scholars working in this scholarly area, much less consensus exists surrounding the conceptualization and operationalization of these factors. Scholarly differences particularly center on the separation of risk factors from protective factors during the investigation of the independent effects of the latter (i.e., protective factors) on problem behaviors. Stated differently, a subset of scholars exists comprising those who support the operationalization of protective factors as the absence of risk or the opposite ends of a risk factor. For example, these scholars might consider low IQ as a risk that

enhances or increases the probability of manifesting problem behaviors, whereas a high IQ buffers or reduces the likelihood of such behaviors. Similarly, the presence of a caring emotional reference person has been considered an important protective factor against psychopathology, whereas the absence of such an individual is viewed as a substantial risk. Conceptualizing a protective factor as the opposite end of a risk factor clearly calls into question whether it is methodologically appropriate to consider a variable to be both a risk and a protective factor.

Another subset of scholars exists, however, comprising those who put forth an argument in support of the view that risk and protective factors are conceptually distinct from one another as opposed to opposite ends of a single dimension. According to this group of scholars, protective factors are considered independent variables that have both direct effects on problem behaviors or can moderate the relationship between risk factors and behavior. This conceptualization also allows factors to be protective only if they differentiate between maladapted and adapted (i.e., delinquents and nondelinquents) individuals who both experience equal levels of high risk.

Variation in Protective Factors Across Age and Sex

In light of these methodological issues, research indicates that the effects of protective factors should not be viewed equally across various populations. That is, similar to the impact of risk, the effects of protective factors seem to vary according to a variety of demographic characteristics, including age and sex. Not only does vulnerability shift in accordance with these characteristics, but the availability and reliance on factors insulating against risk also change. Much like risk, different protective factors manifest different degrees of impact at different developmental stages. In fact, research has documented that the importance and reliance on protective factors varies across different life stages. For example, as individuals move beyond the family sphere and increasingly associate with their peers, their opportunities for protection against risk change accordingly. The age of the individual additionally affects how they appraise stressful experiences and the coping

resources available. As such, it is important to investigate which protective factors are important at different stages of development.

Scholars have additionally identified how susceptibilities and adaptations differ according to an individual's sex. Findings suggest that under high-stress situations, boys are typically more likely to manifest disruptive or aggressive behavior, whereas girls are more likely to experience higher levels of anxiety or depression. Studies have also suggested that girls have been found to be more resilient than boys during childhood; however, they are more vulnerable during adolescence. In reference to protective effects, research has also directed attention to how protective factors within the individual (e.g., temperament, cognitive skills, and self-esteem) positively impacted the coping abilities for high-risk females, whereas outside sources of support were more important in the lives of high-risk males. These findings seem to suggest that sex differences affect the vulnerabilities and the protective resources for both males and females.

Resiliency

A variety of literatures have contributed to formulating the foundation of resiliency research. First, similar to the origin of risk-related research, the investigation of resiliency in part emerged in epidemiological research where studies occurred relating to individuals' vulnerability to coronary heart disease. For example, research examining individuals for a 20-year period has found that more serious patterns of illness evolved from individuals with higher susceptibilities, whereas resilient individuals experienced lower levels of illness. It was also observed that a small proportion of individuals survived major changes in relationships and deprivations without exhibiting any overt illness. Related research has found that this resilient behavior was associated within individuals who had no history of preexisting vulnerabilities and who had the presence of personality characteristics that buffered them from a variety of negative life circumstances.

Second, research on schizophrenia, poverty, and responses to trauma have also contributed to our understanding of how individuals adapt to stressful or adverse situations. Scholars examining the effects of schizophrenia had been primarily interested in

the majority of individuals evidencing maladaptive behavior. Early studies generally addressed the precursors and correlates of schizophrenic behavior while in part ignoring the small subset of patients exhibiting recovery and adaptive patterns. During the early 1970s, however, researchers embarked on a scholarly mission to formulate an explanation for how a small portion of individuals, despite their schizophrenic diagnosis, functioned competently in work, social situations, and their capacity to fulfill a variety of responsibilities. Although the term “resilience” was not extended to the characterization of such behavior, the patterns of adaptation and recovery clearly provided a foundation for future resiliency research.

Third, the particular stresses associated with chronic poverty exemplified an additional area of research that led to studies investigating resiliency. Despite the substantial number of social and economic deprivations associated with chronic poverty, a considerable proportion of youths have been identified to exhibit positive behaviors across the life course. In examining 167 adolescents who experienced the Great Depression, researchers have found that individuals who survived and functioned competently sought out the companionship and advice among individuals outside of the family. Moreover, an individual’s personal assets also played an important role in their ability to remain resilient. For example, a substantial number of youths successfully adapted to the adversities they faced within very low to lower socioeconomic environments. These studies seem to suggest that escape from risky environments is possible if individuals possess certain individual traits.

One final area of research that has contributed to the foundation of resiliency has been studies investigating adaptive functioning in individuals exposed to a variety of life traumas. The nature of the traumas experienced could be a function of the natural environment (e.g., earthquakes or hurricanes) or socially constructed (e.g., wars and revolutions). Research provides detailed accounts of how poor minority children succeed in school and in raising a family despite traumas experienced throughout the course of their development. Studies have also documented the successful life histories of adults who had previously experienced the pains of the Holocaust as children. Again, although

expectations of maladaptive behavior are relatively high among these populations, it was observed that some individuals overcome and virtually thrive in such situations.

Despite the historical significance of these diverse areas of research in providing a foundation to study resilient youth, the more contemporary roots of resilience can be traced to work by developmental psychopathologists. While observing that some individuals, although equally exposed to high-risk environments, failed to manifest psychopathological behavior, several scholars organized a research agenda to investigate variables that might ameliorate the effects of multiple risk factors. In other words, scholars began to embrace the idea that competence and maladjustment are best studied together—the study of one informing and improving the study of the other. As such, developmental psychopathologists initiated a systematic effort to investigate factors that produced successful outcomes in children and adolescents at risk. Recognizing that previous researchers were mainly interested in explaining problem behavior through variations in risk alone, this more contemporary developmental approach placed the effects of protective factors at the forefront of analytical models. In short, the increasingly prominent role of the developmental perspective has fostered an interest in the diversity of developmental outcomes and in the complexities of different pathways of human behavior. These literatures appropriately suggest that successful adaptation despite extensive adversity is one developmental pathway that is worthy of empirical understanding. As such, investigators began to explore the many possibilities through which protective factors theoretically influenced resiliency.

Conclusion

The scholarly evidence associated with risk and protective factors and resilience can be particularly instructive to the development of policies to prevent crime and victimization. Programs designed to reduce risk or enhance protection (particularly in high-risk environments) should be capable of producing intended results and promote resiliency.

Michael Turner

See also Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Social Control and Self-Control Theory; Structural Choice Theory

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ROBBERY

Robbery is the crime of seizing property through violence, fear, or intimidation. The term *rob* is derived from the German *raub* (“clothing”) since garments were a frequent target of robbers before factory mass production techniques decreased the production costs and the value of clothing. Robbery should not be confused with simple theft (which involves the taking of property without force, violence, or intimidation) or burglary (which

does not require the presence of a victim and is associated with the taking of property from a domicile or place of business). According to the U.S. Unified Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, the United States suffered 445,125 robberies, with a rate of 2.8 robberies per 1,000 people age 12 years and older. Depending on individual state statutes, the use of a lethal weapon may elevate the charge of robbery to *armed* robbery, whereas physical assault on the victim during the course of robbery will elevate the charge to *aggravated* robbery. As with other forms of interpersonal crime (homicide, sexual assault, aggravated assault), robbery places the victim in direct confrontation with the offender and is often a traumatizing experience.

Prevalence and Statistics

According to the FBI's 2007 statistics, although the estimated number of robberies (445,125) decreased 0.5% from the 2006 estimate, the 5-year robbery trend (2003 to 2007 data) showed an increase of 7.5%. The average victim lost \$1,321 per robbery with banks suffering the highest average dollar loss (\$4,201). The total U.S. losses attributed to robbery victims in the United States was estimated at \$588 million, not taking into account associated losses because of hospitalization, insurance costs, and court and law enforcement costs, which would push the total annualized loss to more than \$4 billion. Robbery is a violent crime, and overwhelmingly, firearms are the tool of choice for robbers (42.8%).

Where Robbery Occurs

Common *street robbery* (meaning that the offense occurs between one or more individuals “outside” a domicile or place of business) comprises some 44% of all robberies. The overwhelming majority of street robberies occur in poor, urban neighborhoods where police protection is scarce and populations are concentrated. The second most common location for robberies to occur are in commercial establishments such as banks (2.1%), gas stations (2.6%), convenience stores (5.6%), and commercial houses (13.9%), which includes supermarkets, department stores, and restaurants. The remainder of offenses occur in residences (15.2%, commonly

referred to as “home invasions”) or as miscellaneous (16.8%, categorized as such because the locations are not easily categorizable or are not properly recorded by law enforcement personnel).

Specialized Forms

Robbery can be broken down into several subcategories based on the characteristics of the victim. From a legal standpoint, most of these offenses will fall under the classification of robbery or aggravated robbery, but some (like carjacking) may receive their own statutory designations in some states, while others (such as bank robbery) fall under federal jurisdiction.

Drug Robbery

Drug robberies are those offenses that occur between offenders where the victim is a drug dealer who is targeted for his or her stash of drugs and money. Drug dealers relieved of their drugs and ill-gotten monetary gains make excellent targets because they cannot go to the police to report their victimization, making them part of what criminologists refer to as the “dark figure” of crime (i.e., those offenses that remain uncategorized or uncounted in common crime statistics). Their importance in the spread of violence in urban neighborhoods has been the topic of recent research, as victimized drug dealers, unable to turn to the police for help, often engage in retaliation to recoup their losses and maintain their reputations.

Carjacking

Carjacking, the taking of a vehicle from an individual by force or threat of force, has received a great deal of attention from the public and law enforcement in the past 2 decades. This is partly because of several well-publicized and notorious carjackings. For example, in 1992, Pamela Basu, on her way to dropping her daughter off at preschool, was carjacked at an intersection in broad daylight by two men. Her baby daughter was tossed from the vehicle, but Basu was entangled in her seatbelt and was dragged to her death. The crime was featured prominently in national newspapers and *Time* magazine. That same year a law

was passed making carjacking a federal crime. The offense also received increased attention as the result of a Bureau of Justice study, which estimated that, between 1987 and 1992, about 35,000 carjacking attempts took place and, between 1992 and 1996, about 49,000 attempts took place (an alarming 40% increase). Offenders report engaging in carjacking for a variety of reasons from using the vehicles to engage in subsequent crimes to selling the vehicles to chop shops. In many cases, they prefer taking vehicles by force (rather than engaging in auto theft by hotwiring a car) because doing so provides them with the vehicle’s keys, making them more valuable for resale.

Bank Robbery

Any form of robbery occurring in financial institutions such as commercial banks, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions constitutes bank robbery. Bank robbery is on average four times as lucrative for offenders as common street robbery, but because the offense is a federal offense (subject to the Federal Bank Robbery and Incidental Crimes Statute) and because banks employ exceptional security measures, the offense is rare (comprising only 2.1% of all robberies). FBI statistics from 2006 to 2007 indicate that a note is used in more than 50% of all incidents; a firearm is used in roughly 25% of incidents; and robbers threaten to use a weapon in roughly 80% of incidents. The most common day of the week for a bank robbery to occur is Friday, and the most common time of day for a bank robbery to occur is between 9:00 am and 11:00 am. Despite portrayals of bank robberies in film and television, it is exceedingly rare for hostages to be taken (less than 1% of the time) and nearly as rare for individuals to be injured or killed.

Volkan Topalli

See also Bank and Cash-in-Transit Robbery; Carjacking; Workplace Violence, United States

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ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

The routine activities theory (which is also referred to as “routine activity theory”) is both a micro-level approach that states that crime happens when three elements—a likely offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian—converge in time and space and a macro-level approach that examines broad changes in society and how these lead to changes in community life that create new opportunities for crime. The approach is one of the “opportunity” theories of crime (along with rational choice and crime pattern theories) and is included in the group of theories referred to as “environmental criminology” (which includes the three opportunity theories, situational crime prevention, and victimization theories that focus on lifestyles). Unlike theories of *criminality*, which attempt to explain why some people have a propensity to commit crime while others do not, routine activities is a theory of *crime*—that is, it focuses on both broad and situational reasons for the occurrence of *crime events*.

This entry begins by discussing the main assumptions of routine activities while presenting the origin and evolution of the approach. Then the elements, both the original components and the ones added as the approach evolved, are defined, and their links to crime prevention practice are explored. Finally, the strengths and weaknesses of the approach are presented.

History

The routine activities approach was first presented by sociologists Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson in a 1979 article in the prestigious journal *American Sociological Review*. The main purpose of the article was to explain why there were dramatic increases in crime, despite improvements

during 1960 to 1975 in the social conditions that were thought to contribute to crime. Rather unexpectedly, although poverty and unemployment dropped in urban areas, and levels of education and income increased, the rates of violent crime (robbery, aggravated assault, forcible rape, and homicide) grew between 164% and 263%, as did property crime—burglary alone increased 200%. It was clear that the mainstream theories used by criminologists to explain crime, theories that pointed to “root causes” such as poverty, blocked opportunities, and the like, were inadequate to explain these rapid increases in violent crime or property crime.

Cohen and Felson offered an alternative explanation. Drawing heavily from the work of the early human ecologist, Amos Hawley, and bringing in ideas from the work of scholars in the Chicago School (such as Parks and Burgess) who looked at the relationship between humans and the environment, Cohen and Felson argued that the increase in crime rates could be attributed to changes in social and technological patterns.

The *routine activities* of people, the “recurrent and prevalent activities” that people do to meet their needs, had changed. Routine activities refer to day-to-day things such as going to work or school, shopping, socializing, and playing. They can occur at home or away from home. During the 1960s, the routine activities of a large number of people in the American population changed in ways that resulted in a “dispersion of activities away from households.” Specifically, more women entered the workforce or post-secondary education, and there were more households of only one person. People also traveled more.

The consequence of this shift in routine activities away from the home was that there was less guardianship of those homes, which made these homes more attractive targets for burglars. Children and teenagers were less supervised as mothers moved into the workplace in large numbers. This had two results. First, it increased the risk of victimization of youth because no adults were around to protect them, and second, it allowed youth to engage in criminal activity more readily because no adults were monitoring their behavior.

Not only did social changes appear on the home front, they were manifested in public life. Women who started working outside the home and going

to school became more suitable targets for opportunistic offenders, as did private vehicles used in commuting.

Routine activities theory also addresses how crime rates are affected by technological changes. Cohen and Felson found that the characteristics of “durable goods” (such as television sets and cars) were strongly associated with levels of property crime. Consumer goods became more widely owned, smaller, and lighter. Not only did the number of targets increase, the targets became more *suitable* to likely offenders. The way the increasing number of goods sold changed too. The number of stores selling these durable goods remained fairly constant, and there were fewer salespeople on the floor to tend to customers. Also, retailing shifted to more of a self-service approach, which brought more customers in closer contact with more products. The result of decreased supervision of customers and greater customer access to goods was increased shoplifting.

As was mentioned, a key difference between the routine activities approach and most explanations of crime is that very little emphasis is placed on offenders. Instead, the role of temporal and spatial factors is stressed. Indeed, this theme underlies the constellation of theories associated with routine activities, which asserts that crime cannot be explained solely in terms of characteristics of offenders, but that environmental factors are as, or more, important. Patterns of criminal behavior obviously vary from place to place. Where you park your car makes a big difference to the likelihood that it will be stolen or broken into. Your own locked garage is the safest place; a public parking lot is the most dangerous place. Risk varies across different time periods as well. Some places are safe during the day but dangerous at night, largely because of the nature of the land use and who is using the space. For example, there may be low rates of victimization in a downtown park during business hours. People using the park would be mostly engaged in benign activities, such as eating lunch, selling food and drink from carts, feeding pigeons, and so on. Although there are scores of suitable targets, there are also many capable guardians. Later in the day, when the offices close and the business people and vendors go home, a different group of people occupy the park. The staggering drunks and

straggling commuters are suitable targets, and given the lack of capable guardians, victimization is much more likely.

Evolution

There have been alterations to the routine activities approach since 1979 in response to contributions from other scholars and theorists. First, the approach has been broadened in recognition of the important theoretical links between routine activities and other approaches (such as rational choice and crime pattern theory) and, at the same time, has moved away from its roots in sociology. Although the original version of routine activities had only micro- and macro-level aspects, recent iterations have taken into account offender decision making, journey to crime, the geography of crime, and situational crime prevention. In elaborations of the macro-level components of the approach, Felson has explored how increases in human density, from villages to small towns to large cities (or the “divergent metropolis”), have created new opportunities for crime. For example, changes in land use and zoning as cities got bigger and more complex have resulted in residential areas being located far away from job locations. This leads to people spending more time commuting (which reduces guardianship of their home and increases the risk of predation by strangers), and more people relying on personal vehicles, which are then parked for hours at a stretch in untended parking lots.

Second, new elements have been added. One significant change was the incorporation of a fourth element—the *intimate handler*—based on concepts from Travis Hirschi’s control theory. This theory has four components—attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief—that together explain how families, communities, and society as a whole control people’s behavior through informal ways. What makes this control effective is that people fear what will happen to their futures or relationships with friends and family if they behave badly. Also, encouraging participation in conventional activities puts limits on available options about how to spend one’s time, and manipulating belief systems makes people feel guilty when they are bad. The intimate handler is someone who knows use well enough to know what varieties of

informal control will work best to ensure law-abiding behavior.

A more recent addition to routine activities, the *place manager*, was suggested by the work of John Eck. The place manager is someone who has responsibility over a particular space. This differs from the capable guardian in that it is not the target that the place manager is protecting, but the location where the suitable target and likely offender converge. Examples of place managers include doormen, receptionists, janitors, security guards, and building superintendents.

Adding place managers and intimate handlers to the original conception of routine activities (a likely offender and suitable target converging in time and space in the absence of a capable guardian) creates what is called “Eck’s Triplets,” wherein crime is discouraged when the likely offender is supervised by the intimate handler, the suitable target is protected by the capable guardian, and the time and space where the convergence occurs is monitored by the place manager.

Original Elements

The micro-level aspect of routine activities states that a crime event can only happen when a *likely offender* and a *suitable target* come together in a particular place and time, and there is no *capable guardian* there to prevent an interaction between the offender and the target. On the face of it, this is an extremely simplistic model for crime. But this is a strength of the theory, for it points to very straightforward crime prevention measures. If even one of the three sides of the “crime triangle” can be removed, then the crime event does not occur.

Likely Offender

A likely offender is someone who has both the propensity and the ability to commit a crime. If a crime actually happens, it is because the likely offender finds a situation where there is a suitable target and no capable guardian around to prevent the interaction. The approach assumes that there is a ready supply of people who are likely offenders. Why some people are inclined to commit crime while others are not so predisposed is not a focus of routine activities, and attempting to reduce crime by making people “better” is explicitly

rejected by routine activities. For crime prevention, the likely offender is relevant in that the perceptions of this individual determine whether a target is perceived as suitable or a guardian perceived as capable. In addition, the role of *handlers* in controlling and supervising likely offenders has taken on importance as the theory evolved.

Suitable Target

A suitable target can be a person or an object. It is the characteristics of targets that make them attractive to likely offenders. Cohen and Felson introduced the acronym VIVA to simplify these qualities, which include value, inertia, visibility, and access.

Value

Objects that can be easily converted to cash are highly prized by thieves. Recognition of this has led crime prevention practitioners to disrupt markets for stolen goods (such as pawn shops, flea markets, and increasingly, Internet sites where people sell second-hand items) in an attempt to make it harder to exchange these goods for money. Similarly, programs like *Operation Identification*, wherein people mark their property with a unique code (like a driver’s license number), are designed to reduce the value of objects to thieves because objects are harder to fence if they are marked.

For violent offenders, some potential victims have more value than others. For example, rapists tend to prefer younger women. A suitable target for an armed robber is someone who is expected to be carrying cash or other valuables.

Inertia

This refers generally to the size and weight of an item and, specifically, to how easily the item can be removed from the area. The smaller and lighter an object, the more suitable it is to a thief, as less effort is needed to carry it away. Heavy objects are less desirable, although not if they have functioning wheels. Drivers who use devices that prevent their vehicles from being shifted into gear are relying on the principle of inertia—it is very difficult to move a car if the wheels cannot rotate. Retailers of expensive fur and leather clothing often chain the garments down, thus substantially increasing the inertia of the items.

Visibility

A potential thief has to see an object before assessing whether it is a suitable target. If the item is not visible, it is less vulnerable to be stolen. Around the holiday season, shoppers are warned to lock their purchases in the trunk; failure to do so alerts thieves to the presence of goods worth stealing and can result in car break-ins. Pickpockets have been known to observe crowds in proximity to signs warning of pickpocketing. The instinct of many people is to check if their wallets are still there upon reading such a sign. This has the effect of making visible what was previously hidden in a pocket or handbag.

Access

The more easily a thief can get to an item, the more suitable that item is as a target. Stores lock their jewelry in display cases. Homeowners install solid-core doors and strong deadbolts. These are examples of target hardening, which reduces accessibility and the attractiveness of the target.

Capable Guardian

A capable guardian is someone who prevents the convergence in time and space of a likely offender and a suitable target. Most often, we are capable guardians of our own belongings and property. Those around us, such as family, friends, and co-workers, can also function as capable guardians. It should be noted that the routine activities approach is explicit in stating that police officers, because they so rarely detect crime as it is happening, are rarely capable guardians.

The absence of a capable guardian can result in a crime because the likely offender and suitable target are alone together. For crime prevention, increasing the capability of guardianship is important. In many university libraries, signs are posted warning patrons of the dangers of leaving belongings unattended. Some parents install hidden closed-circuit video cameras so as to better observe their children's babysitters.

Newer Elements

Handler

The handler is someone who exerts some influence on a likely offender by virtue of knowing the

offender well enough to act as a curb on criminal behavior. Examples include parents, adults in the community, and even peers. The key is that the handler must know who the potential offender is. Offenders can easily avoid the influence of handlers by going to another part of the community where no one knows or recognizes them. The growth in human settlements from villages to large, sprawling urban areas, coupled with increased car ownership and part-time jobs that provide disposable income, have made it a simple matter for youth to escape the supervision of handlers.

In terms of crime prevention, much youth crime takes place after school but before parents get home from work when there is little supervision of teenagers. After-school programs are an example of increasing the capacity of handlers to exert control over their charges.

Place Managers

Place managers are people who have some level of responsibility for a space. They prevent the convergence in time and space of likely offenders and suitable targets. The effectiveness of place managers varies by how much they feel responsible for the place. Those with diffuse responsibility are less effective than those who own the property or those who have contractual or employment-based duties to look at the space. To prevent crime in neighborhoods, there is much to be said for on-site managers in apartment buildings, particularly if the manager is motivated to keep the property free from crime. Resident owners are even better.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Routine activities theory has tremendous utility for crime prevention, largely because the straightforward nature of the micro-level aspect of the approach points to specific measures that can be taken. Targets can be made less suitable, guardians more capable, place managers more observant, and handlers more effective, all without undertaking the difficult task of trying to make people better.

Routine activities, as well as other theories of crime mentioned in this entry, are often criticized for neglecting the "root causes" of crime (e.g.,

poor parenting, poverty, and blocked opportunities). In addition, because routine activities theory assumes that offender motivation is irrelevant, opponents argue that it fails to take into account differences in disposition. However, it should be noted that the approach does not actually claim that everyone is equal in terms of proclivity toward crime; it just deems differences in levels of motivation not important.

Sharon Chamard

See also Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Triangles; Defensible Space; Hot Spots; Lifestyle Theory; Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access (VIVA); Rational Choice Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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RURAL CRIME

When most people think of crime, they think of urban crime. In particular, they think of urban street crime committed by strangers, young toughs brandishing a knife or a gun. Crime in rural areas is not what most people think of when they think of crime, but rural crime is real and understanding rural crime is important for several reasons.

First, understanding rural crime is important because of the large number of people affected. Although only about 20% of the population of the United States is rural, the number of people living in rural areas is greater than the number of people in any minority group in the United States and is greater than the populations of Canada, Spain, Colombia, or Australia. Although in the minds of many crime is tied to central cities, only about 30% of the U.S. population lives in central cities, which hardly makes them representative of the United States as a whole.

Second, what happens in rural areas may have considerable implications for the rest of the country. For example, drugs are often smuggled into the United States through rural border crossings, and some drugs, such as marijuana and methamphetamine, are manufactured in rural areas. Rural areas are also prime locations for terrorist attacks, including those from domestic antigovernment groups. Many of the 103 nuclear plants in the United States are in rural areas, and the successful sabotage of any one might release contamination that would affect millions of people. Destroying just two dams on the Colorado River would damage the water supply for more than 25 million people. Food production has become increasingly concentrated in the United States, with just a few rural communities serving as home to meat processing plants that supply the rest of the nation. Contaminating meat in any of these plants would threaten the health of millions of Americans.

Finally, although there is an image of rural crime as infrequent and of only minor seriousness, this is not universally true. Although on average crime is lower, there are pockets of rural America with very high crime rates. For example, of the 30 counties with the highest homicide rates, most are rural, even though the homicide rate in the majority of rural counties is relatively low. Domestic

violence and drug use seem to be equally common in rural and urban areas, but services to treat drug users and the victims of domestic violence are less available in rural areas.

What Makes Rural Unique?

Most crimes that occur in large cities can be found in rural areas, and there are many respects in which rural and urban citizens share a common culture. However, there are respects in which rural and urban are different. The most obvious difference is geography. By definition the rural population is less densely packed, as are rural services. If someone is shot or stabbed in a rural area, spotty cell phone service may make it difficult to contact help, an ambulance will take longer to arrive at the scene, and the hospital will be farther away. Thus, an injury that would be quickly treated in a city may result in death in the countryside—taking what would be aggravated assault in the city and turning it into a murder in the country.

Rural and urban areas also differ in regard to guns. Gun ownership is much more common in rural areas. However, when compared with cities, guns are less likely to be used in crime in rural areas. Guns are simply viewed differently in the two areas.

Poverty also takes on a different meaning in rural areas. Although poverty can be found in communities of all sizes, some of the deepest pockets of poverty can be found in rural areas. At the same time, rural areas adjacent to larger cities often have considerable wealth. But, just as guns have a different meaning in rural areas, so does poverty. In large cities, poverty is often linked to crime, including violence. That link is much weaker or even nonexistent in rural areas. In short, poverty seems to drive crime in large cities but not in rural areas.

Finally, understanding rural crime requires recognizing that not all rural areas are alike. In fact, there are more differences across rural areas than across cities. Take the example of race. Most large cities are characterized by racial diversity. There is great diversity within a given city, but cities overall tend to be relatively similar in this regard. In rural areas, some communities are predominantly White, some predominantly Hispanic, some predominantly Black, and so on. Differences across rural

areas on a variety of factors make it difficult to give general statements that apply to all rural areas. With this limitation in mind, let us turn our attention to some crimes that are of special concern in rural areas.

Rural Crimes

Considering first overall crime patterns, it is true that both violent and property crime occur less often in rural areas than in cities. The rate of violent crime is four times higher in cities, and the rate of property crime is three times higher in cities. Although the level of crime in communities of all sizes changes over time, both violent and property crime change less in rural areas than in cities. Urban and rural crime rates have been coming closer together in recent years, but this has more to do with changes in urban rates than with changes in rural crime rates. Going beyond these general patterns, several specific crimes deserve mention.

Domestic Violence

Police reports indicate that domestic violence is four times more frequent in rural areas compared with the largest cities. Self-report data suggest the rates of domestic violence may be similar across communities of varying sizes. Whatever the true count, domestic violence is a serious concern in rural America and stands in stark contrast to the much lower level of other types of violence. Rural domestic violence is also problematic because there are fewer places for abuse victims to turn and police resources are limited.

Driving Under the Influence

Rural residents generally lack public transportation and often must travel some distance for work, food, and other services. They depend heavily on cars and often travel at high speeds on poorly lit two-lane roads. One consequence is a high rate of accidents resulting from driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI). Rural DUI arrest rates are more than double those in large cities. DUI is a particular concern for rural youth, who are more likely to use alcohol than their urban counterparts. This group is already at a higher risk for auto accidents because of their age, lack of driving experience, and the

need to travel farther distances by car than their urban counterparts.

Illicit Drugs

In the past, it was believed that rural youth were less likely to use illicit drugs than were urban youth, with the exception of stimulants. More recent evidence suggests that rural youth are more likely than urban youth to use a variety of drugs, including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and amphetamines. Particularly troubling are reports that rural youth are more likely to inject drugs, a practice that sets the stage for the spread of HIV and generally is a faster path to addiction. Among adults, the use of most drugs is similar across urban and rural areas, with a notable exception. Methamphetamine use is substantially higher among both rural youth and adults, when compared with use by urban residents. This is particularly true in the Midwest where a dramatic increase in methamphetamine use began in the 1990s. Historically, waves of stimulant drug use have been followed by waves of narcotic drug use. There is some evidence that the rural methamphetamine problem of the late 1990s is being replaced by a problem with prescription narcotics, such as Oxycontin.

Rural areas are also distinct from urban areas in the extent to which drugs are manufactured. Between 1981 and 2006, illicit marijuana production in the United States has increased by tenfold and the value of the marijuana crop exceeds that of corn and wheat combined. In addition to fueling drug use, methamphetamine production in rural areas threatens the environment and the physical safety of citizens. Toxic chemicals used in methamphetamine production can contaminate the ground and groundwater in rural areas. Fires and explosions sometimes occur in the process of manufacturing methamphetamine and the need for supplies to make the drug encourages shoplifting and theft. In 2006 the federal government required stricter control over the sale of ephedrine-based cold medicines because ephedrine is a key ingredient in the manufacture of methamphetamine. These restrictions have reduced but have not eliminated domestic methamphetamine production; in fact, they have facilitated the rise of criminal networks that import the drug from Mexico and Canada. These networks have the potential to bring

violence connected to the drug business into the heartland. Finally, rural areas continue to manufacture illegal alcohol. Although some might think this is a thing of the past, it continues to be a multimillion-dollar business.

Agricultural Crime

Although most types of crime can occur in communities of any size, agricultural crime is primarily rural, but the costs can be staggering. Modern farm equipment is technologically advanced, with high-end machinery equipped with air conditioning, computers, and global positioning satellite systems. A fully equipped tractor may cost as much as some people spend for a house. Today's herbicides are so concentrated, and expensive, that a pickup truck may hold as much as half a million dollars worth of the chemicals. On a smaller scale, thieves take fuel, produce, livestock, and tools. Despite annual losses that easily exceed tens of millions of dollars, little research on agricultural crime has been conducted in the United States since the 1980s. Thus, the true nature and extent of the problem has not been carefully measured or documented.

Future Research

To the extent that researchers, policy makers, and the media have focused on inner-city crime, they have ignored a part of society where crime is an issue and where crime has implications for the rest of society. It would be beneficial for not only the 60 million people who live in rural America but also for the country as a whole for future criminological research to focus on rural crime as well inner-city crime.

Ralph A. Weisheit

See also Abuse, Spouse; Domestic Violence; Family Violence; Guns and Victimization; Hate and Bias Crime; Homicide and Murder; Intimate Partner Violence; Larceny/Theft

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SAFER CITIES PROGRAM

Launched in 1998, the British government's Safer Cities program was an experiment designed to test the local level multiagency partnership approach to reducing crime in England and Wales. Monitoring, data gathering, and scheme/project/program evaluation components were all designed into the program from the outset.

Definitions

Safer Cities comprised phase 1 and phase 2. The program refers to the scheme itself, its funding, and management. The projects are the individual cities, towns, and boroughs in England and Wales that received funding from the program. Safer Cities schemes are the various crime-reduction initiatives on which the project coordinators, advised by their multiagency steering committees, spent the Safer Cities funds.

Historical Perspectives

Influences behind the U.K. partnership approach to crime prevention can be found in 1960s research in the United States by Albert Reiss, and in the United Kingdom in the later work of Ronald Clarke and Mike Hough, which reasoned that uniformed foot-patrol policing is ineffective in preventing crime.

Clarke and Hough concluded that a patrolling policeman in London would, on average, pass

within 100 yards of a burglar breaking into a home once every 8 years; this conclusion has been cited by politicians, police, and criminologists to argue that more police on the beat is not the answer to crime on the street. Yet Clarke and Hough's analysis was based on limited notions of crime being informally distributed, on a homogenization of 1980s London crime data only, and on the belief that all police foot-patrol officers police all neighborhoods as randomly strolling automata. Despite the basis of these calculations, research by John Burrows and his colleagues demonstrated also that random, as opposed to directed, beat patrolling is ineffective. This limited research has been used to make a case for the need for others to work in partnership with the police to reduce crime strategically by focusing on reducing opportunities for offending by altering the physical environments where crimes take place.

Around the same time that it was becoming accepted that the police alone were not the answer to various crimes, Clarke's Crime as Opportunity, Situational Crime Prevention Approach (SCP) was promoted throughout the Home Office as the answer to "here and now"—rather than the distant future—specific crime problems in specific places. SCP was then, and remains today, the policy makers' problem-oriented "administrative criminology" salve to Robert Martinson's profoundly negative conclusion that "nothing works" in tackling crime by seeking to rehabilitate offenders.

In 1993, the U.K. Home Office implemented the Five Towns Programme, which shaped Safer Cities. Five Towns aimed to test the multiagency

partnership approach to crime reduction by supporting the role of the police through SCP, and to a lesser extent, “social development” initiatives were tested also.

As A. M. Liddle and A. E. Bottoms note, Five Towns was conceived after an interdepartmental “circular” in 1984, which identified a series of “needs” for communities to support crime reduction through multiagency collaboration and bespoke schemes to tackle unique local crime problems.

The Home Office met the salary costs of coordinators in the following five towns in England and one in Wales: Bolton, North Tyneside, Croydon, Wellingborough, and Swansea. The Home Office levered-in funding from other central government departments and local government sources, which included the Department of the Environment, Department for Education and Science, and Croydon Borough Council.

Satisfied that the Five Towns study proved the approach could work, Safer Cities was launched to target places with high levels of recorded crime and deprivation. Phase 1 began in 1988 and ran for 7 years, covering 20 cities and boroughs in England and Wales. Funding for phase 1 ended in December 1993. Phase 2 was funded by the Department of the Environment, Transport and Regions, beginning in 1994 and ending in 1998.

What Safer Cities Set Out to Do and How

In each project area, coordinators were employed directly or seconded from police, local government, probation, and other related services. Early Home Office directions to coordinators stated that they must be observed by the local community to have timely successes, because gaining local confidence would help to ensure future cooperation from the community. From that cause, in the first 2 years, more than 70% of the budget was spent on situational initiatives, such as locks and bolts, alarms, fences, and closed-circuit television (CCTV).

But this did not last. Research by Mike Sutton found that within 4 years, spending had shifted significantly from SCP toward socially oriented, secondary crime prevention offender schemes, so that by 1992–1993, slightly more than 50% of schemes were situational in nature.

The shift toward offender-oriented program activity that began in phase 1 continued in phase 2.

In 29 new project areas covered in phase 2, some three fifths of the 1,400 schemes were designed to reduce long-term, rather than immediate, situational offending.

Whereas slightly more than half of schemes in phase 1 employed SCP methods, in the last years of phase 2, only around a third of schemes were focused on reducing immediate opportunities for crime.

In phase 1, all 20 project areas were managed top down through Home Office civil servants guiding locally based project coordinators—who in turn operated with reference to locally appointed steering committees. Approval for expenditure and project management was ultimately the responsibility of Home Office civil servants.

The program was managed differently in phase 2 when the government appointed managers from not-for-profit organizations Crime Concern, the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, and the Society of Voluntary Associates to monitor expenditure and maintain central management.

Impacts and Evaluation

Despite extremely limited evaluation of the success of Safer Cities, the Home Office promoted the partnership approach as the way forward in the hugely influential report: “Partnership in Crime Prevention.” This approach was seized on by the Standing Conference on Crime Prevention, chaired by James Morgan, which in turn produced the Home Office report “Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention Through the Partnership Approach.” This report became renowned and is now known simply as the Morgan Report.

The Morgan Report recommended that local authorities should work in conjunction with the police and have a statutory responsibility for developing and implementing community safety and crime-prevention programs. However, despite the best efforts of Home Office civil servants, Thatcher’s conservative government was adamant that for political party reasons, local authorities would have their powers curtailed rather than enhanced. It was not until New Labor won the general election in 1997 that new ministers and the Home Secretary found a ready-made policy to claim as their own. New Labor implemented the Morgan

Report's key recommendation by way of Section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998.

And so it was that the multiagency approach to crime reduction was made compulsory by law in Britain even though the dream of the advantages and efficiency of the multiagency approach over unitary authority practice was seriously questioned at the time by research into the Safer Cities Program, which was conducted by many academics, such as Reese Walters and M. Sutton. That said, various schemes within the Safer Cities program were evaluated and found promising. Nick Tilley in particular published important findings on the benefits and limitations of schemes to protect small businesses and on early use of CCTV to reduce car crime.

Implementation Issues

The Home Office promoted multiagency partnerships as an efficient way to reduce crime. However, simultaneously, it was obliged to publish independent research by Tilley and Liddle and by Loraine Gelsthorpe, which revealed the great tensions and difficulties that co-coordinators and their crime-reduction partners were experiencing in implementing the practice of both multiagency partnership working and systematic problem-oriented crime reduction. These findings were supported by later research by Sutton revealing several conflicts between agencies as well as the fact that half of the multiagency Safer Cities steering committees in phase 1 were described by their own co-coordinators as either weak or "just a rubber stamp" for the coordinator's own wishes.

The Way Forward

The Safer Cities Program was a groundbreaking demonstration project, implemented because significant moves were being made in the U.K. government policy arena toward tackling crime with measures aimed at reduction through thwarting and reducing the opportunities to victimize that facilitated crime.

With Safer Cities, the U.K. government was responding to a pervading view in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s that tackling crime could not be left to the police alone.

Community safety is at the time of writing a major U.K. government priority and has been

emphasized in programs such as the Single Regeneration Budget and the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998. The problem-solving approach to crime that was tested with Safer Cities is an intuitively, compellingly sensible notion, with statistically significant and attributable reductions to burglary rates achieved in phase 1. However, despite the Safer Cities experiment, whether partnership working in crime reduction is measurably superior to unitary models of practice remains completely unknown.

Crucial lessons from Five Towns and phase 1 of Safer Cities did not adequately inform phase 2. Lessons and warnings from Liddle and Bottoms, from Sutton, and from Eckblom et al. were all unheeded. The official line in phase 2 of Safer Cities was one of "hands-off" from the civil service, despite the U.K. government's earlier research findings that local co-coordinators left to their own devices tended to rely on poorly worked out strategies and implemented schemes according to intuition rather than "knowledge" of what works or is promising in reducing crime. The Department of Communities and Local Government's retrospective review concluded that Safer Cities in phase 2 was characterized by the same earlier problems of poor monitoring and loose central direction.

If there is one core criminological lesson to come out of the Safer Cities experiment, it is that the U.K. government needs to ensure that its current community safety partnerships are not perpetually repeating the mistakes of the past. Just as quackery in medicine is unacceptable, so should it be with crime reduction.

Mike Sutton

See also Crime and Disorder Act; Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Operation Ceasefire/Pulling Levers; Project Safe Neighborhoods

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SAFETY PLANNING FOR ABUSED CHILDREN

Child maltreatment is criminal behavior that includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and emotional and/or psychological abuse. The magnitude and prevalence of child maltreatment within the United States is difficult to determine, as no single system captures all forms of known maltreatment across various agencies that investigate

abuse and neglect. The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, the National Incident-Based Reporting System, and the National Crime Victimization Survey do not capture statistics specific to child maltreatment. Rather, the most widely used indicator of child victimization is the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS), which is a voluntary national data collection system that measures and tracks child maltreatment investigated by state Child Protective Service agencies. NCANDS estimates nearly 3.3 million reported allegations of child abuse and neglect to Child Protective Services agencies, which involve approximately 6 million children. Of these allegations, nearly 30% of investigations are substantiated. Neglect has continuously been shown to be the most common form of child maltreatment nationwide; yet, it is the form of maltreatment least likely to receive criminal justice attention.

The frequency of child maltreatment nationwide and the impact that abuse and neglect can have on the child, not only during childhood but also in his or her later life, makes prevention programs that target child safety paramount. The need for prevention programs targeting the safety of children is apparent when examining the trends of child abuse, neglect, and child fatalities nationwide. For example, in 2001, 1.81 children per 100,000 in the U.S. population died as a result of abuse or neglect. In 2003, an estimated 1,500 fatalities were confirmed by Child Protection Service agencies. Of the total fatalities, 78.7% of the children were younger than the age of 4 years and 43.6% were younger than the age of 1 year. Responding to child maltreatment is an ever-evolving process. This entry explores the issues involved in addressing the needs of and safety planning for maltreated children, which include historical perspectives, need for prevention, causes of child maltreatment, and response and prevention programs.

Historical Perspectives

Maltreatment of children has historically not required government intervention; rather, abuse and neglect of children was commonly accepted within the rights of the family. Legal sanctions against perpetrators of child maltreatment is a relatively new concept within the United States, which makes a historical analysis of crime trends

difficult. Loose systems of child protection existed throughout the centuries; however, prior to the Industrial Revolution, established governmental responses to maltreated children within the United States were absent.

Historically, greater community concern was often placed on orphaned children, who were visible on the streets, than those who were maltreated within their own homes. The separation between the public and private realm was expected and how parents chose to deal with their children was largely viewed as a personal matter. The community was reluctant to intervene because of strong beliefs in preserving the sanctity of the family. Regardless, some individuals recognized that there were apparent problems with the way in which some dependent children were being treated. The view that the “best interest of the child” may at times outweigh family preservation began a shift in the way dependent children were perceived.

The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NYSPCC), which was created in 1875, was the first agency to enforce children’s rights. The NYSPCC sought to rescue children from parental and adult cruelty and is recognized as the first national child protection agency, as well as the first agency known to work collaboratively with law enforcement and the court. Their work resulted in increased penalties for child abuse and amplified public support for these sanctions. The United States Children’s Bureau was founded in 1912 as a direct result of the perceived national need, largely stemming from the work of the NYSPCC, for child welfare programming in the country. The Bureau was responsible for investigating all reports that pertained to the well-being of children throughout the nation. The creation of and subsequent investigations by the Bureau resulted in government-run child welfare agencies.

During this time, interventions into families suspected of child maltreatment were considered generally acceptable. Although acceptance of intervention by social service agencies has increased, the criminalization of parental discipline and neglect of children’s needs has been and continues to be minimal. This observation indicates a possible lack of public consciousness toward the effects of maltreatment on children. Lack of concern for the impact of abuse on children results in lack of demand for law enforcement or judicial involvement. Child abuse reporting

laws, which were passed in all states by the 1960s, and the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974, which mandated certain professions to report suspected maltreatment, have increased law enforcement involvement in investigations of child maltreatment. Although child abuse and neglect can be criminally prosecuted, the belief that parents have the right to punish their children, combined with demands for family autonomy, continue throughout society.

Every state currently has social welfare agencies responsible for investigating and responding to reports of suspected child maltreatment. Allegations of suspected child abuse and neglect are brought to these agencies through community members, many of whom are mandatory reporters. Under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, every state requires certain professionals and institutions to report suspected child abuse and neglect. Those who qualify as mandatory reporters vary but typically include health care providers, teachers and school employees, social workers, counselors, day care providers, and law enforcement. These reports are made to mandated toll-free child abuse reporting lines. It is the dispatchers from these reporting lines who determine whether the reported concern rises to the level of a perceived safety threat to the child. It is this decision that results in investigations of child maltreatment within the home.

Need for Prevention

The literature indicates that the age range where parental-child bonds are formed is age 3 and younger. Maltreatment during these years likely results in the continuance of abuse and neglect throughout the child’s life. Children aged 3 and younger are most susceptible to violence and neglect by their caregivers in part because of the stress that can be intensified while raising young children. The use of prevention programs for new parents is not innovative, as most European countries have been using such programs since the early 19th century. Nations with such programs make them available to all families with new children to provide home visitation and assistance during a child’s early years. The closest nationally funded prevention program within the United States is the Special Supplemental Nutritional Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). WIC provides its clients nutritional

education, food, maltreatment risk screenings and referrals to other social service agencies. However, WIC does not provide intensive or in-home services, and those who qualify for their services must meet income criteria, which means this program is not applicable to all who may benefit from its services.

Causes of Child Maltreatment

Prevention programs targeting safety of children strive to reduce the likelihood of child maltreatment within at-risk families. If it is possible to predict future injurious behaviors of parents towards their children and to provide supportive interventions, it is likely that the magnitude of the problem could decrease. The ability to identify families at risk for maltreatment can increase the effectiveness of interventions and result in the safety of more children. Prevention programs must have an understanding of what causes the behavior. This understanding subsequently assists practitioners, researchers and policy makers to assess more accurately who is truly at risk and to design programs to address their particular needs.

The research shows many factors prevalent within homes where children's safety is jeopardized. Consistent variables within the home and family include abuse of a previous child within the home; parental psychiatric disorders or mental retardation; serious health problems during pregnancy; young age; low educational level; unemployment; low income; substance abuse; domestic violence within a relationship; history of abuse in parent's own childhood; lack of adequate housing, food, or medical care; little familiar or social supports; and lack of involvement by a second parent. The existence of any one of these predictors does not identify a family as "at risk." Rather, composite scales and measurements have been created to assess the level of risk using these predictors within each individual situation.

Among the used and accepted measures of risk of child maltreatment are the Family Functioning Scale, Family Problem Checklist, Child Abuse Potential Inventory, Hawaii Risk Indicators Checklist, Kempe Family Stress Inventory, Bayley Scales for Mental and Motor Development, and Parent Readiness and Risk Assessment. These instruments have been examined and tested repeatedly for their reliability in measuring potential for

child maltreatment. Through the use of these measurements, research has identified trends within families where the safety of the children is in question. The use of these scales shows that common characteristics are found within families who have substantiated child maltreatment within their homes and those identified as at risk for maltreatment.

Response and Prevention

Many risk indicators of child abuse and neglect are not found only in homes with child maltreatment. Unemployment, lack of adequate housing, and lack of social supports are not causally related to child maltreatment. Rather, these intervening influences can arguably increase stress within the households, which can lead to safety concerns for children. Prevention programs should focus not only on the safety of the children but also on these community factors that parents may be unable to change on their own. Prevention programs that focus only on child safety, while ignoring issues such as community disorganization, lack of social supports, and unemployability, may be less effective than those that consider what the research shows influences a family's propensity toward child abuse and neglect.

The magnitude of child maltreatment within America's homes cannot be ignored. The statistics report that nearly four children every day die at the hands of their parents, which reinforces the need for prevention programs. Raising children can be an incredibly stressful situation, especially when it is combined with financial, relationship, and substance abuse problems. As a society, recognizing stresses within homes and implementing programs with this understanding is likely to reduce stigma of participation within such programs and possibly increase parent's willingness to ask for help. Only through the acceptance of the enormity of child abuse and neglect combined with implementation and methodologically rigorous evaluations of prevention and intervention programs can there be any hope that the problem can be addressed successfully.

Mari B. Pierce

See also Child Abuse, Identification of; Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment; Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment: Interventions for

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Web Sites

- Child Welfare League of America: <http://www.cwla.org/ndas.htm>
- New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: http://www.nyspcc.org/beta_history/index_history.htm

SAFETY PLANNING FOR BATTERED WOMEN

The harsh experience of violence against women can be witnessed in the face of its victims and measured in prevalence rates, underscoring that no woman stands immune from this form of victimization. Not only is the shadow cast by gendered violence long, but also the impact on a woman's health and mental health can be profoundly negative and enduring. Violence against women, particularly when perpetrated by an intimate partner, is associated with higher mortality rates, acute injury, and chronic illness in its victims. The 1998 National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) reported that 41.5% of women physically assaulted and more than 36% of women sexually assaulted by an intimate reported injuries as a result of their most recent victimization; in a single year, half a million women sought medical treatment for their injuries. Studies in hospital emergency departments document that more than one third of women seeking emergency

medical care for violence-related injuries have been injured by a current or former spouse. Violence against women leaves its mark in bruising and broken bones, and every year, thousands of women ultimately lose their lives to violence from an intimate partner. In fact, homicide is one of the leading causes of premature death for women in the United States.

The widespread nature of violence and the severity of its impact give compelling reason for criminal justice, health, and mental health professionals to attend to the reduction of risk for women and their families. Strategic safety planning is an important tool to help survivors of intimate partner violence achieve that risk reduction and live lives with improved safety. In the largest femicide study conducted to date, almost half of the murder victims had been observed in the criminal justice or mental health system during the year before their deaths. The message here is not only that danger is inherent in cases of intimate partner violence but also that professionals have an opportunity to prevent homicide if they attend to that risk.

Risk, Lethality, and Reassault

General Risk of Intimate Partner Violence

The assessment of risk is fundamental to safety planning, but more than one construct is important to the process (see Figure 1). First, although no woman is immune from victimization, the general risk of exposure to intimate partner violence is not the same across populations of women. For example, minority women, women who live in poverty, and women with severe mental illness may experience higher rates of violence. An elevated risk of exposure to certain forms of intimate partner violence may also be experienced by younger women. Research shows that battered women are at higher risk of sexual violence than the general population and that incidence rates among battered women in shelter samples are even higher. The implication of the general risk construct for professionals addressing safety is that universal screening for violence among all populations of women observed in health, mental health, and criminal justice settings is important and a particular focus on subpopulations of women may be warranted.

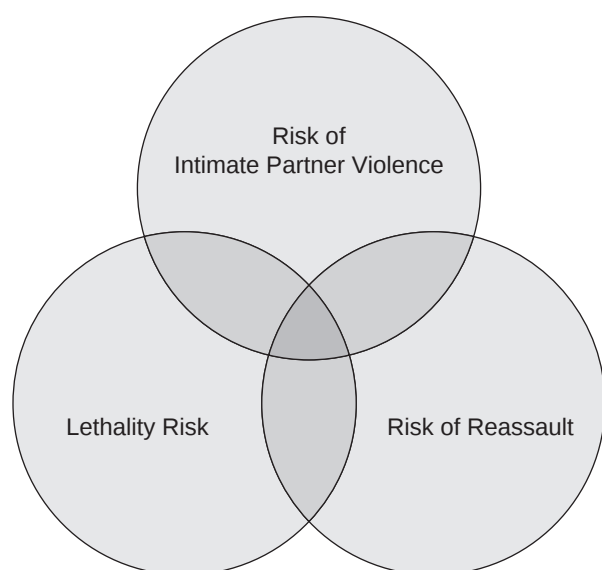


Figure 1 Risk, lethality, and reassault

Lethality Risk

At a practical level, knowing which cases of violence will expose a victim and her children to the greatest degree of harm is fundamental to safety planning. “Lethality risk” can be defined as measuring not just who is at risk but also what kinds of cases are associated with the most danger. Studies of homicide of women give clues to which cases may pose greater risk, and the results suggest that the presence of such factors as the offender’s access to a gun, previous threats with a weapon, having the offender’s stepchild in the home, and physical estrangement or separation should give cause for concern. The abuse types experienced by the victim may also shed light on the risk level, as stalking, forced sex, and abuse of the victim during her pregnancy have all been identified as key markers of victim risk. Importantly, within some of these risk factors are indicators of both increased risk of physical harm as well as increased risk of homicide. For example, research finds that victims of intimate partner violence whose abuse includes rape by their partner will sustain greater physical injury than women raped by nonintimates; partner rape and rape during pregnancy have been identified as a risk marker in femicide research.

Studies on offenders also provide valuable insights into lethality risk. For example, research

suggests that generally, violent offenders whose abuse is indiscriminant with respect to victim rather than being limited to an intimate partner pose a greater threat. Offenders with impulsive or angry dispositional traits have also been found to pose an elevated risk. Clinical features of the offender may also be telling, as studies find that substance abusing offenders, those who are jealous and obsessive, and those whose levels of depression are indicative of suicidality may also be more lethal to the women in their intimate lives.

Risk of Reassault

Studies find that more than two thirds of victims of intimate partner–related homicide were previously abused by the partners who killed them. As a result, the third construct central to safety planning is the risk of reassault, that is, the ability to identify contextual or situational factors that can assist in predicting when a woman’s risk will escalate and violence reoccur. Historic factors, such as prior abuse, and contextual factors, such as separation, are two chief risk markers.

Among the contextual factors most salient to the risk of reassault is that of separation or estrangement of the intimate couple. Research has long made clear that batterers do not cease violence on the victim’s departure, and in fact, criminal justice data show that the rate of intimate-offender attacks on women separated from their partners is about 3 times higher than that of divorced women and about 25 times higher than that of married women. Studies of women housed in battered women’s shelters find that fully one third have been physically assaulted during their separation from the offender, and research finds separation-associated stalking and psychological abuse as well. Similarly, studies of intimate partner homicide show that the murder is frequently preceded by a history of physical and other domestic abuse and often involve a recent attempt at or completion of separation by the victim.

Familiarity with the three constructs of risk, lethality, and reassault are central to laying the groundwork for the step-by-step planning that becomes the focus of strategic safety planning with victims.

What Is Strategic Safety Planning?

Strategic safety planning involves a crisis-oriented approach, informed by the presence of risk factors that focus attention on both achieving and maintaining safety for the victim of intimate partner violence and her children. It is not a singular or one-time event; rather, it is an ongoing process that adapts as contextual and clinical factors associated with the women's situation change and the danger potential increases or decreases (e.g., contextual factors such as the offender's loss of a job, initiation of stalking the victim, or his increase in alcohol consumption; or clinical factors, such as his growing depression or the beginning of suicide ideation, would necessitate changes in the safety plan).

Safety planning also cannot be confined to just the logistics of physically separating from the violent partner. Separating from an abusive partner is an important option for a victim, but it may not be the one she views as safe or viable at the time the safety plan is being drawn. It is critical to remember that leaving does not automatically stop violence (and, in fact, it can be associated with its escalation), so professionals should not force that goal on the survivor with whom they are creating a safety plan.

Strategic safety planning should be understood for the complex process it is: Risk assessment measures more than one thing (i.e., both lethality and reassault), and it is measuring a level of risk that is influenced by multiple variables (historic, clinical, dispositional, and contextual factors). Additionally, strategic safety planning is not just a tool for professionals to use or provide to their clients; rather, it is a dynamic partnership that professionals and survivors enter into as a way to achieve and maintain greater safety.

Stages of Strategic Safety Planning

Step 1: Risk Appraisal

The first step in organizing a strategic safety plan necessarily starts with a process of identifying cues that risk exists or is increasing in the victim's environment. This process involves scanning the environment, evaluating the offender's behavior or noticing key changes in what he does or says, and recognizing threatening circumstances. This risk appraisal process is unique to every victim, as

personal history and the immediate context of the violence means the same behavior that is threatening to one woman will not attach that same meaning to another.

The risk appraisal process also changes over time as a woman's experience with the offender teaches her to associate certain actions or cues with subsequent violent behavior (e.g., when he drinks or becomes more depressed, that is most often when the abuse occurs). Victims and survivors may also learn more subtle cues over time, such that a glance or a nondescript behavior that is unnoticeable to another person conveys significant threat to her. A change in the appraisal process may also occur during a woman's pregnancy or when she has children in the home. What a victim can tolerate for herself in the way of threat may not be tolerable if it seems to expose her children to a risk of harm.

This more sophisticated understanding of the offender's behavior and its meaning is critical to the effectiveness of safety planning. This means that the victim herself serves as the greatest source of expertise to the safety planning process. Women who have suffered repeated exposure to violence are best positioned to understand the offender's behavior in the context of their relationship and prior history and to identify the subtle cues to heightened risk. Ironically, however, the very experience that creates the expertise to assess risk can also impair a victim's intuitiveness. This is particularly true for women who have been exposed to egregious psychological abuse, which robs a woman of her ability to appraise cognitively her relationship to the world. Risk assessment skill on the part of the victim can also be hindered by her use of alcohol or drugs and by the long-term effects of trauma exposure and related psychological distress reactions.

Step 2: Identification of Resources and Protective Factors

The second step in the safety planning process focuses on what can be done. It is the process by which victims contemplate their options in light of elevated risk and begin decision making regarding concrete steps that should be taken. As in the case of primary appraisal, the victim's perspective is imperative. Not only does she need to identify the

cues or “red flags” of risk, it is her appraisal of the consequences of taking any remedial actions that will have the greatest impact on what steps she takes. If she does not perceive herself as worth saving or that available resources are viable or safe, she may be stymied from action. For some women, for example, experience has taught them that contacting law enforcement will bring swift and lethal retribution from an abusive partner. In that case, knowledge of how to contact 911 is not useful because she perceives that police protection is not a viable safety resource.

The safety planning process includes identification of concrete steps that can be taken or implemented by a woman and her children. Tangible, specific steps that women are encouraged to take include the following:

- Practice quick exits from the shared residence with the abusive partner.
- Have children participate in the safety plan, which includes teaching them how to telephone police and fire departments. This can also include setting up a code word or signal for children or friends or both so they will know that the situation has become dangerous.
- Keep car keys near the door or in a location where they can be readily accessed and keep an extra set of keys hidden.
- Hide a purse with extra cash and sources of identification.
- Store important documents in a safe place, which include birth certificates and social security numbers.
- Keep a suitcase packed and stored in a safe place at home or at a friend’s home.
- Keep an accessible list of important telephone numbers to call, including police and fire departments, battered women’s shelters, mental health crisis lines, and numbers for professionals assisting on her case including attorneys, victims advocates, therapists, physicians, or others.
- Know how to access Internet safety resources in a safe, nontraceable way.
- Have ready access to copies of civil orders of protection or court orders related to the case.

It is important to include in the risk appraisal and strategic planning processes the consideration of the victim’s mental health status. Long-standing

abusive relationships can take a psychological toll, and if left unattended, these effects may diminish the internal resources she needs to achieve and maintain safety. Tracking her levels of depression or substance abuse may be important parts to reducing suicide risk and keeping her maximally capable of protecting herself and her children.

Strategic safety planning, in a real way, is a means to end intimate partner violence, one woman at a time.

Carol E. Jordan

See also Intimate Partner Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Risk Assessment; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of

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Web Sites

- National Coalition Against Domestic Violence:
<http://www.ncadv.org>
- National Domestic Violence Hotline:
<http://www.ndvh.org>
- National Network to End Domestic Violence:
<http://www.nnedv.org>

SAME-SEX INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Since the early 1980s, a growing body of research has revealed that violence within gay and lesbian relationships exists and is fairly well documented. According to the National Coalition of

Anti-Violence Programs, in 2001, reported cases of interpersonal violence increased 25% in the gay and lesbian community, reaching a total of 5,046 cases. The term *domestic violence* is still used, but in academic and professional arenas, it has been replaced by *intimate partner violence*, which is a more inclusive term and more appropriately captures the dynamics and types of abusive relationships. Abuse in homosexual relationships is typically overlooked, especially in terms of theoretical scope because they explain domestic violence, theoretically, as a gender-based phenomenon: a form of male oppression of women. Consequently, same-sex intimate violence typically is not constructed as a social problem. Same-sex relationships do not enjoy the legitimacy given to heterosexual couples, thereby making it nearly impossible to recognize abuse among same-sex couples.

Without recognition of the abuse in the scholarly and popular literature and among legal and criminal justice professionals, the problem remains unaddressed, and survivors' needs for assistance go ignored. This entry explores the definition of domestic violence and battering as it applies specifically to same-sex couples, includes a brief discussion of the historical background of the issue, provides information prevalence and incidences of same-sex domestic violence, and addresses some examples of barriers gays and lesbians face when seeking intervention assistance.

Background and Significance of the Problem

The significance of this issue as it relates to the field of criminal justice lies with the fact that the prevailing assumption in society centers on the notion that intimate partner violence involves men who beat their wives or girlfriends. The background concerning the dearth of knowledge surrounding same-sex domestic violence begins with a brief look at the social and historical context within which the battered women's movement and feminist theories of domestic violence emerged. Prior to the battered women's movement of the 1970s, existing research and theories diminished domestic violence as a crime and typically blamed the victims. In the late 1960s, activists began to politicize the predicament of the battered woman. At that time, the police usually would not assist

victims of domestic violence even though such violence was illegal.

During the 1970s, the battered women's movement defined and recognized the different types of violence and the elevated probability of repeated abuse that is reflected in the cycles of violence unique to partner abuse. The battered women's movement also challenged the current legislation at this time and encouraged states to offer protections to victims in the form of civil protection orders, to create shelters and other services, and to enhance penalties under the criminal law. Unfortunately, many of these achievements failed to benefit gay men and lesbians.

Prevalence and Incidence Research

Recent decades have witnessed a plethora of research on the *prevalence* of intimate partner violence among same-sex couples, which shows that prevalence rates among same-sex couples are comparable with abusive heterosexual relationships for physical and sexual abuse. However, prevalence information that is gathered and reported remains somewhat speculative because of the subjective characteristics of the research methodology employed in a particular study. Moreover, it is, at times, not clear whether the incidence or lifetime prevalence rates are being reported. However, one recent nationally representative sample found the lifetime prevalence of same-sex intimate partner violence was approximately 11.4% versus 20.3% for heterosexual couple violence. One commonly cited set of statistics, however, indicates that the prevalence of domestic violence among gay and lesbian couples is approximately 25% to 33%, which is very similar to that of heterosexual couples.

Reported crimes reflect *incidence rates*, so they are expected to be lower than prevalence numbers. Tabulations of reported crimes depend on several actors, which include the victim's or someone's decision to report the crime to law enforcement. Consequently, incidence rates usually underestimate intimate partner violence. The most significant difference between heterosexual and same-sex intimate partner violence is the fact that same-sex batterers have the additional weapon: the threat of "outing" their partner to family, friends, employers, or community. For example, in terms of lesbian relationships, abuse may be of the physical,

sexual, verbal, emotional, and psychological variety. Common forms of physical abuse include pushing and shoving; hitting with fists open or closed; scratching or biting the face, breasts, or genitals; and throwing things at the victim/survivor. Gay and bisexual men suffer similar forms of abuse, which include kicking and driving recklessly with another passenger in the car. In terms of sexual abuse, in a study of sexual coercion among lesbian and gay college students, researchers found that 31% of lesbians had been sexually abused by other lesbians.

Research on verbal abuse among same-sex couples has been as high as 95% in some studies. Common forms of verbal threats are outing the victim to family members and friends, being demeaned in front of others, having sleeping or eating habits interrupted, and being treated like children or pets. Emotional and psychological abuse also takes the form of restricting the victim's movements, lying to the victim, and harassing the victim. Other forms of reported abuse include financial abuse, where one partner establishes control over the finances or fails to contribute to expenses, and destruction of the victim's property. In general, the research shows that lesbian and gay victims experience shame, anger, isolation, low self-esteem, and confusion as a result of the abuse they experienced.

Barriers to Reporting Battering Incidents

Many barriers exist for homosexual victims of intimate partner abuse. Some of these barriers are similar to those experienced by heterosexual victims, but a few are unique to homosexual victims. These barriers include the victim's fears of reprisals, the victim's desire to move "ahead" and get on with his or her life, the belief that no good can come from reporting the incident, and the sense that the local homosexual organization caters or helps other kinds of individuals who do not have the same sexual orientation as the victim. Additional barriers exist to homosexual victims who wish to report their battering experiences to the police. For example, common barriers include feelings of personal shame, fear of reprisal, fear of being "outed," fear of being mistreated by the police, and the supposition that nothing will be done to help them. Moreover, victims often presume that the offender,

even if arrested, will "get away" with the crime because they believe that restraining orders will not work. Last, homosexual victims often possess a fear of being harassed by the police and a fear of being arrested oneself, if the police assume that mutual battering has occurred.

Because of these barriers, either perceived or actual, some shelters have implemented a separate screening for lesbian victims of abuse. Separate screening justifications include the fact that a lesbian batterer might drop by to observe whether her partner was attending the group; a lesbian victim might feel uncomfortable talking about her female counterpart in a group of heterosexual females; and last, a lesbian might not go to the shelter unless she feels it is free of homophobia.

Additionally, many social and legal barriers exist, which prevent these victims/survivors from dealing appropriately with this problem. Often, the gay and lesbian community itself lacks awareness or may attempt to cover up the existence of domestic violence and sexual assault for fear of additional social stigmatism, which may bolster anti-gay sentiment and perpetuate the belief that homosexuals cannot have a violence-free relationship. Although more aggressive police tactics, like mandatory arrest, have emerged in the past 25 years or so, victims in both types of relationships do not get sufficient assistance from the police.

These insufficiencies are more pronounced in gay and lesbian abuse situations. For example, in some states, there have been negative judicial decisions made toward gays and lesbians, especially those that deal with children and parental rights. Furthermore, misjudgments are frequently made about the size of the aggressor. The perception is that the person who is physically larger must be the batterer, but this is not always the case. Therefore, with the prevalence of abuse at epidemic levels, the question of whether quality services are available that serve the needs of survivors must be asked.

Nonetheless, with support and a focus on victim empowerment, advocates and other supporters can assist homosexual victims through the process. These advocates and supporters should become part of a support network and act as a referral source. Intimate partner violence is violence that knows no barriers, so no one is immune. What is critical is that homosexual victims receive the same

level of support as heterosexual victims. Only with a widespread cultural transformation will these barriers crumble.

Sue Cote Escobar

See also Domestic Violence, Same Sex; Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered Individuals, Victimization of; Nonreporting/Failure to Report Victimization; Psychological/Emotional Abuse

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SCANNING, ANALYSIS, RESPONSE, AND ASSESSMENT (SARA)

The acronym SARA has almost become synonymous with problem-oriented policing. In short, SARA describes the four elements that are part of a problem-oriented policing project, namely scanning, analysis, response, and assessment.

The fundamental idea of problem-oriented policing—to get away from reactive incidence-driven policing and conducting police business in a far more analytical way, with a strong emphasis on

prevention—was described by Herman Goldstein in 1979. It was immediately received with great interest among the police and by organizations responsible for the police function like the Home Office in the United Kingdom. Police forces both in the United States and United Kingdom soon started to put it to practice. It is in what best can be described as field tests that the acronym first appears. John Eck and William Spelman reported several cases where the philosophy was practiced, and they summarized the four essential steps of a problem-oriented project with the help of the SARA acronym.

The starting point for problem-oriented policing is a *problem*. In the context of problem-oriented policing, problems are defined as (1) a cluster of similar, related, or recurring incidents rather than a single incident and (2) substantive community concerns. A problem might appear on the agenda for many reasons. It might be something that “always” has existed, or it could be a new form of crime or one that has increased. It might come to attention through mass media, by a citizen group, or by a newly appointed officer or chief of police. Often, the initial definition and understanding is superficial and sometimes wrong.

In the *scanning* phase, the problem is defined, and vital aspects of it are considered. An important dimension is the harm it causes. Basic questions to be answered are as follows: Where do the events that constitute the problem occur, how often, and at what times? Scanning often starts by an examination of crime statistics or call for service data. It is extremely important to be specific. For instance, exactly what type of robbery, assault, or car crime comprises the problem? Sometimes, many different sources of information that takes different methods to collect are needed to conduct the scanning. It might be necessary to make interviews, surveys, or observations to get a full picture of the problem. Already in the scanning phase, considerations must be made for collection of preintervention data for the assessment.

The purpose of the *analysis* is ultimately to identify causes or preconditions open to manipulation, which are likely to affect the problem. It is, of course, helpful to find out what is known about the problem type in question from other sources. Part of the analysis is to look at the way the problem has been addressed and the consequences of it. To carry out a complete analysis of causes is an

extremely demanding task that, however, is unnecessary in this context. It is sufficient to find factors that can be changed or manipulated—the so-called pinch-points, which means to focus on immediate causes, usually of a situational nature. Making a clear distinction between scanning and analysis can be difficult, because an inspection of data obtained in the scanning phase often automatically turns into the analysis.

Response refers to the search for tailor-made solutions to remove the causes of the problems and then to implement the selected responses. It thus consists of two clearly distinguishable steps: (1) finding out preventive measures and (2) getting them implemented. The choice of response also requires an analytical, creative approach. In addition, it is essential at this stage to have access to knowledge about methods that have been used successfully elsewhere when similar problems have been encountered. Measures should not be too ambitious nor expensive, preferably sustainable, and close to the identified causes, where it is easy to observe the relationship between the measure and its intended effect. Both steps in the response phase are built on what is accomplished in the scanning and analysis phases, and it should ideally provide a convincing case to be presented to those in a position to act and change the contributing factors—the problem owners (or solution owners as they sometimes are called). Their reaction varies, where they sometimes are easily persuaded to implement the suggested measures, and sometimes hard or even impossible to persuade. In the latter cases, levers may have to be used. A rule of thumb is that the more coercive the levers, the more solid the case to present must be.

Finally, in the *assessment* phase, the degree to which measures are implemented as planned is explored and the effectiveness of them is evaluated. Sometimes, a process evaluation is unnecessary, because it was evident in the response phase that the measures were implemented. The impact evaluation is conducted to discover whether the expected effects have come about and whether side effects have occurred. An example of a side effect is crime displacement, where crimes, for instance, are committed at another place. It is important to establish whether displacement, if it occurs, is malign or benign. Malign means that the problem altogether worsened, and benign means that it improved. An example of a positive side effect is the diffusion of

benefits. Crime also decreases in areas or for objects not directly affected by the measures. Evaluation is a demanding task that entails both data collection and rigorous analysis. In a problem-policing project, the impact evaluation will most often be comprised of the “one-group pretest-posttest” design. It is a weak design and is low on internal validity. But for local, often small-scale, interventions of this kind, it is sufficient to show that the problem decreased, and that if so, it can be attributed to the implemented measures.

It can be misleading to perceive the process from problem identification to evaluation of effectiveness as following a predetermined sequence where analysis only takes place in the second phase. In fact, the process is iterative with analysis going back and forth between the stages. For example, new information gained during the assessment may require fresh analysis.

The philosophy of problem-oriented policing and the SARA process are intuitive and immediately attractive. Experience shows, however, that it is easy to underestimate the complexity of carrying out proper problem-oriented projects. In fact, several examinations have shown that implementation often is weak and that the quality of problem-oriented policing projects, judged by academic criteria, frequently is poor.

Admittedly, SARA has its weaknesses and simplifies a complex process. Some have tried to put forward other frameworks that more in detail reflect the processes going on in a problem-oriented project. However, the SARA model has proven to be robust and is thoroughly established. It is a key concept in both the Herman Goldstein and the Nick Tilley Awards, where projects and submissions are expected to adhere strictly to the SARA form. It is also used extensively in the material made available by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing Web site, where, for instance, three types of guides more or less are modeled according to the SARA principles. There are (1) problem-specific guides, (2) response, and (3) tool guides, all of which are produced to support problem-oriented policing.

Even if there has been a strong and positive development in problem-oriented policing, there is still a potential for improvement. The SARA model is actually an action research model. To stick to it meticulously takes a competence rarely found in the police organization. Goldstein has repeatedly pointed

out that to improve policing cooperation between police and academia must be intensified. Here is the challenge, both for the police and for universities and other institutions of higher education.

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See also Community Policing; Problem-Oriented Policing; Situational Crime Prevention

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Web Sites

Center for Problem-Oriented Policing: <http://www.popcenter.org>

SCHOOL-BASED BULLYING PREVENTION

Bullying is one of the most pervasive forms of juvenile misbehavior often constituting delinquency and sometimes crime. Although acts intended to ridicule and intimidate others have historically

been largely ignored and considered a fairly normative aspect of child and adolescent social development, bullying has emerged during the last 20 years as a serious social problem. Bullying is now widely considered in social science and education contexts as far more than a peccadillo but rather as an emergent form of delinquency and a gateway to other antisocial and criminal behavior.

Acts of bullying may be executed so as to render physical and/or psychological harm with extreme incidents such as the highly publicized 2006 suicide of Megan Meier, a 13-year-old Missouri girl who was bullied via the Web site MySpace. Bullying is often stereotyped as a group event with a single victim. In reality, bullying is far from monolithic and assumes multiple forms that range from in-person encounters, gossip and slander, and telephonic harassment to cyber bullying. These acts may involve a single or multiple perpetrators and victims. Victims of bullying experience a range of injuries and harm, which include physical abuse, social ostracism, and various mental health issues, such as eating and sleeping disorders, anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. Beyond Web-based communication formats (e.g., electronic mail, cell phone texting, chat rooms, and blogging), the cyber age enables the posting and manipulation of images, which makes bullying both multifaceted and unbounded by daily temporally ordered routines. Although addressing bullying is a pronounced social concern, generally, its origins and occurrence is heavily based on the physical locale and social dynamics of schools.

The bullying-school nexus is particularly problematic in that victims often simply avoid school because of the actual bullying or fear of bullying; thus, ironically, these individuals commit delinquency in the form of truancy. Truancy is one warning sign of possible bullying and assumes a dual reality with both victims and bullies engaging in higher levels of truancy than other students. Bullying is thus a serious matter beyond the direct and indirect harm associated with single events that worsens the school environment and is detrimental to educational attainment.

Prevalence of Bullying

Bullying, although receiving less attention than more publicized forms of delinquency such as

drugs and gangs that have prompted national programs (e.g., Drug Abuse Resistance Education [D.A.R.E.] and Gang Resistance Education and Training [G.R.E.A.T.]), is both a widespread and increasing social problem. Several studies have been conducted to assess the prevalence of bullying in schools, the most comprehensive of which was the World Health Organization's Health Behavior in School-Aged Children. This 2001 nationally representative survey of 15,686 students in grades 6 through 20 in public and private schools throughout the United States revealed bullying as a common feature of respondents' school experiences. Nearly one third (29.9%) of respondents reported moderate or frequent involvement in bullying. Of these, 13% indicated they had bullied another student, 10.6% reported being the victim of bullying, and 6.3% reported that they had both bullied others and been bullied. Results also suggested that males were more likely to bully and be bullied compared with females. Bullying is also more commonplace among younger students (grades 6–8) than older students (grades 9–10).

This study also indicated that bullying varies by demographics. Black students were less likely to report either bullying or being bullied, whereas Hispanics were slightly more likely to report greater involvement in moderate and frequent bullying of other students. Although differences were not observed in the frequency of being bullied across geographic location (i.e., urban, suburban, town, or rural), small differences did appear in the frequency of bullying others. Suburban youth reported less involvement in moderate bullying, whereas a greater percentage of rural youth reported bullying others.

A more recent study, the Health Resources and Services Administration's 2009 "Bullying among Children and Youth with Disabilities and Special Needs," also informs our understanding of bullying, generally, as well as calling attention to issues more common to special populations. Certain populations are at particular risk of being targeted by bullies. Recent research has suggested that children with learning disabilities and those with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) are more likely to be teased or physically bullied. Additionally, children with medical conditions that affect their appearance (e.g., cerebral palsy or muscular dystrophy) are also more likely to be targeted

by peers. Relatedly, obese children are more likely to be teased or made fun of because of their weight and to be socially excluded. Other targeted groups involve children who are diabetic and insulin dependent, as well as those who stutter. Bullying has been found to be particularly harsh for this latter group, with 83% of adults who had stuttering problems as children reported being teased or bullied; 71% of those who had been bullied reported that it happened at least once a week.

A recently identified at-risk group is gay youth. Gay youth deal with harassment, threats, and violence directed at them, often on a daily basis. These youth experience anti-gay slurs approximately 26 times per day or once every 14 minutes. Some data suggest that as much as one third of gay youth have been threatened or injured at school in the last year alone. As a result, gay students are more likely to skip school and ultimately drop out. In fact, 28% of gay students will drop out of school as a result of the constant stress associated with bullying, intimidation, and violence.

School-Based Programs: Prevention and Intervention

Studies of school-based bullying have generated findings that inform research-based best practices for prevention and intervention. The body of bullying research, especially program evaluations, equips school administrators and juvenile justice authorities with a "menu" of both proactive and response options. The most general of these options includes changing the school environment with emphasis on establishing, communicating, and reinforcing clear rules and shared values. Peer norming initiatives are a leading example of a shared values environmental change initiative. In addition to behavioral expectation strategies, school climate change strategies also include grouping students in various ways so as to realize smaller and less alienating in-school contexts.

Stronger administrative capacity (i.e., discipline-based rules enforcement) has proven successful in some school districts, especially when major discipline management-related variables (e.g., predictability of sanctions, clear behavioral norms, and consistency) are present. Other strategies, which seem promising but less supported by empirical evidence, include sensitivity programs for school

resource officers and the referral of bullying cases to teen or youth court.

A best-practices approach to bullying prevention and intervention necessitates the use of a multifaceted, holistic program that addresses the underlying antecedents of bullying. These approaches involve the many stakeholders who can assist in reducing bullying behavior, such as students, teachers, school administrators, and parents. The most frequently employed bullying prevention program was developed by Dan Olweus and is considered a “model program” by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program uses several mechanisms by which to address the problem, which include life and social skills training, family education sessions, peer resistance education, school change programs, behavior modification, counseling, in-school curricula, and parent training. Whereas the Olweus model has shaped the measurement and response to bullying nationwide, the survey questionnaire was pretested and refined in Europe, and its cultural relevancy in U.S. contexts has been assumed.

Public Policy and Legislation

Many state legislatures (e.g., Minnesota, Florida, and North Carolina) have proposed laws that require schools to have antibullying policies and programs, and more recently, a U.S. congressman proposed national legislation to address bullying. A particular focus of many of these bills has been to address new forms of cyber bullying. Despite this new legislative attention toward bullying, most schools in the nation already have disciplinary policies to deal with these types of behaviors. Moreover, the behavior referred to as bullying is typically addressed in existing school policies as well as possibly in criminal laws (e.g., fighting, threats, and intimidation). Schools have also implemented prevention and intervention programs, such as the Olweus program discussed above, to prevent and address this type of behavior.

Some have argued that addressing bullying behaviors is extremely difficult to do legislatively. As discussed above, many of these behaviors are already addressed in school policy and other laws, and thus the result may be legislation without

much impact. The seriousness with which policy makers debate this issue in the future, however, is apt to change as numerous high-profile 2009 bullying cases across the country have been featured in the national media.

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See also Bullying; Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cyberstalking; School-Based Theories of Delinquency

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SCHOOL-BASED THEORIES OF DELINQUENCY

School-based delinquency is a concern that transcends time and space. Because of compulsory education laws, young people are required to spend many of their waking moments throughout most of the year in school. Many offenders are youths. They are more likely to be involved in delinquent and criminal activity than older people, and they are more likely to be victims than older people. Schools and the pathways to school present myriad opportunities for delinquent acts, and they serve as a mechanism to prevent delinquency

in the community. This entry explores delinquency in the school environment and provides some of the common theoretical perspectives relating to delinquency in school, which include differential opportunities, strain, social bonding, labeling, and environmental crime theories. It examines the proposition that the school environment and experience may generate and maintain delinquent behavior among juveniles.

Differential Opportunities

The criminological work of Albert Cohen, as well as of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, identifies delinquency that results from the inability of lower class children to attain desirable success goals. In school, children compete to achieve status conferred by teachers who use a “middle-class measuring rod” in evaluating them. All children, regardless of their upbringings, are expected to subscribe to middle-class ethics, such as hard work, control of aggression, good manners, respect for property, and deferred gratification. Youth who fail to conform to these values will not achieve the goal of educational attainment and subsequent future occupational and financial rewards. Within lower class areas, opportunities are unevenly distributed, which leads to the emergence of gangs and other subcultures that react against middle-class norms by committing acts of random violence, theft, and other deliberate acts of deviant behavior.

While Cohen suggests that delinquent subcultures are hedonistic and commit deviant acts that are nonutilitarian, Cloward and Ohlin maintain that delinquents’ behavior is goal-oriented depending on the opportunities for crime that are available.

Differential opportunity theory suggests that poor school performance may impede goal achievement, leading to delinquency and future involvement in criminal activity. Through the pupils’ failure to receive good grades or be promoted to the next higher grade level, or to receive achievement rewards, the schooling institution is transmitting a message to the youths that they are not achieving a valued goal. This failure to achieve established academic goals could lead to the inability to secure a lucrative career—another valued goal that could lead to involvement in delinquency and criminal behavior. One notable implication of

opportunity theories is that the school itself may contribute to blocking the attainment of goals among some youth, leading to criminal careers.

Strain Theory

Strain theory provides a wealth of explanations appropriate to the study of school-based delinquency. Strain theory, as first proposed by Robert Merton, argues that opportunities are distributed unequally. Within a class-based economy such as the United States, tremendous disparity exists between culturally prescribed goals and the legitimate means available to achieve those goals, which creates pressure or strain. This strain then leads to crime, as the only available means of achieving the goals are through participating in criminal activity. The culturally established goals within the United States, according to Merton, include the elements of (1) goals or aspirations, to which most of society’s members aspire, and (2) the institutionalized means to achieve the goals. In the United States, the goals of society clearly focus on the achievement of economic success. The opportunity to improve one’s economic position are available but are not evenly distributed.

Within the institution of the school, the culturally prescribed goals are reinforced through the focus on achieving academically as a means of acquiring wealth. The schooling institution also overtly reinforces behaviors that are commonly associated with becoming successful, such as perfect attendance, honor rolls, and respect for authority, whereas punishing habits commonly associated with failure within the economic structure, such as tardiness, sloth, and rebellious behavior.

Sociologist Robert Agnew revised strain theory as proposed by Merton into what he called general strain theory. According to Agnew, the failure to achieve culturally prescribed goals of monetary wealth is not the only cause of strain. Frustration and strain can be produced by several “strain-producing” events, as follows:

1. *The failure to achieve culturally prescribed goals.* Within the school environment, sources of strain stemming from the failure to achieve culturally prescribed goals mainly fall on the shoulders of the lower class members of society, many of whom attend impoverished schools. The avenues

available to economic success are limited by resources available, as the focus tends to be on achieving minimum educational standards within dilapidated buildings. The focus then shifts away from academics as a means to success to classroom management and discipline.

2. *The removal of positive stimuli.* This type of strain results from a loss, which could include events that occur during the schooling experience, such as a loss of a parent, divorce, ending of a relationship, and a move to a different school. Youth can react to this source of strain through violent behavior, substance abuse, truancy, or dropping out of school.

3. *The introduction of negative stimuli.* Negative stimuli relates to situations such as abuse, victimization, bullying, teasing, peer pressure, or other problems in school. Delinquent behavior resulting from these negative stimuli can include running away, seeking revenge through violence, or truancy. This version of strain theory predicts that strain can produce negative behavior that leads to delinquency.

Steven Messner and Richard Rosenfeld expanded the original concepts of strain theory by focusing on the implications of the American dream in producing strain, which could then lead to crime. Messner and Rosenfeld discuss strain within the context of institutions, which become subordinate to the overarching dominance of the American dream ethos. Messner and Rosenfeld identify the major social institutions as the economy, polity, family, and education. Institutions promote order within society. In the context of schools, these institutions supposedly provide safety and refuge from the streets and provide socialization to supplement the family and the community in the transmission of certain cultural values. When there is a weakening of these institutions, crime and disorder ensues, which leads to more crime within the community.

Institutional strain theory suggests that in the United States, the economy is the dominant institution, and this dominance can be viewed through three ways: (1) devaluation of the schooling institution, whereby education is viewed as little more than a means to occupational and financial attainment; (2) accommodation of the school to the economy, whereby the school is expected to reflect

the needs of the workplace, and workers often return to school to improve their chances of obtaining promotions; and (3) penetration of the economy into the schooling institution, in which grades are treated as currency to reward acquiescence to the system, and high-stakes testing can directly result in either continued employment for educators or economic sanctions and school closures for institutions that fail to meet minimum standards.

The Social Bond

Travis Hirschi formulated his approach to delinquent behavior in his *Causes of Delinquency* in 1969. His primary interest in this theoretical approach, however, was not what causes youths to become delinquent but rather what traits are most effective at *preventing* delinquent behavior. Hirschi suggests that the school provides opportunities for youths to form prosocial behavioral traits that inhibit delinquency. Strong social bonds with the school are necessary to prepare the youth for learning prosocial skills and avoiding the development of delinquent patterns of behavior in adolescence. Hirschi proposed four types of social bonds that promote socialization and prevent delinquency: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief.

1. *Attachment:* This element encompasses attachment to the school, teachers, and peers as a control for delinquency. According to Hirschi, poor school performance leads to a rejection of school authorities, which results in delinquent behavior. The youth's attachment to the school depends on his or her ability to achieve academically and on his or her perception of how favorably he or she is viewed by teachers and peers. Attachment to teachers is a stronger control over delinquent behavior than is attachment to peers.

2. *Commitment:* Hirschi's next bond relates to the youth's support of conventional activities. These activities include commitment to scholastic expectations and achievement as a major stake in conforming to prosocial behavior. Youth who choose to delay gratification and invest in schooling as a pathway to achievement will be more likely to experience future rewards and are less likely to resort to delinquency.

3. *Involvement*: This bond closely relates to school-based theories of delinquency, and it comes from the youth's involvement in prosocial school-related tasks, such as extracurricular activities and homework, rather than participating in deviant behavior or idleness. The phrase "idle hands are the devil's workshop" best illustrates Hirschi's third bond in controlling for delinquency. Youth who are busy and "involved" in school-related activities will have little time for delinquent behavior.

4. *Belief*: Hirschi's last bond refers to the youth's ascribing to society's conventional values. What will likely weaken the bond is if the youth views society and its laws as unfair and arbitrarily applied, which leads to an increase in delinquent acts, as the youth rejects the legitimacy of the system.

Labeling

Labeling theory views deviance as a creation of those in power, who define deviant behavior and subsequently label those who break the rules as offenders. As a result of this negative label, the person is likely to be perceived, treated, and reacted to in the future as a "deviant," a "criminal," or a "delinquent." These labels serve to ostracize the individual, who will then associate with others who have been similarly labeled. This leads to an internalization of the label as more people associate the negative label with the deviant, who then begins to act accordingly by engaging in the expected behavior. Therefore, it is not the inherent act that is deviant, but rather the definition applied by those who create and enforce standards of behavior that makes the act deviant. According to Howard Becker, who is one of the major labeling theorists, deviant behavior is behavior that is so determined by people. It is, therefore, not the person's actions that are deviant but rather a consequence of having the label of "offender" applied to the person that makes an individual deviant.

Sociologist Edwin Lemert formulated the assumptions of labeling theory by identifying two kinds of deviant acts: primary and secondary. Primary deviations are the initial acts that attract the attention of those who hold the power to label such acts as deviant, which leads to an informal social reaction.

Deviance Is in the Eye of the Beholder

Labeling provides a rich theoretical basis from which to explore school-based delinquency. Teachers and school administrators may "create" deviant behavior by defining the range of acceptable behavior within their institution. The criteria from which they base their decision can fall outside of the act and be determined by criteria unrelated to the incident. For example, whether the student is a good student, an athlete, or a minority, or even who his or her friends are, can all play a role in determining what acts are labeled as deviant, and what the resulting sanctions will be. The pupil's location in a certain academic "track" can impact whether a certain act comes to the attention of school authorities and results in a reprimand, which could adversely affect the pupil's future status and lead to his or her association with similarly labeled deviant peer groups as well as subsequent involvement in delinquent activities.

Labeling begins early in the schooling of children, and school records, like criminal records, often follow the youth throughout the schooling years and beyond. This paper trail can adversely affect the options available to the youth in later adolescence and adulthood, which can assist in contributing to future deviant behavior.

Situational Theories of Crime

Unlike the previous theoretical perspectives that focus on the behavior of juveniles in explaining school-based delinquency, situational theories analyze the geographic areas that offer opportunities for delinquent behavior and determine how best to prevent crime from occurring in a specific location. The underlying theories of situational crime prevention with implications for schools and crime include environmental criminology, rational choice theory, and routine activities theory.

Environmental Criminology

Environmental criminology explores crime in relation to the daily movement and activities of victims and offenders. It focuses specifically on the geographic location and time the criminal event occurred. Through the use of mapping technology, environmental criminologists look for crime patterns and can relate these patterns to the location

of activities, such as the school, and identify crime hot spots related to the daily flow of victims and offenders through time and space. Property crimes often occur at or near areas where people congregate, such as schools, or along the routes to the school. Schools can generate delinquent activity if shopping malls and convenience stores are located along the juveniles' route to and from school. Juveniles, for example, commit many property offenses on their way to school, between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. in the afternoon when school is dismissed, and problems can arise in the immediate vicinity of the school at dismissal time, when students are released at one time onto the street. Likewise, the time of day may control for delinquent activity, as a youth who wishes to steal merchandise from a local electronics store is currently in school and cannot commit the theft. Hot spots of delinquent activity within the school building can be identified as areas where teachers and administrators are not normally present, such as restrooms, long corridors, or vacant stairwells.

Rational Choice Perspective

The rational choice perspective is rooted in utilitarian moral philosophy and claims that offenders weigh the costs and benefits before committing a crime. According to this perspective, juveniles are considered rational actors who seek to maximize pleasure and minimize pain. Within the context of the school, juveniles rationally decide where to commit an offense, who or what to target, and how to carry out the offense.

Rational choice theory provides the basis for formulating situational crime-prevention measures that will reduce the opportunities for delinquent acts by (1) increasing the effort to commit the offense by hardening targets, (2) increasing the risks to the juvenile in committing the act, (3) reducing the rewards or benefits the juvenile expects to obtain, (4) removing the excuses that juveniles may use to justify their actions, and (5) reducing or avoiding provocations that may tempt the offenders.

Increasing the Effort

Some of the tactics that can be used within the school include controlling access to the building, having designated points of entry to the building,

installing fencing around the school grounds, and restricting vehicle access to school property.

Increasing the Risks

Tactics that can be used within the school include having security officers patrolling the building, implementing school uniform policies to make juveniles more identifiable on and off school property, issuing student identification badges, and implementing closed-circuit television cameras.

Reducing the Rewards

Tactics to reduce rewards of crime in the school include prohibiting students from carrying portable electronic devices to prevent theft and ensuring that walls remain free of graffiti.

Removing Excuses

Tactics to remove excuses include having well-established rules against bullying, weapons, fighting, and other behavioral problems. Additionally, schools should have a code-of-conduct available for students and parents.

Reducing Provocations

Schools can reduce provocations by staggering recess or class-release times to minimize the number of potential offenders and victims present at one time, shortening the time between class changes, and not allowing students to congregate after school dismissal.

Routine Activities Approach

The routine activities approach analyzes the specific crime target. The target could be a school building or property located in or near the school. Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson argue that before a crime can occur, three elements must converge in time and space: a likely offender, a suitable target, and an absence of a capable guardian. Unlike traditional criminological theories, routine activities does not analyze why individuals or groups commit offenses, but rather criminality is assumed. This approach focuses on the prerequisites for a crime to occur and emphasizes that the absence of any one of the three elements will normally prevent a crime from occurring. Cohen and Felson argue that in the United States since World War II, a significant shift

of routine activities has moved away from the home and family, which has undermined guardianship and increased the risk of victimization. Social control through the family, community, and criminal justice system has been undermined by the availability of new opportunities for predatory crime outside of the household, by shifts in labor force participation by females as well as juveniles, and by a reduction in the amount of time that youth spend under adult supervision within the home.

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See also Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; School-Based Violence Programs, International; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Violence; Social Control and Self-Control Theory; Violence

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SCHOOL-BASED VIOLENCE PROGRAMS, INTERNATIONAL

During the past 40 years, considerable variation has occurred in the worldwide definition of school

violence. However, within the last 10 years, international scholars have agreed the term *school violence* embraces a broad array of deliberate behaviors intended to cause detriment physically and/or emotionally to students, staff, and property, on or near school grounds. A key component to understanding school violence is that physical, social, and verbal violent behaviors vary in severity and frequency. For instance, physical violence can range in severity from a brief pushing and shoving to severe beating and even the use of weapons. Social and verbal violence may include the spreading of rumors and cyberbullying. Severe types of violence are less frequent and cause more psychological and physical damage, but more frequent and less severe types of violence may have a major negative impact on students' well-being. Research and theory development on these issues is occurring in more than 60 countries.

School violence can have significant harmful effects on children and schools within diverse cultures. Besides bodily injury, the literature suggests that victims may suffer from a range of somatic, psychological, and behavioral outcomes, such as low self-esteem, depression, loneliness, anxiety, suicidal ideation, poor academics, low school attendance, and in uncommon instances, severe episodes of extreme hostility resulting in fatal aggressive acts.

The theoretical and empirical literature indicates that school violence is caused and influenced by a complex interaction of factors on multiple levels. For instance, based on large-scale international samples, Rami Benbenishty and Ron Avi Astor present a global socioecological model that focuses on the interplay between characteristics of individual students and the contexts in which they are embedded—school, family, neighborhood/community, and culture. This work suggests that school violence risk factors may be similar in countries across the world. These theories have direct relevance to practice and intervention as they help identify risk and protective factors associated with the individual student, family, school, peer group, community, and nation. Furthermore, they indicate that schools can play an active role in preventing and responding to violence.

School violence is a global phenomenon, and numerous countries are addressing this challenge. Public interest in the United States, Europe, Middle

East, Australia, and Asia peaked after a series of highly publicized fatal school shootings in the late 1990s (most notably, Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado). These shootings resulted in important national, state, and local changes in school safety legislation, policy, intervention, large-scale funding, and research. Additionally, the shootings induced several zero-tolerance policies mandating expulsion for possession of weapons, and they provoked a host of interventions such as security guards, metal detectors, video surveillance cameras, and newly built high-security schools. These responses have occurred to some degree or another in countries as diverse as Israel, Iceland, England, Italy, Germany, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Mexico, Taiwan, and Australia. Research suggests that such measures are less effective, discriminate against students of color, and often create the perception that school is “prison like.” However, the tragic Columbine event also triggered a national effort to develop educational and community-oriented evidence-based programs that are free of the negative consequences of draconian measures.

Best Practices and Evidence-Based Intervention Programs

An examination of international successful school-wide intervention programs has several core implementation characteristics. For instance, one characteristic of thriving intervention programs is that they raise the awareness and responsibility of students, teachers, staff, and parents in regard to the types of violence in their schools (e.g., sexual harassment, fighting, and weapon use). Furthermore, clear guidelines and rules are established and used to communicate to the entire school community what procedures should be followed before, during, and after violent events. Successful school-wide intervention programs also focus on getting the school staff, students, and parents involved in the planning, implementation, and sustainability of the program. Additionally, monitoring and supervision is increased in nonclassroom areas (the school yard, hallways, stairwells, bus stops, etc.). In general, the interventions often fit easily into the normal flow and mission of the school setting, and they are culturally sensitive, culturally competent, and immersed within the community/culture of the students.

Numerous examples of model evidence-based programs can be found. Among these are bullying prevention, child development, and school-based intervention programs. For instance, the Olweus’s bullying prevention program, that originated in Scandinavian countries and has been used in countries worldwide, targets 4th- to 7th-grade students and focuses on developing consequences for student behavior, enforcing school rules, conducting classroom workshops on empathy, interventions with bullies, and discussions with parents. The program has been effective at reducing the level of bullying and aggression. The Child Development Project of Victor Battistich and his colleagues targets elementary students. The program focuses on staff training, fostering self-confidence, and engaging students in classroom norm setting and decision making. The results of the project reveal an increased sense of community, more motivation to be helpful, better conflict resolution skills, and stronger feelings of social competence. The Families and Schools Together (FAST) Track program works with at-risk students identified in kindergarten in Australia, England, Austria, Russia, the Netherlands, Canada, and the United States. Components of the program include weekly enrichment, discussion, role playing, emotional understanding, and problem solving, as well as parent involvement. Based on more than 10 years of work, the program has fostered higher scores on emotion recognition and social problem solving and lower scores on aggression. The Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS) curriculum, used in a dozen countries, involves 57 lessons taught in grades 1 through 5. These lessons include understanding and communicating emotions, positive social behavior, self-control, and problem solving. Target classrooms experience lower ratings on disruption and aggression as well as higher ratings on classroom atmosphere.

Monitoring and Mapping

In contrast with previous ecological theories on youth violence, gangs, and juvenile delinquency, modern theories of school violence emphasize the practical and theoretical significance of including the “school” in “school violence.” For example, international scholars emphasize how school policies and climate could mediate the effects of negative

external influences (e.g., community poverty and crime) and reduce victimization rates on school grounds. With a deeper understanding of school organizational and social dynamics, researchers from different countries can better comprehend the cultural risk and protective factors associated with the individual student, family, school, peer group, and community as they pertain to external contexts and acts of violence on school grounds. Such knowledge is necessary in the development and cultural transfer of successful international school-wide violence intervention programs.

When evidence-based practices are not tailored to the particular characteristics of the district or local school level, they are frequently unsuccessful. This is true for the use of effective interventions across many countries. This results from the implementation of a program (e.g., a Scandinavian-based bullying program) without accurate local/regional data (a Los Angeles elementary school) on the nature of the school violence problem. Therefore, adoption of evidence-based intervention programs and their subsequent evaluations needs to be based on local school data results gathered from the multiple personal and cultural perspectives of students, teachers, administrators, staff, parents, and community members. One effective way to implement international programs is to gather accurate and useful data by using mapping and monitoring techniques. These types of methods have been used in multiple countries and cultures and are aimed at fitting national and international evidence-based programs to the needs of a particular school.

This data-based method presumes that locally successful programs originate from the subsequent beliefs and assumptions. First and foremost, the effort to “fit” a program to a school requires grassroots participation. Next, the students and teachers in the school need to be empowered to deal with the violence problem. Third, democracy must be at the core of a good evidence-based violence program. Last, schools should demonstrate a proactive vision surrounding the violence problem in their school. This approach embodies conventional beliefs about empowerment and helps to match programs more accurately with specific communities and schools.

This data-driven approach engages and involves the whole school community in a cyclical process of

using a surveillance system of accountability. The school community as a whole assesses safety situations, identifies needs and priorities, and plans policies and interventions based on the most relevant evidenced-based violence prevention knowledge and programs. Implementation, reassessment, and evaluation must be adapted to ensure that interventions coincide with current data results and policy changes in school. Such an approach informs and empowers all members of the school community and leads to globally safer school environments.

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See also Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS); School-Based Bullying Prevention; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; School Shootings; School Teachers/Staff, Victimization of; School Violence; Youth Violence, Interventions for

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SCHOOL-BASED VIOLENCE PROGRAMS, UNITED STATES

School violence includes pushing, hitting, kicking, verbal or physical bullying, and tragic school shootings resulting in serious injuries or deaths. School shootings are relatively rare events, but they draw immense news media attention and raise public concerns about school safety. The shooting incident at Columbine High School in 1999 and the more recent incidents on school campuses have prompted school and justice officials to take actions to prevent school violence. School administrators have implemented a variety of policies and programs, which include installing physical security devices, adding the presence of school police and security officers, training school personnel, and requiring students to carry identification cards or clear backpacks.

A government-funded survey of school administrators found that 8% of public schools in the

United States reported using metal detector checks of students, and that 10% of schools reported having police stationed at their schools at least part time. Physical security devices, such as metal detectors and security cameras, are one step toward preventing school violence, but they have limitations and may provide a false sense of security. Most U.S. schools (94%) have instituted zero-tolerance policies for weapons, alcohol, or drugs, which resulted in more than 5,000 expulsions and more than 8,000 suspensions of 5 or more days. Zero-tolerance policies may partially explain the drop in the number of students who reported carrying a weapon to school (down from 12% in 1993 to 6% in 2001). Nearly all schools have adopted a zero-tolerance policy, but fewer (59%) schools reported that they have included violence-prevention programs in the curriculum.

Most of the focus on school violence prevention has been directed either toward identifying at-risk students through “warning signs” or toward beefing up security through hardware and law enforcement presence. Focusing on the individual student ignores the fact that threats and violence are the results of relationships and interactions among peers. School and community factors that may contribute to school violence have been largely ignored. Abundant research evidence indicates that school climate and environment account for a great deal of school disorder and violent behavior. Violence prevention strategies must therefore take a more comprehensive approach.

School violence is not an isolated problem, but it is closely related to family dynamics, peer relations, community factors, school environment, and organization. A “public health” approach to violence prevention first identifies the causes and risk factors that are related to student violence, and then it directs community resources to develop preventive strategies. According to Delbert Elliott and his colleagues, addressing school violence as a public health problem requires the following series of steps: identify sources of the problem, identify risk and protective factors, perform regular surveillance and tracking of the problem, design community-based interventions, monitor and evaluate each step, and share information about the strategies with parents and the public. The most effective violence prevention approaches are based on sound theory and research. School violence

prevention requires careful assessment, planning, resources, and additional funding.

The best practices focus crime-prevention strategies at the sources of the problem. A comprehensive framework for school violence prevention includes a careful examination of the people, relationships, resources, activities, facilities, and surrounding neighborhoods that make up the school community. The Hamilton Fish Institute outlines at least six areas that should be addressed in comprehensive school violence prevention.

1. *Administrative approaches*: Effective principals with leadership skills; effective academic programs; a disciplinary code that is clearly communicated and consistently enforced, with consequences for inappropriate behaviors; reinforcement for positive behavior; training teachers in classroom discipline; and monitoring and reporting of serious violent behaviors.

2. *School security*: Monitor all areas of school buildings and grounds; ensure sufficient interior and exterior lighting; redesign spaces to remove blind spots; restrict access to inappropriate individuals; remind all students, teachers, and staff of the responsibility for observing and reporting violent behavior; and provide effective use of security personnel, security devices, and police.

3. *School-wide education in violence prevention*: Provide education and skills training to reduce anger, bullying, and violent behavior; offer opportunities for students to practice social skills and resist negative pressures from peers; integrate age-appropriate learning materials into the curriculum; and use banners, posters, and special events to supplement violence prevention curricula.

4. *Counseling*: Be aware of the emotional needs, fears, and stressors of students; expand counseling services for perpetrators, victims, and witnesses of violence; refer students for diagnostic services and counseling interventions; and provide teachers and staff with information to aid in identifying and responding to disruptive and violent behaviors.

5. *Alternative education*: Provide alternative programs for students expelled or suspended for weapons carrying or violent acts; use specially trained school staff; offer individualized instruction, low student-to-teacher ratios, and innovative

presentations; and include training in anger management, nonviolent communication, conflict resolution, and the use of mediation.

6. *Community involvement*: Offer parents training in communication, establishing rules and discipline, proper safeguarding of weapons in the home, family management, and skills to reduce the stress and challenges of raising children; develop clear communication and working relationships with police, juvenile probation, mental health, and other social service agencies; encourage businesses to offer financial support for programs and services, training for job skills and internships for students, training for employees in parenting and family management, and flexible scheduling for employees with school children; and develop partnerships with local government, community organizations, and faith-based organizations to help prevent youth violence.

School violence has roots in the family, popular culture, peer relationships, and the school environment. Effective violence prevention demands our commitment and our best resources. Failure to do so will continue to have a detrimental effect on school safety and the quality of education for all children and youth.

Richard Lawrence

See also Early Education Programming; Project PATHE; Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS); School-Based Violence Programs, International; School Violence

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SCHOOL CRIMES, ELEMENTARY THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

School crimes are those committed on school property during regular hours of operation against students, faculty, staff, or school facilities. It is often the case that those students who are committing crimes at school are also the victims of crimes themselves. Schools are places where a variety of crimes and opportunities for crimes occur every day. If a particular type of crime exists in the community a school is nested within, it is likely that type of crime will find its way into the area's schools. This is especially troublesome considering that crimes which occur at school disrupt learning, negatively impact society's most impressionable and susceptible members, and may have long-lasting implications compared with crimes committed at other places.

Schools are busy places that bring individuals together from all around. From elementary schools through high schools, a diverse group of children, adolescents, and young adults are brought into the same space to interact with each other—some are potential offenders, others are potential victims, and many experience both roles. As children enter school around age 5, their early problem behaviors are often manifested as aggression, age-inappropriate behavior, and acting out. As children grow into adolescence and young adulthood, their school transgressions become actual criminal behavior such as vandalism, drug use, gang involvement, and violence against other students or teachers.

Clear evidence in the literature indicates that both offending and victimization peak during adolescence and young adulthood. This means that individuals are most likely to participate in a crime between approximately the ages of 12 to 25. These years are also the time when youths are most likely to be victims of a crime. This is because of a variety of factors, such as greater exposure to offenders, demographics, peer influences, and many others. Research has also shown that adolescents with delinquent friends are more likely to be delinquent themselves and are more likely to be victimized. In other words, peer influences matter with respect to likelihood of both victimization and participation in crime. One's routine activities,

such as spending time with family, studying, participating in team sports, or even playing video games and spending time online are examples of activities that comprise youth lifestyles. Various lifestyles, including deviant lifestyles, ultimately affect one's likelihood of victimization.

Many issues must be considered when studying the subject of school crimes, and although they cannot all be discussed here, it is important to understand the scope of the problem. Among these are the prevalence of victimization, threats against peers and teachers, use or presence of weapons, discipline problems, gang presence, drug availability, hate speech, and bullying. It is clear that many types of crimes occur in U.S. schools. Based on a variety of national data sources, such as the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), and reports by the U.S. Department of Education, it is possible to get an idea of how serious the situation is and what types of crimes are being committed. Trends indicate that the most frequent crimes to occur in schools are property crimes, such as theft of a backpack, whereas the most serious and well known are violent offenses, such as school shootings.

According to a recent report by the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education, males, students in the "other" race category, youths ages 12 to 14, those living in urban areas, and those living in households that earn \$50,000 to \$74,999 per year are the most at-risk groups for school victimization. Table 1 shows student victimization data for select student and school characteristics for 2005. In 2005, 28% of students age 12 to 18 reported that they had been bullied at school within the past 6 months, and 14% of 9th to 12th graders said they had been in a fight on school property. A 1997 study of middle and high schools conducted by the National Institute of Justice found that the most frequent location for violent acts to erupt at school was in the classroom, followed by the hall or stairs, and then the school bus. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reports that 12% of all hate crimes committed in 2006 occurred at public and private schools or on college campuses. Students are not the only victims of school crimes. For example, in the 2003 to 2004 school year 3.4% of teachers reported having been physically attacked by a student within the last 12 months.

Table 1 School-based crime rates per 1,000 students for select student and school characteristics, 2005

<i>Victim Characteristics</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Violent¹</i>	<i>Serious Violent²</i>	<i>Theft</i>
Total	57	24	5	33
Age				
Age 12–14	65	30	4	35
Age 15–18	49	18	6	34
Sex				
Male	57	27	6	31
Female	56	21	5	35
Race				
White	62	24	4	38
Black	43	21	†	22
Hispanic	48	21	†	27
Other ³	66	38	†	28
Urbanicity				
Urban	64	34	9	30
Suburban	55	19	4	35
Rural	50	21	†	29

Source: From Dinkes, R., Cataldi, E. F., Lin-Kelly, W., & Snyder, T. D. (2007). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2007*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Copyright 2007 by the U.S. Department of Justice.

†Data not available.

1. Violent crimes are classified as simple assault, aggravated assault, robbery, sexual assault, and rape.
2. Serious violent crimes are classified as all violent crimes excluding simple assault.
3. Other races include Native Americans, Native Alaskans, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and those identifying with more than one race group.

Examining the situation at only one point in time can be disconcerting. However, while pondering these statistics, it is important to keep in mind that between 1992 and 2005, school crimes declined in a pattern consistent with the decline in the national crime rate. During that same time, students age 12 to 18 were also more likely to experience a violent victimization away from school than they were at school. It may be possible to attribute some of the recent decline in school crimes to crime-prevention efforts undertaken by schools, school districts, and communities. Some of these include initiating closed-campus policies, initiating zero-tolerance policies, hiring police officers to work at schools, increasing surveillance and hall patrols, mandating students to wear school uniforms, and even installing metal detectors at school entrances. It is encouraging that although school crime remains a serious problem with far-reaching consequences, incidents have been fewer

in recent years, and schools have undertaken efforts to keep schools safe.

Bradford W. Reynolds

See also Juvenile Offending and Victimization; School-Based Bullying Prevention; School-Based Theories of Delinquency; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Shootings; School Teachers/Staff, Victimization of; School Violence

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SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

School has historically been considered a safe place for youths. When killings occur in schools or on school grounds, it draws special attention for many reasons, including the following: (1) killings in school are relatively rare, (2) in many cases killings in general are rare in communities where school shootings have occurred, (3) in many cases the offenders—often students themselves—have gained unusual (i.e., illegal) access to the firearms used in their assaults, and (4) the victims are by any standard undeserving of their fates, and in many recent, well-known cases, innocent children have been victims of a rampage. After learning about school shootings, it is therefore typical for both social scientists and the general public to desire to know what happened, why, and how to prevent such killings from happening again. This entry defines and describes the incidence of school shootings, efforts to explain school shootings, and policies that have resulted from these tragedies.

Definition and Incidence

Public perceptions of school shootings—particularly in the United States—are heavily influenced by the

shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, in 1999, in which two students killed 12 students and 1 teacher, and wounded 23 others. According to sociologist Glenn Muschert, the Columbine event is an example of a *rampage shooting*, where the shooters, who are usually students, attack students and/or teachers with the purpose of seeking revenge on those who have wronged them or gaining power in some fashion. Muschert argues, however, that the rampage shooting is only one of five types of school shootings, albeit the type that gets the most media attention. Others include *terrorist attacks* (e.g., the assault on the school in Beslan, Russia in 2004); *targeted shootings*, where the shooting is perpetrated on particular individuals in the school; *mass murders*, typically committed by someone who is not a student at the school (e.g., the 1996 shootings in Dunblane school in Scotland); and *government shootings*, where school members are shot in response to collective behavior such as protests or rioting (e.g., the 1970 killing of four Kent State students by National Guard troops).

Despite the media attention to school shootings—and rampage shootings in particular—studies of crime and victimization in schools tend to conclude that incidents of serious violence in schools are relatively rare, and school shootings are rarer still. Victimization data in the United States indicate that of all homicides involving school-aged children, only 1% to 2% occurs at school. The number of firearm-related homicides in, en route to or from, or at an event sponsored by public or private primary and secondary schools has been 20 to 30 per year on average from 1999 to 2008. The number of shootings occurring on college campuses is much smaller. Nevertheless, public polling finds school shootings and school violence to continue to be a concern among survey respondents.

Comprehending School Shootings

Although lethal and nonlethal forms of violence have been studied by social and behavioral scientists for some time, a specific focus on school violence and school shootings has developed as a subset of violence studies in the late 1990s. It is no coincidence that much of this research effort came about in response to the shootings in Littleton

Table I Selected recent school shootings

<i>Year</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Shooter(s)</i>	<i>Victims</i>	<i>Type of Shooting</i>
1999	Columbine High School Littleton, CO	Two male students	15 killed 23 wounded	Rampage
2001	Santana High School Santee, CA	Male student	2 killed 13 wounded	Rampage
2002	Gutenberg School Erfurt, Germany	Male student (former)	18 killed 6 wounded	Rampage
2002	Red Lion Junior High School Red Lion, PA	Male student	2 killed	Targeted
2006	W. Nickel Mines Amish School Nickel Mines, PA	Male non-student	5 killed 5 wounded	Mass murder
2007	Virginia Tech Blacksburg, VA	Male student	33 killed 15 wounded	Rampage
2008	N. Illinois University DeKalb, IL	Male student (former)	6 killed 17 wounded	Rampage
2008	School of Hospitality Kauhajoki, Finland	Male student	11 killed 2 wounded	Rampage
2008	Dillard High School Fort Lauderdale, FL	Female student	1 killed	Targeted

Source: Adapted from Information Please® Database: <http://www.infoplease.com>.

(as well as previous incidents in Jonesboro, Arkansas, and Pearl, Mississippi). Efforts to understand school shootings have ranged from the microcosmic—such as a focus on the psychological predispositions of individuals to become violent in the school setting—to the macrocosmic, in which school, family and community contexts (either singly or as a whole) are examined and viewed as significant contributors to understanding why school shootings occurred. Other potential contributors to school shootings that have been studied include violent video games and films, guns, drugs, and an overall decline in morality.

A recent example of such research is sociologist Ralph Larkin's case study of the Columbine shootings. Larkin analyzed reports and interviewed former Columbine students, teachers, administrators, and members of the Littleton community in an attempt to piece together an understanding of why Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold shot and killed 12 fellow students and a teacher (and eventually

themselves) on April 20, 1999. Larkin focuses on the youth culture in the school, highlighting the intimidation and bullying of students in one clique by another. Other, macrocosmic forces discussed by Larkin include how the religious intolerance of Littleton may have played a role in events leading up to the shooting, the rise of a paramilitary culture in the United States in the 1990s, and the importance of media and "celebrity" to Klebold and Harris.

Policies Resulting From School Shootings

As a result of incidents similar to and close in time to the Columbine shootings, many schools reformed both security and disciplinary policies in an attempt to respond to the perceived (if not actual) threat of a shooting on their campuses. Examples of changes in school security include both new and existing technologies; most notable in relation to school shootings have been an increased use of metal

detectors and law enforcement personnel (most likely as “school resource officers”) working full-time on school grounds. Changes in disciplinary procedures have included increased use of so-called zero-tolerance policies, which enhance punishment for what may have been previously viewed as minor infractions. Although victimization data indicate that school crime on the whole has declined, the overall decline began before many of these policies were put into effect. In the United States, school suspension rates have increased since 1999, and minority students are disproportionately represented among suspended students. Sociologist Aaron Kupchik has argued that these security changes are indicators of U.S. schools’ more punitive approach to social control. Less common than changes in security practices, although potentially more effective in terms of safety, are the implementation of violence prevention programs. The National School Safety Center is a resource for schools looking for model prevention programs.

Michael O. Maume

See also Campus Crime, College and University; Homicide, Children and Youth; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; School Violence

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Web Sites

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SCHOOL TEACHERS/STAFF, VICTIMIZATION OF

Although a voluminous amount of research examines student victimization in school settings, only a few studies have looked at teacher and staff victimization in schools. Despite the perception that teachers and staff members are victimized regularly by violent crime in the school setting, empirical evidence shows that this is simply not the case. This entry examines the problem of teacher and staff victimization by both students and parents.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, teachers have relatively little risk of violent victimization in the workplace when compared with those in mental health, law enforcement, transportation, and retail industries. Although special education teachers have the highest risk of violent victimization, their risk is still much lower than those employed in law enforcement professions and is about equivalent to those of mental health professionals and those working in retail sales. Middle- and high-school teachers have slightly less risk of victimization than special education teachers, and elementary teachers have one of the lowest rates of victimization of any of the aforementioned professions. University teachers have the lowest risk of violent victimization of any of those groups studied. Additionally, evidence from both Canada and the United States suggests that teachers are much less likely than taxi drivers, law enforcement officers, retail workers, and health or social service workers to be victims of homicide during the course of their employment.

Victimization by Students

Despite the relative safety from violent crime when compared with other professions that comes from working in an educational setting, anecdotal evidence is regularly used to suggest that teachers are at greater risk of victimization in the early part of the 21st century than at any time in the history of public education. Again, the empirical evidence does not support this argument. Probably the most comprehensive examination of teacher and staff victimization is a collaborative annual effort between the National Center for Education

Statistics and the Bureau of Justice Statistics titled *Indicators of School Crime and Safety*. The most recent report indicated that, although the percentage of teachers that reported being physically attacked has remained relatively constant (3% in 1993–1994 and 4% in 2003–2004), a smaller percentage (7%) of teachers reported being threatened with injury in 2003–2004 than in either 1993–1994 (12%) or 1999–2000 (9%). As such, the risk of violent victimization in educational settings, while still low, has decreased over time.

Other research that focuses on nonviolent victimization among teachers, however, does find that teachers regularly have items stolen from their desk and are often victims of verbal abuse and, to a lesser extent, sexual harassment. Recent evidence suggests that a substantial minority of teachers are victims of verbal abuse and threats, whereas a small minority are victims of workplace bullying and sexual harassment. One in 10 principals also reported that verbal abuse of teachers by students occurred on either a daily or weekly basis; this problem was more significant at schools with 1,000 or more students and in schools where most students received free or reduced lunch.

Additionally, student behavior that interferes with the teacher's ability to deliver effective instruction and disrupts the classroom environment is often found in schools. However, some research suggests that these troublesome behaviors are far more threatening to teachers and staff in educational environments than their counterparts in mental health environments. As such, these disruptive behaviors among students often create an educational environment where teachers feel their authority is threatened and create problems in the teachers work environment.

Victimization of Teachers and Staff by Parents

As the research reviewed above suggests, a limited amount of research estimates the prevalence of teacher victimization by students. Nevertheless, an even larger void remains in the research regarding teacher and staff victimization by parents. This lack of attention is somewhat perplexing, given the large body of research that has identified parental attitudes as a significant source of stress for teachers and staff. In fact, the strain of dealing with

parents has been cited as one of the primary factors in the resignation of new teachers.

Parental involvement in youth sports and debates between parents and teachers regarding academic grades has resulted in the emergence of a typology of "pushy parents" who have been linked to a range of problematic behaviors, which include serious acts of physical aggression and even murder. Although society at large has recognized that pushy parents exist and educators have spent a significant amount of time developing strategies to address the inherent conflict in parent-teacher relationships, limited academic research examines parental aggression toward teachers.

Although the number of documented incidents that involve parental aggression toward teachers and staff in the school setting is even smaller than the number of documented incidents that involve student victimization of teachers, these situations do exist. During 2001, 140 members of the National Association of Head Teachers reported being assaulted in the United Kingdom. In the United States, Philadelphia experienced 57 such assaults in a 6-month period. Other research has determined that more than half of all teachers had been threatened by a parent at some point in their career. These threats involved three primary types: verbal threats accompanied by intimidation, non-contact threats accompanied by intimidation, and intimidation with physical contact.

The limited research that has attempted to document parental aggression toward teachers does provide some important information about parental victimization of teachers and staff in the school environment. First, mirroring previous research with students, the most prevalent form of parental victimization of teachers was verbal victimization, as more than one third of teachers indicate that a parent of a child at the school had screamed at them at least once in their career. More than one in four teachers indicate that a parent of a child at the school has used profanity directed toward them, and more than one in five respondents indicated that a parent of a child at the school had called them on the phone and harassed them at some point in their career. More than 1 in 10 teachers indicated that a parent had verbally threatened them in their career or had threatened to do professional harm to them by using their personal connections. Second, very few

teachers had been victims of parental violence in the school setting. About 5% indicated that a parent had detained or attempted to detain them in a location in which they did not want to be, and less than 2% had a parent push, hit, or attempt to push or hit them in their career.

Despite the small number of teachers that had been victimized by parents, several teachers indicated that they had considered changing professions because of problems they had with parents and had avoided school events because they wanted to avoid parents with whom they had confrontations; in fact, a small percentage (about 2%) indicated that they had even considered carrying a weapon to school to protect themselves.

This research also provided some important insight into the causes of problems with parents. Discipline was the most important cause of problems between respondents and parents, although several respondents also indicated that conflict over grades was another important cause of conflict with parents. Small percentages of respondents also indicated that special education issues and attendance issues created conflict with parents as well.

Despite the relative safety of the school setting, many teachers remain fearful of victimization in the school setting. In fact, the greatest fears of both teachers and education majors in the university setting were guns, hostage situations, and violent victimization; the infamous school shooting at Columbine in 1999 was referenced by both groups as having the most impact on their fears in the school setting. In an effort to alleviate these fears, schools have taken several steps to reduce the likelihood of teacher and staff victimization even more. Some of these steps include limited access to buildings and grounds both during and after school hours, requiring faculty and staff to wear badges or picture identification, and using security cameras.

Educating Teachers and Staff About Victimization

The current state of research regarding teacher and staff victimization at school indicates that teachers and staff have relatively little risk of violent victimization in their daily employment in the school setting. Despite the protected nature of their

employment, however, both university students considering employment in schools and active teachers still remain fearful of violence in these settings. Interestingly, these groups are far less fearful of verbal assaults (from both students and parents) and property crime, events that happen far more often in the school setting. As such, additional efforts should attempt to educate both teachers and staff regarding the facts about teacher and staff victimization and their relative safety from harm in the school setting. A more rational consideration of their risk of violent victimization may decrease fears of this victimization and make more individuals consider employment as teachers and, once employed, remain in the educational setting.

David C. May

See also School-Based Bullying Prevention; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; School Violence; Workplace Violence, Prevention and Security; Workplace Violence, United States

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SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Violence in the nation's schools has gained a great deal of attention since the high-profile school shootings during the 1990s. The Columbine High School massacre in 1999 was the pivotal event that launched the problem of school violence into the media spotlight. Twelve students and a teacher were killed that day, and 23 others were wounded before the assailants took their own lives. This tragic event created an implicit and growing fear that these events would continue to occur and even escalate in scale and severity. Consequently,

students, parents, teachers, school officials, law enforcement, and community members frantically searched for answers as to how this could have happened and what, if anything, could be done to prevent it from re-occurring in the future. This entry explores the definition, prevalence, and risk factors associated with school violence. It concludes with a discussion of the school response to the problem of school violence.

Definition

The definition of what constitutes school violence continues to evolve. Until recently, the definition of school violence was considered in terms of only physically aggressive acts such as homicide and weapon-related threats. This narrow, yet widely used definition stems from the considerable attention that the media has paid to school shooting incidents that result in deaths and serious injuries. Although this type of violent activity in schools is newsworthy, recent research suggests their occurrences are relatively rare. Thus, whereas serious incidents of school violence resulting in death or serious injury understandably draw the most media and public attention, fights, bullying, harassment, and verbal threats (often referred to as “everyday school violence”) occur far more frequently. The omission of these broader dimensions of school violence caused researchers and school administrators to miss much of the content and many causes of more visible forms of physical violence manifested by students within schools.

However, as educational associations across the country began to take a position on the problem of violence in our schools, the definition of what constitutes school violence has evolved to include a broader range of activities, such as verbal assaults, bullying, pushing and shoving, harassment, intimidation, and teasing. The expansive definition of school violence allows for the inclusion of both overt (e.g., shootings, aggravated and simple assaults) and subtle forms of violence (e.g., teasing, harassment, and intimidation) that allow schools to focus on making schools safe as well as violence free. By broadening the traditional definition of school violence, prevention initiatives must also be expanded. Thus, trying to prevent school violence only in terms of physical security measures that are designed to keep guns and other weapons out of

schools is no longer enough. Although such types of measures have their place, in the prevention of school violence, a whole range of more comprehensive measures must be employed that reflect the diverse types of behaviors that may violate a school’s educational mission or climate of respect.

Prevalence

Although some studies and the media coverage may suggest that serious forms of school violence are on the rise, an overwhelming amount of evidence suggests that school violence, particularly school-related homicides, is a relatively rare event. In fact, it is estimated that the probability of becoming a victim of a school-related shooting is roughly one in 1 million, which thereby suggests that the nation’s schools are safe from extreme acts of violence. When considering lesser, yet still severe forms of violence, the research shows that physical attacks without a weapon, theft or larceny, and vandalism are much more common than school shootings. In addition, careful attention must also be paid to the expansive forms of behavior that fall under the broader definition of school violence.

Concerns about violent and aggressive behavior in schools should not be ignored; however, individuals are often fearful of and intimidated by other, less serious types of violence. These lesser forms of school violence include physical aggression such as shoving and pushing, face-to-face verbal harassment, intimidation, public humiliation, and teasing. Although there may be no visible wounds, one cannot discount the powerfully negative emotional and psychological costs associated with these forms of behavior. Victims of violence often report feelings of vengefulness, anger, self-pity, and fear. Left untreated, such reactions can evolve into depression, absenteeism, poor academic performance, physical illness, and suicide.

Student Victimization

During the 2005–2006 academic year, the number of students enrolled in pre-kindergarten through 12th grade is estimated to be around 55 million. The number of school-associated deaths during the 2005–2006 academic year was 17, which includes 14 homicides and 3 suicides. More prevalent forms of violence included simple assaults, thefts, vandalism,

and bullying. In fact, at least 25% of students reported that they had been bullied at school during the previous 6 months. The consequences of this victimization cannot be underestimated.

Students who are afraid of school violence often exhibited less positive feelings toward school, had lower academic achievement, experienced less effective social interaction, and had lowered self-esteem. Students who were victims of violence at school are also more likely to internalize problems, have fewer friends, experience low friendship quality, and become fearful. Students are increasingly more likely to report being afraid of an attack at school than away from school. Consequently, students who feared school violence often experienced apprehensiveness among their peers, brought weapons to school for protection, exhibited reduced concentration on assigned tasks, avoided school, and lacked school enjoyment. Undoubtedly, violence makes students fearful and affects their readiness and ability to learn, which detracts from a positive school environment.

Teacher Victimization

The threat of school violence changes not only the school climate for students but also the work environment for teachers. Teachers can also experience many diverse forms of school violence, which range anywhere from rare but serious offenses, such as assault or death, to frequent and pervasive experiences of theft and verbal threats. Factors commonly associated with teacher victimization include the location of the school (e.g., urban, suburban, rural), the school level (e.g., elementary or secondary schools), and whether the school was public or private. Teachers from urban schools were more likely to be victimized than teachers from suburban and rural schools. In addition, secondary school teachers were more likely to be victimized than elementary school teachers. Furthermore, teachers from public schools were more prone to victimization than those teachers from private institutions. The resultant consequences of teacher victimization at school cannot be ignored.

Although most information regarding school violence has focused almost exclusively on students, violent and nonviolent acts against teachers that result in their fear at school should not be

ignored. Teachers who feel unsafe in their classrooms tend to become unmotivated and less committed to their educational mission. In addition, poor teacher performance may affect students' performance as well as their behavior adversely. For example, teachers in disorderly schools may spend a large proportion of their time coping with behavior problems than academic instruction. Furthermore, teacher turnover remains higher in schools plagued with violence and disorder.

Risk Factors Associated With School Violence

The empirical literature suggests the risk factors associated with school violence cannot be attributed to one single cause; rather, it stems from a combination of individual, relational, situational, and environmental factors that interact to increase the likelihood of school violence. Additionally, even with the complexity of human behavior and some central factors associated with school violence (e.g., retribution, self-defense, saving face, and promoting one's image), unique factors are associated with each specific form of school violence. Finally, risk factors may also differ depending on the gender of the perpetrator, the type of the school (e.g., elementary, middle, and high school), characteristics of the school (i.e., public or private), and location of the school (e.g., rural, suburban, urban). Hence, although it may be tempting to use risk factors to estimate the potential for violence within any given school, administrators should proceed with caution. The application of such proactive or risk-assessment measures may result in false positive and negative identifications.

Theoretical Explanations

The number and complexity of theories designed to improve our understanding of school violence is notable and speaks to the complexity of the problem facing our nation's schools. Understanding the causes of school violence through the use of criminological theory is essential to make rational, informed responses to the problem. Theoretical explanations of school violence can be categorized into two broad categories: macrolevel and microlevel explanations. Macrolevel explanations of school violence focus on the social and cultural environment in

which adolescents grow up and examine whether certain factors (e.g., crime rates, cultural deviance, status frustration, and social disorganization) have a link to school violence. In contrast, microlevel theoretical explanations focus on the behavior of individuals. For instance, a microlevel theory attempts to explain why some youths engage in violent behavior at school whereas others do not. Microlevel theories designed to examine school violence may examine such factors as an individual's ability to make rational decisions and exhibit self-control. In addition, microlevel factors may also include interactions with pivotal social forces in an adolescent's life to include his parents (i.e., social learning theory and self-control theory) and friends (i.e., differential association theory).

Of course, no single explanation can account for all acts of violence at school, however, most of the explanations of school violence at the macrolevels and microlevels do offer accurate descriptions for why youths engage in delinquency under different circumstances. Thus, just as there are a variety of causes, therefore, policymakers must also take a variety of approaches to deal with the problem.

Response and Prevention

In the wake of the Columbine tragedy, many schools have turned to specific strategies that can protect schools from violence. Many schools around the country have developed tough zero-tolerance policies, not to mention the use of metal detectors. Unfortunately, little evidence is available to suggest that any single strategy can keep schools safe. To complicate matters even more, serious and dramatic incidents of violence seem frighteningly random, raising concerns about whether such violence is indeed preventable. Despite these concerns, efforts have been made to take a comprehensive approach to reduce the range of incidents that constitute school violence.

Nationally recognized researchers in the field of school violence have begun to look at what works and what does not in the prevention of school violence. Consistently, programs that cut violence effectively are mainly proactive rather than reactive in nature. Such proactive programs typically involve families, students, and the community. Some of the most common multidimensional programs involve peers, families, and communities.

Peer Mediation Programs

In response to preventing school violence, many schools across the United States have begun to consider making violence prevention and conflict resolution part of their curricula. Such programs rely on ongoing instruction and discussion to change the perceptions, attitudes, and skills of students. These types of programs are successful because they address the complexity of the problem and take on a broader problem-solving approach. Peer mediation programs use a group of student mediators who are taught an interest-based negotiation procedure, along with communication and problem-solving strategies. The goal of this training is to assist peers in settling disagreements without confrontation or violence. In most of these programs, students come voluntarily and are guided by peer mediators to move away from blaming each other to devising solutions acceptable to all parties.

The early conclusions about peer mediation programs tend to show them as a promising strategy for improving the school climate over time. The use of peer mediation programs are believed to change substantially the way students approach and settle conflicts. For example, students involved in peer mediation often express a greater willingness to help their friends avoid fights while helping them to solve their conflict. In addition, students who participate in peer mediation programs are less likely to buy into the mind-set that some students deserve to be victimized. With the implementation of a peer mediation program, adequate attention must be paid to the details of planning and training those involved. A follow-up analysis must be enacted to ensure that the program is meeting the intended goals. In sum, peer mediation has been touted as a broader school-wide program approach to reducing the problem of school violence. In its initial analysis, peer mediation seems to be a promising tool that can help teach students methods to settle their conflicts without resorting to violence.

Parent Involvement

Parent involvement provides an important opportunity for schools to enrich current school programs by encouraging and bringing parents into the educational process. Increased parent

involvement is correlated with increased student success, increased parent and teacher satisfaction, and improved school climate. Schools can encourage involvement in many areas, which include parenting, learning at home, communication, volunteering, decision making, and community collaboration. Parent programs that have shown the most success are built on positive interactions and take careful consideration of the unique needs of the community. Although the specifics may vary from school to school, parent involvement programs share the goal of increasing parent-school collaboration to promote healthy child development and safe school communities.

Conclusion

School violence and the problems that stem from it continue to plague schools across the United States. Although the problem of school violence remains at the forefront of societal consciousness, educating the public and providing awareness to school officials, teachers, students, parents, and community members is critical. Educational initiatives have promoted the fact that school violence is a multifaceted problem spanning in seriousness from teasing to school shootings. Even though school shootings are widely covered in the media, they are far less common than minor forms of violence at school. In addition, even though some commonalities may exist among incidents of school violence, there is little evidence to support any single, accurate shooter profile or any common set of risk factors for violence. Consequently, any profile that has been created carries with it a considerable risk of false positives. In other words, some students may fit the profile but may never engage in such violence. Educationally driven programs have also focused on the victimization of school students and teachers because the consequences of their experiences can be devastating. Understanding that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to the problem of school violence is probably the biggest theme that can be taken from the extant literature. Although on the surface incidents of violence at school may seem similar, the dimensions of human behavior and reasoning suggest the opposite. Hence, it is not likely that one solution will clearly work in all cases, so no single solution should be mandated. Thus, schools can be free to experiment

with different comprehensive policies and methods of response to find the solution that works best for their own needs. Finally, the response to and prevention of school violence continues to evolve as more research is conducted and used to inform our current and future policies.

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See also Peer Counseling; Peer Mediation; Resolving Conflict Creatively Program; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; School Shootings

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SEATTLE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The Seattle Social Development Project (SSDP) was a school-based intervention for students in grades 1 to 6 that used a risk-reduction and skill-development strategy to improve a range of academic, behavioral, and emotional outcomes for participating children and youths. This entry provides a basic overview of the project, program participants, and published evaluation research.

The theoretical basis for the SSDP is the social development model. This model contends that family bonding and school bonding in children can be enhanced by providing children with opportunities for greater involvement in their schools and families, helping children develop the necessary skills for fuller participation with their schools and families, and consistently reinforcing this skillful participation. The social development model also proposes that strong bonds to families and schools help set children on positive developmental trajectories, which in turn lead to more positive outcomes later in life. The SSDP was funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (Prevention Research Branch), the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and the Burlington Northern Foundation.

The SSDP began in 1981 with a combination of student, teacher, and parent components. Program participants initially included students in grades 1 to 6 in eight public schools located in Seattle, Washington. These students were from mixed

socioeconomic and racial/ethnic backgrounds. Four years later, the study was expanded to include 5th- and 6th-grade students in 10 additional Seattle public schools. The program was implemented during the school day by regular classroom teachers.

Program Design and Curriculum

Teacher training involved 5 days spread throughout the school year, and teachers were regularly observed by SSDP staff and the school principal. SSDP classroom teachers were trained in instructional methods that involved the following three major components: proactive classroom management, interactive teaching, and cooperative learning.

1. *Proactive classroom management:* Teachers were trained to establish positive classroom management practices and expectations before problem behaviors begin to develop. Classroom routines were meant to be implemented at the beginning of the school year to create a consistent pattern of expectations for students and to avoid issues such as conduct problems and academic failure.
2. *Interactive teaching:* Through interactive teaching, teachers ensured that students master specified learning objectives before moving on to new material, graded based on student improvement over past performance, and monitored students frequently to assess their progress.
3. *Cooperative learning:* This method involved designating small groups of students with a range of abilities and backgrounds to work together on learning curriculum material.

In addition, SSDP students in the 1st and 6th grades received specific instruction in cognitive and social skills. This instruction was also provided by the regular classroom teachers, who received additional training in the specific curricula provided to students in those grades.

- During grade 1, students participated in the “Interpersonal Problem-Solving” curriculum, which teaches communication skills, decision making, negotiation, and conflict resolution.

- Sixth-grade students received a 4-hour refusal-skills training program. This program aimed to assist students in recognizing and resisting the types of social influences that may encourage problem behaviors, such as drug use or risky sexual behavior, and developing options for positive and productive alternative behaviors.

Parents of children who participated in the SSDP were offered a series of education workshops taught by SSDP staff, which focused on child behavior management skills, academic support skills, and skills to reduce children's risk of drug use. Three different parent classes were offered, which corresponded to the grade level of the child.

- Parents of students in grades 1 and 2 were offered the seven-session "Catch 'Em Being Good" curriculum. The program teaches parents effective methods for conveying expectations about behavior, identifying and reinforcing desirable behavior, and determining appropriate responses for negative behavior.
- Parents of 3rd-grade students were offered the four-session "How to Help Your Child Succeed in School" curriculum, which was designed to improve communication between the parent and child and increase the parents' level of involvement in their child's academic activities.
- Parents of 5th- and 6th-grade students were offered the five-session "Preparing for the Drug (Free) Years" program. This skills-training curriculum aims to help parents in establishing family policies, enhancing family communication, and teaching children resistance skills.

Evaluation Methods

The SSDP was implemented and evaluated in Seattle, Washington. The program began with a group of students entering the 1st grade in eight Seattle public schools in fall 1981. At that time, one entire school was assigned to the treatment condition (SSDP), and one entire school was assigned to the control condition (no program). In the remaining six schools, students and their teachers were randomly assigned to treatment or control classrooms. During the next three school years, newly entering students in grades 1 to 4 were randomly assigned to treatment or control

classrooms and were added to the study sample. Originally, 520 students remained in the sample at the end of 2nd grade.

In fall 1985, when the original subjects entered the 5th grade, the SSDP was expanded to include all 5th grade students in 10 additional Seattle elementary schools. These 10 schools were matched to the original eight schools with respect to the grades served and the percentage of students who lived in high-crime neighborhoods. Schools were then nonrandomly assigned to either the treatment group or the control group, and students participated in the SSDP for 2 years (grades 5 and 6). Therefore, the 10-school expansion resulted in the following three groups for analysis purposes:

1. Students participating in the SSDP from grades 1 to 6 (full intervention)
2. Students participating in the SSDP in grades 5 to 6 only (late intervention)
3. Students in the control group, which combined the control group participants from 1981 with those that were added to the study in 1985

When students were in 5th grade, study participants and their parents were asked for consent to participate in the longitudinal study of the SSDP. A total of 643 5th-grade students agreed to participate, of which 156 were in the full-intervention group, 267 were in the late-intervention group, and 220 were in the control group. (Several students were also assigned to a parent-training-only group; however, the results for this subgroup have not been assessed and are not reported here.)

Overview of Key Evaluation Findings

The first evaluation of SSDP was published in 1991 and assessed students in the original eight participating schools in the spring of 2nd grade. Numerous longitudinal follow-up studies of program effects have been conducted on the full-intervention and late-intervention program participants and the comparison group. The impact of the SSDP was evaluated at multiple time periods, which included evaluations while the intervention was ongoing (at ages 7, 8, and 10), shortly after the end of the intervention (age 13), and at

6- and 9-year follow-ups (ages 18 and 21). Most SSDP evaluations are based on the quasiexperimental portion of the study (i.e., including the 10 schools that began in 1985 and that were not randomly assigned to experimental group). Examinations of school characteristics for evidence of bias because of the nonrandom group assignment generally find that schools in the treatment and control groups were similar with respect to observable characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, childhood poverty, residential stability, and so on.

Each evaluation period of the SSDP produced significant, positive treatment effects, although the findings were not always consistent among time periods or across all outcomes measures. These findings sometimes differed by gender or race. Some evidence indicates that the full intervention (grades 1–6) may be more effective than the late intervention (grades 5–6 only). Examples of significant program impacts found during at least one evaluation period include decreased aggressiveness, increased social competence, lower rates of alcohol and cigarette use, lower rates of delinquency, lower rates of drug selling, lower numbers of lifetime court charges, increased levels of school bonding, higher grades and scores on standardized exams, lower rates of grade repetition, higher rates of high-school graduation, lower rates of early teenage sexual activity, lower rates of pregnancy, fewer sexual partners, and lower rates of suicidal thoughts. The fact that the SSDP participants continued to demonstrate improved outcomes over control group subjects at age 21 suggests that the program has a strong, lasting impact on a range of academic, social competence, and delinquency outcomes.

When considering the program evaluation outcomes, it is important to bear in mind that the program has been studied in only one urban metropolitan area (Seattle), which limits the generalizability of findings to other populations. In addition, although well conducted and not subject to any obvious bias, all evaluations of the SSDP to date have been conducted by the program's designers rather than by outside evaluators.

It should be noted that although the parental component of the SSDP was important from the social development model perspective and was considered to be an integral part of the program, parent participation was not mandatory. Research

by J. D. Hawkins and his colleagues in 1999 showed that only 43% of parents attended the parenting workshops, and no assessment was conducted to determine how successful the programs were at teaching parenting skills or whether parents subsequently applied the skills learned in class when interacting with their children at home. Lending positive support to the parental component is a 1992 study by Hawkins and his colleagues that found that children in the full intervention condition (grades 1–6) reported significantly better family management, communication, involvement, and attachment than did control group children. However, none of the evaluations of the SSDP indicate the extent to which the parent component may have played a part in influencing the observed treatment outcomes.

Jennifer S. Wong

See also Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Multisystemic Therapy; Pathways to Prevention; Perry Preschool Project; Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies (PATHS); Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency; School-Based Violence Programs, United States

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Web Sites

Seattle Social Development Project: <http://www.depts.washington.edu/ssdp>

SECONDARY VICTIMS OF HOMICIDE

The two types of crime victims comprise the individual who was directly harmed by the crime and the people who intimately know the primary victim. The latter are referred to as secondary victims, or co-victims. In the case of homicide, secondary victims are those who are not killed by the perpetrator but are the remaining family and friends who are also victimized because their loved one was murdered. It is estimated that each homicide victim leaves behind about three secondary victims who will sustain significant loss and suffering as a result of the murder. Secondary victims of homicide may be parents, spouses/significant others, children, grandparents, or close friends.

Although the primary homicide victim certainly sustains the most devastating outcome of a

murder, secondary victims of homicides are also victimized by the event. In addition to experiencing significant grief from the loss of their loved one, they can also experience anger, posttraumatic stress disorder, and feelings of hopelessness for many years. They can also experience revictimization through their dealings with the criminal justice system. Secondary victims should not only be acknowledged and treated respectfully by the criminal justice system but also educated on the processes necessary to bring the perpetrator to justice. This entry discusses the effects of being a secondary victim of homicide and describes the secondary victims' involvement with the criminal justice system.

Effects of Being a Secondary Victim of Homicide

Even though the actual murder victim suffers the most damage with the loss of their life, survivors also endure the impacts of the death. Unlike other causes of death, such as illness, murder is unexpected and without forewarning, and it immediately changes secondary victims' lives. Suffering for secondary victims of homicide can endure for long periods of time, if not for the remainder of their lives. Children who lose a parent to homicide may externalize their feelings, which may result in conduct disorders. They may also experience problems with self-esteem and difficulties in school.

Secondary victims often feel frustrated because of the lack of resources available to assist them with the emotional and financial problems that result from the death of the homicide victim. Legal stipulations are in place to protect the offender; however, few legal rights exist to protect the victim's family, and they often need to advocate for themselves. Victim support groups do exist. However, they are often managed by victims and mostly rely on soft money and donations to carry out their mission of grief management through support groups, advocacy, and educating the public.

Secondary victims of homicide must also deal with the possible uncertainty surrounding the murder. Homicide is a violent act that does not always have a rational explanation. Several possible motives for homicide include robbery gone wrong, revenge, accidental homicide, or pathological killing by a disturbed offender. Regardless of the reason, if one

exists at all, the secondary victims may struggle with finding meaning in their loved one's death.

Involvement With the Criminal Justice System

Secondary victims may feel victimized a second time by the criminal justice system and the legal process. Because homicide victims cannot assist police in identifying the perpetrator, defend themselves in court, or confront their attacker, secondary victims often take on these roles. Secondary victims are typically prohibited from entering crime scenes where the deceased lies. Although this protects the integrity of the crime scene and allows investigators to do everything they can to collect and preserve evidence to assist in the capture and prosecution of the offender, secondary victims of homicide often feel discouraged that they cannot attend to their loved one.

Secondary victims of homicide may also be questioned about their relationship to the victim and their whereabouts when the murder occurred. This questioning may add to the stress of an already tense situation. However, if there is no known suspect, then those closest must assist law enforcement in narrowing down the suspect pool and ruling out potential suspects because the primary victim cannot speak for himself or herself. Immediate family members and those closest to the primary victim are the most likely suspects, because homicides are most often committed against persons the offender knows. Therefore, whereas it can be offensive or emotionally disruptive to the secondary homicide victim, it is necessary for law enforcement officials to interview and work with the secondary victims to increase their chances of solving the crime. If the police cannot solve the murder, which occurs in about one third of all homicide cases each year, the secondary victims can lack a sense of closure and may suffer emotionally and/or psychologically—more so than they already may have suffered.

The trial, if any, poses another potentially uncomfortable situation for secondary victims. Details of the event and the trauma, torture, or abuse that the primary homicide victim endured are often recounted and can be difficult for the secondary victims to handle. If the crime is particularly disturbing or horrible, then the news media

may sensationalize the situation to sell the story. This can affect the secondary victims adversely, too. Secondary victims may be hounded by reporters. If a long time exists between the murder and the trial, old wounds that may have partially healed may be reopened. Lengthy trials can also prolong the agony for the surviving victims. Hung juries or trials that result in an overturned verdict can prolong the agony. A second trial may ensue, extending the discomfort experienced by the secondary homicide victim and subjecting them to a new trial that may again end in uncertainty, releasing the offender, or a guilty verdict for a lesser charge.

However, a guilty verdict and a prison sentence for the offender may ease some of the suffering for some victims. It is often a relief to the families knowing that the offender is either in prison or will be executed for their crime. On the other hand, if offenders are released from prison on parole or as a result of statutes aimed at reducing prison overcrowding, the secondary victims of homicide can experience additional emotional trauma when the offender is released.

A trial and guilty verdict is hardly sufficient closure for some secondary homicide victims. It may be some comfort to know that the offender will be held accountable for their crime. However, it does not bring the primary victim home. The death penalty may not be the ultimate answer, either. The lengthy process attached to executing a death warrant prolongs the closure process and can revictimize loved ones when, and if, the death sentence is carried out. Because of lengthy appeals processes, death row inmates wait an average of 12 years for the execution to be carried out. The execution of the offender may provide closure and facilitate healing among some secondary homicide victims—if only to end the criminal justice process. Others recognize that the execution of the offender does nothing to bring back the life that was lost.

Eileen Ablin

See also Bereavement Process; Death Notification; Homicide, Victim Advocacy Groups; Homicide and Murder; Victim–Offender Mediation; Victim Support Groups

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SERIAL MURDER

In 2005, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) organized an international symposium in San Antonio, Texas. Approximately 150 of the world's top homicide investigators, forensic psychologists, forensic psychiatrists, criminal psychologists, and other researchers were assembled to discuss and define the phenomenon of serial murder. The purpose of the symposium was to bring together experts in both applied and academic fields who shared a common interest in the ever-expanding scope of serial murder. The symposium was charged with debunking the plethora of myths surrounding serial murder and to give the phenomenon an operationalized definition. The symposium identified several common myths pertaining to serial killers, including that these offenders are all dysfunctional loners, all White males, only motivated by sex, travel and operate interstate, cannot stop killing, insane or evil geniuses, and want to be apprehended.

The symposium reviewed various concepts of serial murder and agreed on several salient factors that should be included in a common acceptable definition. These included factors such as one or more offenders, two or more murdered victims, the murders need to be occurring in separate events and at different times, and finally, the time period between murders separates serial murder from mass murder. As a result, a new definition of serial murder emerged: *the unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s) in separate events*.

The symposium concluded that there is no *single* identifiable cause or factor that leads to the development of this serial killer, but rather several factors contribute to their development, especially the offender's decision to engage in multiple homicide. The symposium identified several primary motivations for serial murder including anger, criminal enterprise, financial gain, ideology, power, thrill, psychosis, and sex.

Background

Serial murder has been documented in the United States since the early 1800s. However, the incidence and prevalence of serial murder did not come to public awareness until the early 1980s when Robert Ressler, an FBI agent, was summoned by the FBI director. Ressler had been quietly collecting data on serial murder and storing the files in boxes in the basement of the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. Known for his persistence when he felt passionate about an issue, no one realized that he was laying the groundwork for one of the most fascinating and horrifying fields of research the world has ever known. The FBI director instructed Ressler to move his data collection out of the basement and officially begin investigating and documenting cases of serial murder. A preliminary review of cases indicated that cases of multiple homicides by sexual predators seemed to be increasing.

In 1984, the FBI appeared before the U.S. Senate to seek funding for the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) by suggesting that as many as 5,000 people per year were believed to be victimized by serial murderers. Although this figure was many times the actual number of annual serial murder victims, the exaggeration did serve to secure significant funding and create one of the most storied units in the history of the FBI. During the mid-1980s, the FBI established the VICAP at its Behavioral Science Unit in Quantico, Virginia (now referred to as the Investigative Support Unit). VICAP is designed to collect detailed information on homicides throughout the United States. Investigators such as former FBI agents Robert Ressler and John Douglas, both pioneers in the investigation and classification of serial killers, collectively interviewed many notorious serial killers in the United States. Ressler and

his colleagues published their findings in *Sexual Homicide*, which became a standard reference text for this form of murder. In addition, the U.S. government continues to develop programs such as the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime to focus specifically on repetitive offenders, including serial murderers.

Myths of Serial Murder

Many myths surround the phenomenon of serial murder, including that all serial murderers are intelligent and insane White males who are lust killers with dozens of victims. They act alone as they travel across the United States stabbing, strangling, and beating young women to death. Sexually abused as children, these defective predators cannot stop killing even if they wanted to and secretly hope that someone will catch them. The reality is somewhat different. Approximately 20% of offenders are African American (see case 1), 16% are female offenders (see case 2), and only 2% to 4% are legally insane. Some cases of serial murder are far more instrumental (i.e., killing for money) than expressive (i.e., killing for sexual purposes); most kill fewer than 10 victims; 25% have one or more accomplices; and some use poisons (see case 3) or guns to kill. Most offenders are of average intelligence, stay in the local area to commit their murder series, and many are not trying to be apprehended. Some killers take months or years before they kill again and are very much in control of when and where they will kill. Although some offenders have been sexually abused, far more are found with histories of severe abandonment and rejection by significant others.

Case 1: Chester D. Turner, 1978–1998

Born in Arkansas in 1966, Turner was raised by his mother after his parents divorced when he was 5 years old. The mother relocated to Los Angeles where Turner attended public schools and worked as a cook and delivery man for Dominos Pizza. When his mother decided to move to Utah, Turner stayed in Los Angeles, dropped out of high school, and frequented homeless shelters. He was arrested six times for nonviolent offenses and one assault charge. Turner was concealing much more violence than anyone knew about as he would eventually be

DNA linked to 13 murders of young women in the Los Angeles area. His pattern was almost always the same: Victims were found partially nude, raped, strangled, and left in bushes, vacant buildings, and along roadways. Turner was arrested for the murders while serving an 8-year sentence for rape after Los Angeles Cold Case detectives used DNA to link him to the string of murders. He was convicted of killing 10 individuals as well as an unborn fetus.

Case 2: Olga Rutterschmidt and Helen Golay, 1999–2005

In 2008, Olga Rutterschmidt, 75, and Helen Golay, 77, were convicted of first-degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder for financial gain. The two women had been luring homeless men from a Hollywood church in Los Angeles with promises of food and shelter. Each victim was moved into a comfortable apartment and given care for a 2-year period. Each victim, aged 51 and 73, was also insured for more than \$5.7 million by using multiple insurance agencies. Victims unwittingly signed policies unaware they were signing their death warrants. At the end of 2 years, the time frame for which the insurance policies needed to be uncontested, the victims were drugged, taken to back alleys, and run over to make it seem that they had been killed in hit-and-run accidents. The women, who had spent approximately \$64,000 to care for their victims, collected more than \$2.8 million with their scheme. The 5-year time lapse between the first and second victim was intended to sufficiently separate the two killings so as not to draw attention. However, an investigator who had been looking into the most recent death accidentally overheard another investigator discussing an earlier death that bore striking similarities. Both killers were given life sentences without the possibility of parole.

Case 3: Efren Saldivar, “Angel of Death,” 1988–1998

In 1998, Efren Saldivar, age 28, who was a respiratory therapist for 9 years at Glendale Adventist Medical Center in California, confessed to killing dozens of terminally ill patients during a 10-year period. He claimed to be an “angel of death” who had killed as many as 200 victims from several hospitals where he had worked part

time. Because no independent corroborating evidence was available, police released Saldivar, who later recanted his confession stating that he was depressed and wanted to be executed. An investigation continued into the possibility that Saldivar was telling the truth, but it was not until 3 years after his confession that he was arrested and charged with six murders. Saldivar admitted injecting fatal doses of pavulon, which is a muscle relaxant that suppresses natural breathing, and succinylcholine chloride, which is a drug that also stops natural breathing, into 40 to 50 victims. Later, investigators realized that Saldivar probably had murdered closer to 200 individuals.

Psychopathology in Serial Murder

The term *psychopath* is a nondiagnostic label used to describe persons who possess characteristics at variance with general community standards and practices. People often confuse the popular label *psycho* with psychopath, when actually the terms carry different meanings. Most commonly, the public makes the assumption that someone who is a serial killer must be “psycho” or crazy, out of his mind. Indeed, the behavior may be viewed as “crazy” or bizarre, but in actuality the killer is seldom “crazy” or insane. Psychopaths are generally viewed as aggressive, insensitive, charismatic, irresponsible, intelligent, dangerous, hedonistic, narcissistic, and antisocial. Psychopaths are perceived as exceptional manipulators who can feign emotions to carry out their personal agendas. Without remorse for the plight of their victims, they are adept at rationalization, projection, and other psychological defense mechanisms. The veneer of stability, friendliness, and normality belies a deeply disturbed personality. They are careful to maintain social distance and share intimacy only with those whom they can psychologically control. They are noted for their inability to maintain long-term commitments to people or programs. Although most serial killers are psychopaths or at least exhibit psychopathic characteristics, most criminal psychopaths are nonviolent persons. Indeed, most criminal psychopaths operate as white-collar criminals. However, most serial killers are considered to be psychopaths and exhibit such characteristics as noted in Robert Hare’s description of psychopaths: glibness/superficial charm; grandiose sense of self-worth/narcissism;

pathological lying; conning and manipulative behavior; lack of remorse or guilt; shallow affect; callousness/lack of empathy; failure to accept responsibility for actions; need for stimulation/proneness to boredom; parasitic lifestyle; poor behavioral controls; early behavioral problems; lack of realistic, long-term goals; impulsivity; irresponsibility; and criminal versatility.

The development of a serial killer can be influenced both by genetic predispositions and environmental factors. A lack of nurturing, rejection, abandonment, and/or sexual abuse in early childhood can inflict deep psychological wounds that for some, never heal. Most persons who experience childhood trauma find nonviolent ways to cope with these stressors. Serial killers develop a plethora of behaviors and fantasies that end in the suffering and deaths of others. Eric Hickey’s trauma-control model for serial murder (predispositional factors and facilitators may or may not influence the serial killing process) demonstrates the cyclical nature of serial killers, which suggests that biologically, some persons can be predisposed to violence and that predisposition is exacerbated by childhood trauma. Once the cycle begins, the child develops feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem that lead to fantasy development. For some, childhood is so traumatic that they experience psychological breaks with reality, or dissociation. For others, their fantasies of control progress into violent fantasies that may be influenced by a variety of facilitators, such as drugs, alcohol, obscene material, erotica, and pornography. Often, these fantasies are of a sexual nature involving paraphilic behaviors that include the suffering and sexual degradation of others. Each homicide committed by the serial killer is followed by events that reinforce the desire to kill. Usually, these events involve loss, rejection, and/or abandonment.

Serial Murder Profiling Strategies

Serial murder has also contributed significantly to the development of several profiling strategies used by investigators and researchers in understanding psychosocial, behavioral, and physical characteristics of offenders and their victims as they strive to improve the effectiveness of serial murder investigations. Successful investigations frequently use several of the following profiling techniques:

Offender Profiling—Law enforcement agencies collect information, often from previous investigations, and form data into general descriptions of persons most likely to commit or be associated with certain types of criminal behavior.

Victim Profiling—Profilers identify the psychosocial and behavioral characteristics of crime victims who are targeted by certain types of offenders.

Equivocal Death Profiling—Also referred to as *psychological autopsy*, investigators gather and use information to explain personal motivations of a person(s) engaged in suicide pacts or deaths where motivations and/or reasons are difficult to determine.

Psychological Profiling—Investigators examine crime scene evidence to determine personality types of those committing the crimes. The purpose is to provide direction to investigators as they develop leads in cases.

Crime Scene Profiling—or *criminal investigation analysis*, originated from the FBI model at the Behavioral Science Unit. Investigators evaluate descriptions of crime scenes physical evidence and criminal behavior before, during, and after the criminal activity, including victim data.

DNA Profiling—Murder cases are sometimes solved using improved techniques in DNA profiling or genetic science. This strategy involves matching DNA from crime scenes to victims and offenders in efforts to identify perpetrators involved in specific crimes.

Geographical Profiling—Also known as *spatial mapping*, this approach combines geography and environmental criminology in connecting crime scenes to offender habitats and locations they use to prey on victims.

Paraphilia Profiling—criminal paraphilia, or sexual gratification using fantasy and/or illegal sexual activity, involves the identification of various forms of paraphilia used by sexual offenders or sexual predators. This involves understanding paraphilia and the role of *relational paraphilic attachment* and how sex offenders attach themselves through fantasy and behavior

with their victims. This may include the use of specific language, behaviors, physical objects, sounds, smells, voices, and many others that are particular to the offender, such as the use of specific recording devices, ligatures, victims, photographs, and weapons that aid in fulfilling the fantasies of the offender(s).

Serial Murder Signatures

Cases of serial killing usually share common characteristics. Serial killers, especially those who are sexual predators, will have distinctive fantasy-driven behaviors that make the crime and the offender(s) unique. Referred to as the *signature*, the personal expression or marking of the offender includes both verbal and physical acts. Serial murderers often create patterns of killing that are customized to fit his or her psychological and physical needs. Also referred to as “calling cards” or “trade-marks,” signatures can also be used by repeat violent offenders such as rapists who are not serial killers. The signature is not required to commit the crime but rather to fulfill the fantasy of the offender. However, sometimes the M.O., or *modus operandi*, employed by the killer to commit his or her crimes becomes part of the signature. For example, sexual predators who are serial killers develop a pattern of stalking behaviors that may be sexualized as the behaviors are carried out. Cary Stayner, who was the Yosemite National Park killer, murdered some of his victims by decapitating them. In this case, the method of killing was also an expression of his paraphilic fantasies, including forested locations where he preferred to kill his victims. These signatures, or *paraphilic footprints*, are extensions of an offenders paraphilic fantasies and aids the offender in actualizing his fantasies.

Investigating Serial Murders

Investigating cases of serial murder often requires multiple resources and personnel. Often, intense public pressure can influence an investigation. Officers, as they create a clear chain of command, need to present a unified front in decision making while avoiding tunnel vision and impulsivity. The symposium in San Antonio, Texas, also noted that sometimes, investigations of serial murder are

“micromanaged” by persons who allow their personal views and egos to cloud effective decision making. Such issues can be avoided with proper command structure and reporting. Collaboration is critical to effect a successful serial murder investigation. Frequently, cases of serial murder involve multiple states that require face-to-face meetings with investigators. Offenders who cross multiple county and state lines to commit their murders become the subject of investigation by law enforcement in each of those locations. Therefore, it is critical that as the investigations develop, a coordinated effort is developed that avoids duplication and redundancy. For example, the symposium strongly recommended that VICAP reports on solved and unsolved murders, attempted murders, and sexual assaults be submitted for inclusion in the VICAP database. Medical examiners should share autopsy information for cases that may be linked and may need to work with other examiners in establishing baseline information.

A significant problem in cases of serial murder is that everyone has an opinion and many are willing to express those opinions publicly. High-profile cases attract media seeking information and insights into investigations that can be intrusive and stymie law enforcement efforts. To that end, the symposium also urged that only experts with proper credentials be used by media to comment on serial murder investigations. Specifically, these persons have access to the complete investigation and can therefore give an informed opinion. However, experts who are not directly involved in an ongoing case can offer general information about serial murder investigations to help the public understand the complexities related to conducting such investigations.

Eric W. Hickey

See also Homicide and Murder; Mass Murder and Suicides in Cults

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SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SCALES/SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN SCALES, MEASUREMENT OF

Violence against women has proven to be a construct that is complex to measure and interpret, although many attempts have been made. Linda L. Marshall developed the scales in 1992 in response to her and others' perceptions of shortcomings of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS). The original CTS has been criticized for its narrow scope of abusive acts and equal weighting for all events. Marshall developed the instrument specifically to address the shortcomings of the CTS and other instruments, and separate instruments were created for men and women.

Development of Severity of Violence Against Women Scale

After a review of family violence literature, and to establish content validity of the instrument,

Marshall chose items that represent symbolic violence (such as hitting an object), sexual violence, threats of violence (mild, moderate, and severe), and actual physical violence (mild, minor, moderate, and severe). Emotional and psychological violence were not included in the instrument. Initially, female college students rated each of 49 items on nine dimensions of severity and gave each a score of 1 to 10 (scoring key not provided). Marshall calculated a mean severity score, which represented the overall severity of the act, by averaging five of the nine severity dimensions—aggressiveness, abusiveness, threat, violence, and seriousness.

Marshall established construct validity in a three-step process, using data from a collegiate sample ($N = 707$) first, and later with a sample of community women. In the initial study, Marshall conducted an exploratory factor analysis from the data generated by the college women and found that minor violence accounted for the most variance (57%), with the other eight factors accounting for an additional 24% of the variance. Four degrees of severity were included in the factor structure: mild (e.g., shook her), minor (e.g., scratched her), moderate (e.g., slapped her), and serious (e.g., punched her).

In the second part of instrument development, Marshall solicited community participants from a random listing and received usable data from 208 women. The format of the instrument was the same as it had been for the college women, but the community women rated each item only five times, instead of nine times, as the college women had done.

The Severity of Violence Against Women Scale (SVAWS) has been used in many studies since its publication in 1992; has been visible in research worldwide, including Norway, Sweden, and Mexico; and has been translated into Spanish. The SVAWS was used as the comparison measure in the validation of the Propensity for Abusiveness Scale, which was developed in 2001.

Criticisms

Despite its common use in research, the validation process for development of the SVAWS has been criticized for not being sufficiently rigorous. It has been argued that the SVAWS in its current form is

not the best choice for use in research because of faulty content and construct validation procedures.

During content validation, a panel of experts was not used to choose items for the scale, and items were not statistically screened to determine whether they were appropriate to use for factor analyses (construct validation phase). In addition, outside input was not sought for deciding in which category items belonged. For example, Marshall herself determined that a woman being shaken was mild violence, whereas being slapped was moderate violence. From start to finish, only 3 of the 49 original items were dropped. As a result, it is probable that some items on the scale may be inappropriate. Although Marshall stated that the university sample answered questions about the items in nine dimensions, only eight dimensions were provided in the published article, and no rationale was provided for how the dimensions were chosen or why the university and community samples did not answer the same questions about the items.

To establish the construct validity of the SVAWS, Marshall subjected the data to factor analyses, which is an accepted procedure for validation; however, it seems that she decided ahead of time to include a certain number of factors (nine) and provided weak rationale for not adhering to accepted protocol for keeping factors. One of the major functions of a factor analysis is to allow the researcher to eliminate weak items, but in this case, some apparently statistically inconsequential factors were retained, and readers were not provided with statistical evidence to support the unconventional method. Five of the nine factors identified by the author did not meet the accepted eigenvalues or screen test criteria for keeping factors. Instead of customary correlations, more than 1,000 *t*-tests (testing for differences between items) were performed for each factor analysis. Furthermore, the developer did not report making the required statistical adjustment to account for multiple comparisons (adjusted *p* value), which compromises the trustworthiness of the reported results.

Another problem stems from the author's report of reliability work performed on the SVAWS. In the first factor analysis, she reported plausible values for variance accounted for by each factor (the total cannot be more than 100%), but in the second factor analysis, the percentages added up to several hundred percent, which is impossible.

Whether it was a manuscript error not caught by reviewers or incorrect calculations has not been discerned.

Development of Severity of Violence Against Men Scale (SVAMS)

The SVAMS was developed to gauge the effects of women using physical violence against men. The scale contains identical items as for the women's scale. The validation process for the men's scale was similar to that for the women's scale. No instances were found in the literature of its use.

Patricia Paulsen Hughes

See also Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS/CTS2); Psychological/Emotional Abuse, Measurement of; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of; Victimization Surveys

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SEX AND VICTIMIZATION

It has been known for some time that a link exists between sex and victimization. That is, gender brings with it differential risks of victimization. It is less understood, however, why that relationship exists. Lifestyles, gender roles, and social constraints unique to the sexes are the leading explanations for why there is a difference in likelihood of victimization. Depending on the type of crime, one is significantly more likely or not to be victimized based solely on his or her sex.

Across a variety of sources of victimization data, it has been shown consistently that men are crime victims more often than women. For overall violent crime, robbery, total assaults, aggravated assaults, and simple assaults, males are more likely than women to be victimized. According to the 2006 Uniform Crime Reporting Program released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), men accounted for 79% of all homicide victims. As indicated in Figure 1, males have continuously experienced more violent victimizations than women in the United States. The noteworthy exceptions are rape and sexual assault, for which women are most often victimized.

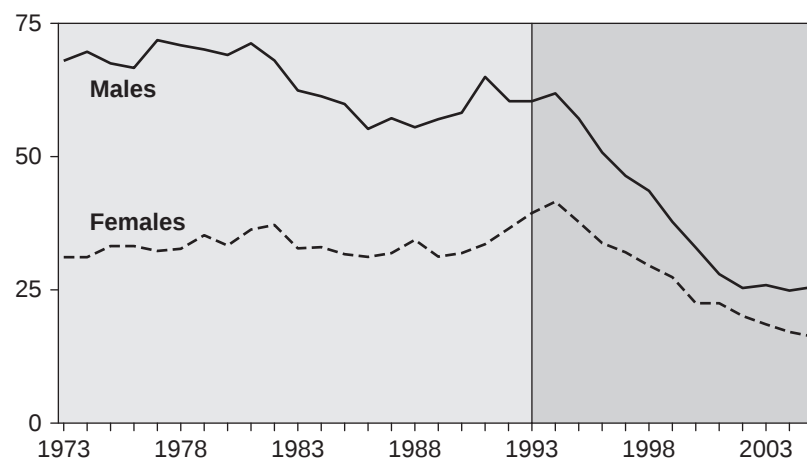


Figure 1 Violent crime rates by gender of victim (adjusted victimization rate per 1,000 persons age 12 years and older)

Source: Catalano, S. M. (2006, September). *Criminal victimization, 2005*. National Crime Victimization Survey. Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin (NCJ 214644). Retrieved from <http://ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/vage.htm>

Violent victimization against men declined between 1993 (the year of a change in survey methodology by the National Crime Victimization Survey [NCVS]) and 2005 by 57%, from a rate of 60 violent victimizations per 1,000 males to 26 violent victimizations (Figure 1). For women, the decline was slightly greater (58%) from 41 to 17 violent victimizations per 1,000 females (Figure 1). It should be noted that all figures from the NCVS are for persons ages 12 years and older; hence, certain crimes such as child abuse against those younger than 12 is not represented in the official statistics.

The 2005 iteration of the NCVS provides another example of gender differences in victimization: For violent victimization, women are most often victimized by nonstrangers (people they know), whereas men are most often victimized by strangers. Regardless of the type of violent victimization, this victim-offender relationship holds constant. For example, in examining all violent crimes, 64% of women were victimized by nonstrangers, whereas 54% of men were victimized by strangers. Delving deeper into the victim-offender relationship, 39% of the violent victimization of women by nonstrangers was perpetrated by friends or acquaintances, and 18% of violent victimizations were committed by intimate partners. For men, 36% of nonstranger victimizations were carried out by friends or acquaintances.

It has been argued that the NCVS underestimates rape in its annual victimization estimates. For that reason, other sources can be examined to understand more accurately the true extent of rape—namely the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS). It is difficult to compare estimates of the NCVS with the NVAWS because of differences in measurement and methodology. However, the NVAWS still provides valuable information on a range of victimizations. The survey's findings suggest that 17.6% of women and 3% of men in the sample experienced a completed rape during their lifetime. In the 12 months preceding the survey, 0.3% of women and 0.1% of men in the sample experienced a completed rape.

The NVAWS provides other important information pertaining to the issue of sex and victimization. Notably, women experienced more partner violence than men (25% vs. 8%). Additionally,

violence against women was usually committed by intimate partners, with 76% of physically victimized women (since the age of 18) being injured by a spouse, former spouse, domestic partner, or date. Women were more likely than men to be injured during an assault, with 32% of women and 16% of men who were raped (since the age of 18) being injured during their most recent rape. Finally, the NVAWS indicates that women were more likely than men to be the victims of stalking during their lifetimes (8% vs. 2%).

According to the NCVS, men and women respond differently to victimization as well. Females are more likely than males (54.6% vs. 42.4%) to report their violent victimizations to the authorities. Conversely, women are slightly less likely to report their property victimizations to the police than men (39.2% vs. 40.0%). The response to victimization, especially sexual victimization of women, has important implications for the risk of future victimization. It has been documented that being sexually or physically abused in childhood or adolescence is a good predictor of future victimization, especially for women who experienced both types of victimization.

It is clear that women and men are victimized at different rates depending on the type of crime. Also, consequences of and responses to that victimization depend on the crime for males and females. Explanations for gender differences in victimization vary and include routine activities, lifestyles, social constraints, and gender role differences between the sexes. Furthermore, feminist scholars have suggested that the sexual victimization of women is enabled by male dominance, societal attitudes, and a tolerance for such crimes.

Bradford W. Reyns

See also Age and Victimization; Correlates of Victimization; Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence, Same Sex; Femicide; Feminist Victimology; Intimate Partner Violence; Male Victims of Partner Violence; Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Rape; Women's Use of Aggression

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SEXUAL ASSAULT NURSE EXAMINER (SANE)

A Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) is a registered nurse who has undergone specialized training to identify injuries and to provide comprehensive care to victims of sexual assault. The registered nurse participates in criminal investigations by documenting evidence and/or testifying in court. Forensic nursing uses the nursing process to support legal concerns as it is the intersection between the medical field and the judicial system. Living forensics involves unrecognized or unidentified trauma and the recovery of evidence from live clients. Forensic nurses seek the truth by identifying, collecting, protecting, and documenting evidence. This process involves public health, as it also addresses biological and environmental threats to the health and safety of the community.

Victims and perpetrators are examined by nurses for treatment of injuries. The nurse is in the

ideal position to gather information and physical evidence, as the nurse is often the first point of contact in the health care arena. However, nurses must also be able to recognize injuries, because every injury, illness, or death can possibly have forensic implications. The identification of victims can assist in preventing additional injury or death from recurring cyclical violence.

Sexual assault is one of the most frequently committed crimes in the United States, and it is committed most frequently against women. Since 1992, the Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation (JCAHO) has required ambulatory facilities to have protocols for rape victims. Since 1997, JCAHO has recognized the need to have facilities develop and train health care staff to identify possible victims.

Education

A registered nurse can be educated as a SANE to identify sexual assault and injury more accurately and then to give comprehensive care to the victims. The SANE has additional education that includes a minimum of 40 hours of didactic instruction, observation with an advocacy program, courtroom observation, and forensic laboratory observation. This additional education gives the registered nurse a greater ability to identify trauma. While doing observations, the SANE also works with a preceptor to develop clinical skills. After completion of the above-mentioned training, the SANE is credentialed. When a SANE has practiced for 2 years, he or she has the opportunity to sit for certification in either the adult or pediatric arena. This certification is awarded through the International Association of Forensic Nurses (IAFN). The role of a SANE is to offer comprehensive care to the victim, and therefore, care includes a variety of patient needs, such as assessment, diagnosis, implementation, and evaluation. This role is defined by the IAFN.

Examination Process

The SANE is responsible for completing the entire sexual assault examination. After identifying a victim of sexual assault, an additional evaluation is initiated. Physical assault may include genital or nongenital trauma. Thus, care may begin with

medical care to protect the patient's airway, dress wounds, or suppress bleeding. Along with caring for acute medical problems and collecting significant health history information, this examination includes crisis intervention as the SANE considers the possibility of psychological trauma. Therefore, an advocate is recommended for counseling support for the possible chronic impact of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), rape trauma syndrome, and suicide risk.

To continue to offer the best care to the victim of sexual assault, the SANE needs to evaluate the risk for sexually transmitted infections and offer prophylactic treatment. Providing a resource for confidential/anonymous HIV testing is important. Pregnancy risk should be assessed. A resource for prevention of pregnancy medication should be provided if the patient has been examined within 72 hours of assault. Information on hepatitis B, referral for follow-up care, and vaccination should also be available.

Interviewing the patient is the best way for the SANE to begin the medical/forensic examination. The SANE listens to the patient's history of the assault, using this narrative history as a guide for the physical examination. The patient history is documented in the patient's own words. Therefore, it is documented in the record using the patient's terminology and vernacular, quoting the victim's own words.

A complete head-to-toe assessment is conducted with a focus on inspection to identify and then treat injuries. The SANE is looking for forensic evidence. This evidence is collected by swabbing, debris collection, or photo documentation. The evidence may also include the victim's clothing, at the least the clothing from the primary drainage site. The collection of evidence may vary from state to state; therefore, the National Protocol may be a guide. Evidence collected may include swabs from all orifices. Also, a swab from the victim's skin that may have body fluids from the perpetrator is collected. In addition, the SANE collects buccal (inside the mouth) swabs or blood to identify the victim's DNA. Furthermore, debris or foreign material from the victim or victim's clothing is collected. In addition, pubic and head hairs are collected. Fingernail scrapings may also be necessary if, according to the victim's history, harm was incurred on the perpetrator. Finally, blood and

urine may be collected from the victim for drug facilitated sexual assault. The pattern of injuries is documented through body diagrams and photos. All physical findings need to be documented objectively on appropriate forms.

The SANE also shines an alternative light source over the victim's body to look for body fluids that fluoresce. Swabs are then taken of these fluoresce areas, dried, sealed, and identified on the swab container. The identification includes where the swab was collected and what the body fluid stain may be.

All external injuries should have a minimum of two photos, one with a ruler and one without. Using a ruler documents the size of the injury, and a photo without a ruler documents that no cover-up of the injuries occurred. Genital injury photos should be documented with the amount of magnification used. Using objective medical descriptive terminology, the examiner describes the injury. It is helpful in documentation of genital injuries to use a clock face as a guide for location of injuries, with 12 o'clock always toward the victim's anterior superior genitalia.

Evidence Collection and the Criminal Justice System

Evidence collection is one of the main goals of a medical forensic examination. However, it needs to occur alongside preparing documentation and maintaining chain of custody. Each piece of evidence needs to be packaged separately in paper or cardboard sealed with evidence tape and identifying information. The chain of custody needs to be documented from the collection to all handling transfer and storage of evidence documented.

The SANE interacts with law enforcement either before or after the examination as they work together to offer the best care and investigation to the victim. A multidisciplinary approach to the care of a sexual assault victim is best and most comprehensive. The team includes law enforcement, prosecution, advocacy, SANE, and forensic laboratories. Because the SANE is an integral part of the investigation of the crime, they can be called to court to offer testimony as either a fact or an expert witness. This testimony covers the care given the victim, the evidence collected, and possibly the opinion of evidence found.

The ultimate goal is for all victims of sexual assault to be given a careful and consistent evaluation by well-educated examiners. To ensure this comprehensive care, the SANEs are active in educating health care and community agencies on the best care for these victims, that being, access to specially educated and clinically prepared SANEs and the multidisciplinary team of law enforcement, prosecution, advocacy, and forensic laboratories.

Carol Buschur

See also Rape; Sexual Assault Response Team (SART); Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Sexual Victimization

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SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE TEAM (SART)

Sexual assault is a public safety issue that greatly impacts society on multiple levels. By the mid-1970s, sexual assault response teams (SARTs) began to develop as a way to coordinate and enhance various systems of response, including medical treatment, criminal/judicial processes, and support services. For victims of sexual assault, barriers to the criminal justice system are

overwhelming in terms of poor police response, the dismal number of cases prosecuted, and the low percentage of sexual offenders being indicted and held accountable for their crimes. Research has demonstrated that most victims who reported to the police believed that rapists had more rights, thought the system was unfair, felt that victims' rights were not protected, and experienced revictimization. In efforts to treat and collect evidence from sexual assault survivors with more sensitivity and effectiveness, some communities have established SARTs.

SARTs increase the quality of care for survivors and reduce the secondary trauma survivors often experience as they navigate these related response systems. SARTs exist in many different forms and in many different contexts. Some SARTs respond together in the immediate care of the survivor at the time of the sexual assault forensic examination. The response of these SARTs is activated when a sexual assault victim comes into contact with the system of response, typically by seeking medical treatment or legal action. Other SARTs are composed of individuals who work independently but meet regularly to assess and evaluate the overall system of response, such as general policy and legislative review.

The benefits of SARTs extend beyond the direct victim. Community-based teams that include a Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) program benefit the health care system, in particular hospital emergency rooms. Although many physicians are reluctant to collect sexual assault forensic evidence because of the possibility of legal involvement, the existence of this type of SART program provides sexual assault victims with specialized medical treatment. It is also part of a SANE's training and responsibility to provide expert witness testimony, which greatly supports the roles of law enforcement officers and prosecutors. SARTs enable all those agencies responsible for prosecuting rape cases and holding perpetrators accountable to coordinate their efforts as they build the strongest case possible for prosecution. Campus-based SARTs began to increase soon after the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act was passed in 1990. This legislation, which was renamed the Clery Act, requires campuses to employ strategies to protect the rights of sexual assault victims. SARTs often serve as one such

strategy employed by college campuses to comply with this mandate and in meeting the needs of college students, who are at highest risk for sexual victimization.

Although SARTs differ based on the community they serve, certain common characteristics are shared by most teams. The National Sexual Violence Resource Center published the *Report on the National Needs Assessment of Sexual Assault Response Teams* in March 2006. The reported findings were compiled from survey responses from agencies that represent victim services, health care, law enforcement, statewide coalitions, military, higher education, prosecution, social services, and civil legal. According to the report, most SARTs have been in place for 3 or more years, with the largest percentage of teams having been in existence for 3 to 5 years. Of all responding teams, the “oldest” SART was created in 1974. Most SARTs do not have an administrator/coordinator and do not receive funding. Between 72% and 87% of the respondents reported that they have prosecution agencies, forensic examiners, law enforcement agencies, and support and/or advocacy agencies as core members of the multidisciplinary SART. In addition to the core agencies on their SART, respondents also indicated organizations with whom they currently collaborate and agencies with whom they would like to collaborate. SARTs were most likely to collaborate with hospitals and law enforcement agencies (80% and 78%) and were least likely to collaborate with Indian Health Services and tribal agencies, alternative medicine professionals, and chaplains (less than 10% each). SARTs are most interested in collaborating with faith-based organizations (31%), groups that support underserved populations (28%), and organizations focused on individuals with disabilities (26%). Additionally, SARTs were interested in collaborating with individuals such as legislators (25%) and judges (30%), who influence and enforce policies. SARTs have multiple tasks including quality assurance, participation in ongoing training, and the development of materials to support and guide their work as a team. In conducting their business, SARTs typically meet monthly or quarterly.

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See also Rape; Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE)

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Web Sites

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- Report on the National Needs Assessment of Sexual Assault Response Teams*, National Sexual Violence Resource Center: <http://www.nsvrc.org>
- Security on Campus, Inc: <http://www.securityoncampus.org>

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is a type of workplace discrimination that is prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and is therefore a violation of federal law. In general, sexual harassment includes hiring and management practices that discriminate against a worker based on the employee's sex, and it includes unwanted physical or verbal sexual attention from colleagues or supervisors. The act covers all employers with 15 or more employees, which include governmental agencies and labor organizations. Sexual harassment imposes an uncomfortable work environment on the recipients and

can affect worker productivity and morale, while creating legal risk exposure for employers. Extreme forms of sexual harassment include rape, sodomy, and aggravated assault, thereby encompassing criminal activity that has social impact beyond the workplace.

Definitions: Legal, Social, and Behavioral

In Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employers are prohibited from practicing discrimination against workers based on their sex, including refusal to hire or otherwise adversely affecting the employee's status. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) details the elements of sexual harassment and includes unwelcome sexual overtures or requests that hinder an employee's ability to work effectively. Sexual harassment occurs when acceptance of sexual conduct (either verbal, nonverbal, or physical) is made a condition for getting or keeping a job (either tacitly or directly), when employment decisions are based on one's rejection or acquiescence to such conduct, or when verbal or physical sexual acts create an offensive atmosphere of hostility or intimidation for the employee.

The offender and victim may be of either sex, and the offender need not be the opposite sex of the victim. Furthermore, the harasser does not have to be the victim's boss but can be a co-worker, a representative of the employer, or even a nonemployee. Conduct that ranges from unwelcomed sexually charged comments or jokes up to physical sexual contact and even assault may be considered sexual harassment. Certain types of sexual favoritism are also prohibited, and a workplace culture in which widespread favoritism is based on the granting of sexual favors would also be considered a hostile work environment. Employers are also prohibited from retaliating against workers who file claims of sexual harassment against them.

The EEOC recognizes two main categories of sexual harassment: *Quid pro quo* and harassment stemming from a *hostile work environment*. *Quid pro quo* sexual harassment was recognized by a federal district court in *Williams v. Saxbe*, 413 F. Supp. 654 (D.D.C. 1976), and refers to situations in which the employer demands acquiescence to unwanted sexual advances or otherwise sexually oriented physical or verbal conduct as a condition for obtaining or keeping some occupational benefit.

In *Saxbe*, the D.C. district court ruled that such actions constituted an "artificial barrier" to employment and were therefore discriminatory under Title VII. Thus, a supervisor who pressures an employee for sex in exchange for a favorable performance evaluation has committed *quid pro quo* harassment. It can also extend to other management decisions made about the employee if based on his or her submission to the conduct.

A hostile work environment is a workplace culture that is pervasive with repeated verbal and physical abuse of a sexual nature. The offensive workplace may be created by anyone in the place of business, including co-workers, students, or customers. This type of harassment was first recognized in the 1986 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*. In that case, the court ruled that in determining whether a workplace was hostile, one needed to consider the overall frequency, intensity, and pattern of harassment, and that one instance of the conduct would not support a charge of a hostile workplace. An investigation would need to discover a pervasive pattern of unwanted sexual imagery, jokes, comments, or other behaviors to determine whether the workplace was offensive.

Legal distinctions aside, other scholars have formulated and identified different elements, such as gender harassment, sexual seduction, sexual coercion, sexual imposition, and sexual assault, as various types of harassment that may be ordered into a continuum of progressively harassing behaviors. Gender harassment refers to the systemic degradation or abuse of a person based on his or her sex. An example of gender harassment might be disparaging comments about a woman's menstrual cycle or leaving women's underwear around a female employee's workstation. Sexual seduction (despite the romantic connotations of the word) refers here to unwanted sexual attention, such as repeated requests to date despite being made aware that the victim is not interested or repeated unwanted sexually based comments.

Sexual bribery/coercion include harassing behaviors that present a *quid pro quo* dilemma, as mentioned, in which the harasser inflicts a dilemma on the victim in which the victim must submit to unwanted sexual behaviors or acts or face negative workplace consequences. Sexual imposition would encompass overtly assaultive criminal acts. Scholars

who recognize these dimensions of sexual harassment maintain that any of them may range from minor to severe criminal harassment.

Other academic definitions of sexual harassment are closely tied to these from the EEOC, including unwelcome sexual attention (to include leering, teasing, jokes, or comments directed toward the victim's sexuality; unwelcome pressure for dates or sexual favors; fondling, touching, or pinching; and implied retribution for not cooperating with the harassment).

Social conceptions of sexual harassment related to the creation of hostile work environments and the quid pro quo sexual exchange pressures mentioned above also encompass the power differentials between the victim and harasser, or overt or covert hostility against one's gender; these differentials are reinforced by the implied or explicit threat of retaliation. Landmark court cases on sexual harassment documented cases of male employees hiding pornography in the female victim's toolbox, urinating in their water bottles, sustained requests for oral sex, threatening to cut off a woman's breast, forcibly holding a victim over a stairwell's 30-foot drop, and other intensive abuse and criminal activity.

Many scholars maintain that sexual harassment is based on the same continuum as other forms of sexual aggression, so harassment that includes criminal activities such as rape or assault are simply extensions of the same kinds of attitudes and personality as less severe forms of harassment.

Prevalence

It is difficult to track the true prevalence of sexual harassment because many women do not report it for a variety of reasons, which include the fear of retaliation or because they do not always recognize the offending behaviors as such. As one source points out, people tend to have differing ideas about what sexual harassment means. When looking at international data, the problem becomes exacerbated because there is no universal definition of sexual harassment.

In the United States, the EEOC reports that between 1997 and 2007, between 12,025 (2006) and 15,889 (1997) Title VII sexual harassment charges had been filed with the commission. In 2007, the EEOC received 12,510 charges, and investigation disclosed that in 5,273 (45.5%) cases,

the investigation did not garner sufficient evidence to believe that discrimination occurred. In all, 3,013 (30.3%) charges were considered to be merited and the remaining cases were categorized as "administrative closures," in which the case was closed because of reasons such as the charging party could not be located, rejected full relief measures, or withdrew the complaint. In the 1997 to 2007 time frame, more than 80% of the charges were filed by women, and the total annual relief payouts ranged from \$30.3 million (1998) to \$54.6 million (2000).

Academic studies into sexual harassment incidence have disclosed widely ranging results and have been hampered in some cases by sampling design or by varying definitions of what constituted sexual harassment. However, research indicates that more than half of surveyed women reported being subject to some form of potentially sexually harassing behavior at work, although only a quarter of them would label the conduct as "sexual harassment." This indicates that although women may feel subjected to harassing conditions, they may be reluctant to label the behaviors as such.

Nonacademic surveys also vary widely, reporting results of sexual harassment among women between 42% and 90%. Whatever sources one reviews for sexual harassment incidence, it is likely that the true prevalence will remain underreported.

Historical Perspectives

The concept of sexual harassment originated from 1970s feminist writings about the ongoing workplace sexual intimidation and coercion faced by women. Feminist scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) brought the attention of the university's administration to issues of gender inequality in the workplace, and MIT was among the first institutions to recognize the harmful effects of sexual discrimination in the workplace. A wave of 1970s academic feminists and authors popularized the foundational issues of sexual discrimination and violence against women, and they raised initial public consciousness about the challenges faced by women in the workplace and elsewhere in society.

The 1972 creation of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by the U.S. Congress provided a tool to enforce violations of the Title VII laws, including sexual harassment. Despite this

action, victims of sexual harassment were left with limited options. They could win back pay or reinstatement (if forced to leave) to the same hostile job environment, but could not win punitive damages from the employer. They were often compelled to continue working under the same offensive conditions. Also at that time, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 was passed, which outlawed sexual discrimination at academic institutions, both in the classroom as well as in athletics. In 1991, Congress amended the Civil Rights act to provide for pain and suffering damages for sexual harassment victims if they could demonstrate sufficient malice or indifference on the part of employers.

Also in 1991, Anita Hill's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee during the hearings on Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas did much to heighten awareness on the issue of sexual harassment. Hill, who is an Oklahoma law professor, accused Thomas of committing harassing behaviors when she worked for him years earlier at the EEOC. Among the accusations made by Hill were that Thomas harassed her with inappropriate sexual commentary and pornography after she refused to date him. Thomas denied the allegations and was eventually narrowly confirmed for the Supreme Court seat, but the dispute attracted intense media coverage and raised public awareness of the issue.

President William Clinton also faced allegations of sexual harassing behaviors during the 1990s, most notably involving White House intern Monica Lewinsky and, earlier, Arkansas state employee Paula Jones. These instances generated massive media coverage and eventually ended with wide-ranging political and cultural ramifications. Furthermore, the 1990s saw an increasing output of scholarly journal articles dealing with sexual harassment and academics, detailing studies and reviews of the problem as faced by female faculty members by colleagues and students alike. Finally, a 1999 International Association of Chiefs of Police study states that between 68% and 86% of female officers report having been subjected to sexually harassing behaviors. It may be fair to state that the 1990s decade clearly demonstrated that sexual harassment is not limited to trade occupations but is observed in other professions and jobs as well.

It is important to remember that although most sexual harassment allegations are made by women, men can also be victimized, and by other men. In the case of *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* (1998), a male oil-rig worker named Joseph Oncale claimed that he was sexually assaulted and threatened with rape by his male co-workers while working on a rig platform in the Gulf of Mexico. Oncale alleged that he was subject to ongoing sexual commentary and that the physical assaults included having a bar of soap shoved between his buttocks. Although Oncale complained, the company attempted to downplay the activity as hazing or male-on-male horseplay, but the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that same-sex harassment is actionable (even if sexual gratification by the harassers is not evident).

Policy Implications: Prevention and Response

Sexual harassment claims filed against employers can be costly, and the resulting media coverage or word-of-mouth anecdotes can damage the reputation of a company or agency when harassing environments are allowed to continue. Furthermore, sexual harassment can result in employee turnover, poor morale, and lost productivity. Therefore, employers from the U.S. military to universities to multinational corporations to small businesses have enacted sexual harassment guidelines, policies, and training to prevent and respond to workplace discrimination. Moreover, the EEOC requires that employers take reasonable actions to prevent sexual harassment.

Because Title VII does not forbid all sexual content in the workplace, the EEOC advises that policies should focus on the definition as set forth in its own guidelines, specifically the quid pro quo and the hostile environment categories. Understanding the nature of the harassment can also determine the amount of employer liability.

In investigating cases of sexual harassment, the EEOC recommends that both the charging party and the accused are questioned carefully to determine whether the behavior occurred, whether it was unwelcome, and whether there is a sexual aspect to it as defined by the commission. In determining credibility, the investigator should check internal consistency of the employees' statements, corroborating facts and circumstances, as well as

all other evidence. The victim's statement alone may be enough to sustain a charge, in light of all other factors.

In determining whether a workplace is considered to be "hostile," the investigator considers whether the charged behaviors establish a sustained, pervasive, frequent set of behaviors. Also considered is whether more than one person is often subjected to the behaviors. The degree of intimidation is important in making this determination, because occasional flirtations or vulgarities are probably not enough to rise to the level of a hostile workplace. Although infrequent verbal offensiveness may not be considered sexual harassment, the EEOC does advise that one-time fondling or intimate touching would certainly be.

Courts have offered conflicted rulings on issues of overall language, actions, and environment ("girlie" magazines or posters, habitual rough language that is used as a general means of speaking), and individual cases are weighed against the "reasonable person" standard. This means that one would examine the behaviors in light of how a reasonable individual might view them: For example, a charge that complained that a male employee held a door open for a female employee would most likely fail under this standard. The EEOC also recommends that employers have some sort of internal grievance procedures to allow the employee a format to pursue his or her claim and to establish an environment of effective redress before going to court.

Because sexual harassment complaints can demand a great deal of time and effort to investigate, employee policies may warn against filing frivolous, malicious, or hypersensitive charges.

Other experts point out that a key element to preventing sexual harassment is to distribute a statement of employer policy, in which a high-ranking official explicitly prohibits the conduct. Employer policies are advised to define the conduct carefully along EEOC guidelines and to emphasize the aspect of the law that expressly forbids retaliation against grieving employees. Workplaces generally also include disciplinary actions, including termination, which may be taken against employees who are found to have committed sexual harassment. The investigation and reporting procedures should be clear, with several reporting agents available (to prevent the conflict of the sole person

in charge of receiving complaints also being the one who might be charged). The investigation procedure should allow for a neutral, systematic gathering of facts that allow the charged persons as well as the plaintiff the opportunity to respond to all relevant questions. These sources add that timeliness of reporting standards be part of the policy, to prevent old incidents from being dredged up for the first time in a complaint. Old complaints make it more difficult for the company to address the issue, and more difficult to investigate. The final decision should be based on the totality of facts and circumstances gathered in the case and not solely on one particular point.

However employers enact their policies, policies are advised to be crafted in accordance with EEOC guidelines and to be well disseminated so that all employees have access to them and that victims are encouraged to report illegal activities. Although the confidentiality of witnesses or complainants may be assured to the extent that is allowed, it is possible that it may be later breached. This is particularly so in forcible, assaultive, or otherwise criminal conduct that is reported to law enforcement and becomes merged into the criminal justice system.

Sexual harassment can be a controversial issue for many reasons, whether it is because ongoing, intensely abusive environments that include criminal actions may have been allowed to victimize workers, or because frivolous or false claims can have dire consequences against those who are wrongly accused.

Human interaction is always an unpredictable milieu and is subject to emotions and differing personalities, and the sexual harassment laws and policies may not always be easy to apply or enact. However, the same can be said of any set of laws that seek to govern human behavior. Because sexual harassment includes criminal conduct, it is properly regarded as part of the spectrum of aggression, violence, and crime, and it is not just a workplace problem.

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See also Sex and Victimization; Sexual Harassment, Measurement of; Sexual Victimization; Shadow of Sexual Assault Hypothesis; Small Businesses, Victimization Against and Within; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression; Workplace Violence and Bullying, Interventions for

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SEXUAL HARASSMENT, MEASUREMENT OF

Recent accounts of sexual harassment have been widely publicized, with both the accused and the accusers receiving much scrutiny. What is interesting, however, is that before the 1960s, sexual harassment per se did not exist. This is not to say that people were not experiencing unwelcome sexual attention at their place of employment or at school; it simply did not have a formal label.

The first step, then, that occurred in labeling sexual harassment came through workplace law and the courts. This entry defines both workplace and school-based sexual harassment and discusses the measures of each.

Defining Workplace Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment in the workplace is a form of sex discrimination that is prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Applying to employers who have 15 or more employees, the federal government, employment agencies, and labor organizations, it protects employees from sexual harassment. According to federal law (CFR 1604.11), the definition of sexual harassment is

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Within this definition of sexual harassment are two specific types—quid pro quo and hostile environment. Parts 1 and 2 of the definition represent quid pro quo harassment. This type of sexual harassment occurs when employment decisions are based on an individual's response to sexually harassing behaviors. Hostile environment sexual harassment, which is described in part 3 of the definition, is conduct that negatively impacts work performance or creates a hostile working environment. Although two types, both quid pro quo and hostile environment harassment, can occur together—for example, a person does not wish to engage in sexual conduct with her boss and after rejecting such conduct, her work environment becomes increasingly hostile with veiled threats of firing for noncompliance.

Measures of Workplace Sexual Harassment

One avenue of redress that victims of workplace sexual harassment have is to report their experience to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Importantly, much like other types of sexual victimization such as rape and sexual assault, victims seldom formally report their sexual harassment. Because formal reporting sources are likely underestimating the amount of sexual harassment that occurs, other attempts at uncovering the true extent of sexual harassment have been taken. As early as 1980, sexual harassment was defined and classified into several different types of behaviors that included gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, sexual coercion, and sexual imposition or assault.

To measure sexual harassment, the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) was developed in 1988 by Louise Fitzgerald and her colleagues. Designed to measure the five classes of sexual harassment identified by Frank Till via multiple items for each class, the SEQ uses behaviorally specific questions that ask whether a person has experienced certain behaviors at work without including the term *sexual harassment* in the question. One question included in the SEQ is "Have you ever been in a situation where you actually experience negative consequences for refusing to engage in sexual activity with a co-worker?"

The SEQ has been widely used in a variety of settings, but it should be noted that the original questionnaire has been revised numerous times. Although the original version had five factors, more recent versions used by the original authors are based on a three-factor model—sexual coercion, gender harassment, and unwanted sexual attention.

Other measures have been designed to tap into behaviors identified by the EEOC that have been developed. In fact, the Inventory of Sexual Harassment was designed by James Gruber to reflect the guidelines of the EEOC. The Inventory of Sexual Harassment covers three general categories of sexual harassment: verbal requests, sexual remarks/comments, and nonverbal displays.

The U.S. federal government has also taken on itself to measure the extent of sexual harassment among federal workers. To do so, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board has conducted multiple

surveys, beginning in 1980 and then again in 1987 and 1994, that included more than 13,000 respondents. To determine incidence, respondents were asked whether they had experienced any of seven types of uninvited sexual attention during the previous 24 months.

Defining School-Based Sexual Harassment

Not only is sexual harassment prohibited in the workplace, it is also disallowed in school settings. Under Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments, sex discrimination is prohibited in educational programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance or in institutions where students receive federal financial aid. Enforced by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) housed in the Department of Education, the definition employed by this office includes peer-to-peer sexual harassment. It defines sexual harassment as

Unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature. Sexual harassment can include unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal, nonverbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Sexual harassment of a student can deny or limit, on the basis of sex, the student's ability to participate in or to receive benefits, services, or opportunities in the school's program. (p. 2)

Sexual harassment, which is a form of sex discrimination, comes in two forms. Quid pro quo harassment involves unwanted sexual harassment and/or advances that involve the promise of benefit. Such harassment may involve a request by a teacher to a student in exchange for grades. According to Catherine Hill and Elena Silva, hostile environment harassment, which is the second type of sexual harassment, occurs when harassing sexual conduct is so "severe, persistent, or pervasive that it limits a student's ability to participate in or benefit from educational activities" (p. 7). Schools and universities can be held liable under Title IX for student-to-student and teacher-to-student sexual harassment. The OCR receives about 5,000 complaints a year, 10% of which are regarding sex discrimination. Most of these complaints deal with sexual harassment and refer to

incidents occurring to individuals in grade school (K–12), with slightly less than half coming from students in college. The courts have ruled that colleges, universities, and K–12 schools can be liable for the sexually harassment of students under Title IX.

Measurement of School-Based Sexual Harassment

Measuring school-based sexual harassment is somewhat different than the ways in which sexual harassment at work is measured. Students are generally asked whether they have experienced a range of behaviors at the hands of students, teachers, or other employees of the school. The most comprehensive study of school-based sexual harassment was undertaken by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) in 1993. Using behaviorally based questions, students were asked, “During your whole school life, how often, if at all, has anyone (this includes students, teachers, other school employees, or anyone else) done the following things to you when you did not want them to?” A list of 14 items was then provided, which included, among other things, made sexual comments, spied on you, flashed you, pulled clothing down, and forced you to do something sexual.

The AAUW also conducted a study of sexual harassment on college campuses. According to Hill and Silva, sexual harassment was defined in the survey, as “unwanted and unwelcome behavior which interferes with your life. Sexual harassment is not behaviors that you like or want (for example wanted kissing, touching, or flirting)” (p. 6). Later in the survey, a list of 15 behaviors was given, and respondents indicated whether they had personally experienced them in different school contexts. The list of behaviors ranged from having sexual comments made to being forced to do something sexual, other than kissing. About 60% of college students reported experiencing sexual harassment, with receiving sexual comments, looks, or gestures, as being the most common behavior experienced. Most sexual harassing incidents were noncontact forms of harassment.

This recent measurement tool is instructive in that its approach improves on some limitations of

earlier work. It used behaviorally specific questions, prompted respondents to think of behavior that is unwanted and unwelcome, included both illegal behaviors and behaviors that may be negative but not necessarily illegal, and instructed students to consider behaviors during class and other college-related events, such as school-sponsored activities. Also important, it includes computer-based and online behaviors that, until recently, were not included in measurement tools.

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See also Bullying; Sexual Harassment; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression

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Web Sites

CFR 1604.11: <http://www.gpoaccess.gov>

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES AND SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION

Sexually transmitted diseases are infections often transmitted by sexual contact between individuals. Sexually transmitted diseases most often are transmitted via vaginal intercourse (penetration of the vagina by the penis), anal intercourse (penetration of the anus by the penis), and oral sex (oral-genital contact). Sexually transmitted diseases can be transmitted by other means, however, including nonsexual means (e.g., during childbirth or through needle sharing). Other potential modes of transmission include kissing, rubbing of the genitals, and touching of the mouth or genitals. Sexually transmitted diseases include bacterial infections such as gonorrhea, chlamydia, and syphilis; viral infections such as human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), hepatitis B, and human papillomavirus; and trichomoniasis, which is caused by a single-celled protozoa. The consequences of untreated sexually transmitted diseases vary by infection type but can include pelvic inflammatory disease, infertility, cervical cancer, increased vulnerability to HIV transmission, and even death.

Sexually transmitted diseases associated with sexual victimization can occur among male and female victims, including children, adolescents, and adults. Sexual victimization most often includes sexual activity obtained by force, threat, or that occurred when an individual was not capable of consenting. The latter can include sexual activity with a child, an individual with limited mental capacity, or an individual who was unconscious or impaired as a result of ingestion of substances. The full spectrum of sexually transmitted diseases has been documented after sexual victimization, including hepatitis B and HIV.

Prevalence of Sexually Transmitted Diseases After Sexual Victimization

Several factors affect the likelihood that an individual who experiences sexual victimization will acquire a sexually transmitted disease. These factors include the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases in the community, whether a male assailant uses a condom, the number of assaults, the number of assailants involved, the type of sexual acts performed, whether the victim experiences a genital or anal injury, and whether a male assailant ejaculates. Reducing victims' risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease, most victims do not experience a genital or anal injury during a sexual assault, and sexual dysfunction is not uncommon among male assailants. Among prepubertal victims, penetration, particularly of the anus or vagina, less frequently occurs, which reduces the likelihood that a prepubertal victim will develop a sexually transmitted disease.

It is impossible to estimate the true prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases after sexual victimization for several reasons. First, only a fraction of victims seek medical care after sexual victimization. In addition, even if an individual tests positive for a sexually transmitted disease, it is often impossible to state definitely that an infection was a result of the victimization, given that many victims are sexually active and most assailants are not tested for sexually transmitted diseases. Among victims who do seek medical care and who are tested for sexually transmitted diseases, most victims do not attend follow-up visits, which are necessary to ascertain whether the victim has developed a sexually transmitted disease as a result of the assault during the intervening weeks. Even among young children, for some sexually transmitted diseases, it is possible that the infection was acquired by other means, such as via vertical transmission (transmission from the mother to child).

The rates of positive sexually transmitted disease tests among individuals who have experienced sexual victimization have primarily been evaluated in female victims who report to a hospital or medical facility, generally in the immediate aftermath of a sexual victimization that involved oral, vaginal, or anal intercourse. Not surprisingly, given the many factors affecting the likelihood that a victim will develop a sexually transmitted disease

as well as differences in the sexually transmitted disease testing conducted, rates of sexually transmitted diseases found among victims have varied. Sexually transmitted disease rates among women and adolescents from developed countries who have experienced sexual victimization have ranged from 8% to 26%, with the most commonly diagnosed sexually transmitted diseases being gonorrhea, chlamydia, and trichomoniasis. In addition, it is estimated that in the United States, the risk of syphilis infection among female adolescent and adult victims is approximately 3%, and the risk of HIV infection is less than 1%. Sexually transmitted diseases have been documented in adolescent and adult male victims of sexual assault as well, but prevalence studies have not been conducted for this population. A few studies have examined sexually transmitted diseases among primarily female children and adolescents from developed countries suspected of having experienced sexual abuse. The rates of sexually transmitted diseases among prepubertal children suspected of experiencing sexual abuse have ranged from 1% to 3%, and among postpubertal adolescents the rates have ranged from 5% to 15%.

Treatment of Sexually Transmitted Diseases Among Victims

Given the risk that an adolescent or adult seeking medical care after a sexual victimization will test positive for a sexually transmitted disease as well as the low rates of follow-up care, it is advisable to offer all victims sexually transmitted disease testing and prophylaxis. This prophylaxis involves treatment with antibiotics and antimicrobials, and it targets gonorrhea, incubating syphilis, chlamydia, trichomoniasis, and gastrointestinal parasites. If an individual has not previously been vaccinated for hepatitis B, vaccination is also recommended (although this requires attendance at two follow-up visits). However, less than two thirds of emergency rooms report routinely screening for sexually transmitted diseases among victims, and 30% of victims seeking care at an emergency room were not offered sexually transmitted disease prophylaxis. Studies evaluating HIV prophylaxis after sexual assault have found low rates of completion of this regimen (generally around 10% to 15%), primarily

because of the side effects of the treatment. Thus, it has been recommended that HIV prophylaxis only be offered to those deemed to be at high risk of HIV transmission, such as those assaulted by HIV-positive assailants or injection drug users.

Heather Littleton

See also Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Physical Health Consequences of Victimization; Rape; Sexual Assault Response Team (SART)

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SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND VICTIMIZATION

A strong positive correlation exists between sexual orientation and the risk, frequency, and intensity of criminal victimization, especially violent offenses. Social scientists have determined that one's sexual orientation independently increases the odds of victimization through multivariate analysis using logistic regression. A range of constitutional (age, race, and gender), social (rurality, socioeconomic status, education, and marital status), and situational factors specific to the victimization event (activity such as work, school or shopping, alone or with others, and time of day) has been studied. When all factors are held constant, being gay, lesbian, or bisexual significantly increases the likelihood of being a victim of a violent crime. The extent of victimization is unknown because of underreporting of criminal events,

attributable to the exclusion of the gay and lesbian community, generally, as well as actual and perceived homophobia within law enforcement, the noncriminalization of some events, and the desire of a percentage of victims to keep their sexual orientation confidential. Accordingly, estimates that homosexuals are twice as likely as heterosexuals to be a victim of a violent offense such as assault, sexual assault, and robbery, are likely conservative. In addition to experiencing higher levels of violent victimization than others, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals also experience higher spousal abuse, which is also thought to be underreported.

The lifestyle and personal predictors of victimization, such as frequency of evening activities, urban residence, young age, and single marital status, are more common among gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Sexual orientation is pronouncedly problematic in the context of prison rape, so much so that the U.S. Congress authorized the National Prison Rape Elimination Act and formed a Commission to effect reform. Although the prison rape act is a notable exception, the United States has not been as progressive as other advanced nations in addressing victimization of homosexuals as a special population.

Prevalence

Violent and Property Victimization

Only recently have public data sources begun to collect sexual orientation victimization statistics. For example, the General Social Survey did not include sexual orientation questions until 2004. The available data, however, suggest that gays, lesbians, and bisexuals exhibit consistently higher violent victimization rates than do heterosexuals, even when controlling for standard risk factors such as marital status, age, place of residence, and frequency of nighttime activities. Specifically, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals are more likely to be robbed or physically and/or sexually assaulted. Bisexuals experience heightened risks of victimization compared with their gay and lesbian counterparts.

Same-Sex Domestic Abuse

Domestic abuse in the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community is a dark figure (unreported crime), principally because most state codes do not account for

the possibility of same-sex domestic partners. As a consequence, domestic violence among same-sex partners may be uncoded and unrecorded. However, survey research suggests that same-sex domestic abuse is at least as prevalent in same-sex couples as heterosexual couples. Homosexual men, for example, are just as likely as homosexual women to experience domestic violence. Approximately one in five homosexual males will be involved in a physically abusive relationship at some point during their lives.

The extent of same-sex domestic abuse may be heightened because of ignorance, both public and personal. Because same-sex domestic abuse may not be deemed official domestic violence, police may be less likely to take protective action. Moreover, same-sex partners may be less educated about domestic violence and even unaware that they can be victims of domestic violence.

Bullying

The extent of homophobic bullying is unknown. Because public schools typically do not allow students to be questioned regarding sexual orientation, research correlating sexual orientation and bullying faces considerable obstacles. The few available estimates of homophobic bullying indicate that gays, lesbians, and homosexuals are far more likely to be bullied at school than their heterosexual counterparts. Victims of homosexual bullying are more likely to contemplate and attempt suicide. Unlike officially protected groups, such as racial and/or ethnic minorities, victims of homophobic bullying are unusually isolated because they often lack official protections. Many school jurisdictions fail to include specific prohibitions against homophobic bullying. Moreover, school personnel may be ignorant of the extent of homophobic bullying. As a consequence, bullied gays, lesbians, and bisexuals may have few outlets for help.

Prison Rape

Nearly one quarter of prison inmates are victims of rape. Same-sex sexual orientation is a risk factor in sexual predation in prison. Male rape victims are frequently branded as homosexual and subjected to even more predation. By being trapped in a coercive environment, prisoners are often threatened into feigning consent, which may lead to an underestimation of the true prevalence of prison rape.

Consequences

The consequences of sexual orientation-based crimes are multifaceted and manifest in immediate, temporary, and lasting forms. Although these outcomes are dichotomized below as physical and psychological, the effects of physical and mental health injuries are often interrelated (e.g., depression that results from injuries or health issues, such as considerable weight gain/loss and sleep deprivation stemming from anxiety). Victimization attributable to sexual orientation also renders additional social and quality-of-life consequences less pronounced than visible physical harm that, ostensibly, enhances the likelihood and/or duration of psychological effects. Gay and lesbian students, for example, may avoid abusive school settings to avoid homophobic bullying environments, thus risking designation as truant (i.e., delinquent) and, at the least, worsening their educational attainment.

Physical and Psychological Consequences

Victimization of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals involves more than the standard physical harms that accompany an assault. Psychological symptoms include fear, shock, depression, sleeping problems, anxiety, social withdrawal, anger management, helplessness, shame, and even suicide. Victims may exhibit posttraumatic stress disorder and experience lifelong social maladjustment.

Advocacy and Public Policy

Legislation

After celebrated cases such as Matthew Shepard, many states have implemented hate crime legislation, which officially recognizes sexual orientation as a protected category. Consequently, victimization based on sexual orientation subjects an offender to additional legal sanctions. Moreover, many school districts have endorsed special rules to protect students from being bullied based on sexual orientation.

In recognition of the prevalence of prison rape, the federal government has sought to curb prison rape via the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 and the creation of the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission.

Nevertheless, because of ambivalence and/or hostility to gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, states and schools have been slow to protect sexual orientation victims. Legislators may fear appearing to be soft on gays or condoning an alternative lifestyle. Similarly, school administrators may fear condoning same-sex sexual orientations by providing official protection. Because of shame or embarrassment, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals may be afraid to identify themselves. As a result, America's formal system of social control systematically underserves sexual orientation victims.

Prevention and Intervention

Increased recognition of sexual orientation victimization has led to programming initiatives. The South Carolina Equality Coalition, for example, has provided sensitivity training to police and school resource officers aimed at educating police about the scope and nature of sexual orientation victimization. Many such activities are privately funded; public funding for such purposes is relatively rare.

Largely based on political reasons, the criminal justice and school systems remain resistant to intervention efforts. Because of formal constraints, for example, juveniles are not asked about their sexual orientation at school, effectively rendering problematic populations invisible. Moreover, public officials may be disinclined to use public funds to fund initiatives favoring gays, lesbians, and bisexuals.

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See also Bullying; Domestic Violence, Same Sex; Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered Individuals, Victimization of; Hate and Bias Crime; Hate and Bias Crime, Statutory Response; Rape, Prison

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SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION

Aside from rape, sexual victimization takes many forms, including experiences that involve physical and nonphysical contact. Examples of physical (non-rape) contact include unwanted sexual touching (fondling or groping), whereas types of nonphysical contact victimization include sexual harassment and stalking. All forms of sexual victimization entail experiences that are perceived as unwanted and harmful. Experiences of sexual victimization may or may not be defined as crimes, or as otherwise actionable events in different organizational settings. In general, the range of incidents defined as sexually victimizing has expanded over time, which reflects the increased cultural influence of feminism and the clinical influence of traumatology.

In 2006, according to the U.S. Department of Justice, the national rate of nonrape sexual assault victimization (including threats) among females age 12 and older was 0.5% per 1,000 (68,620 reported cases; rates for men were statistically negligible). Social scientists agree that rates reported to legal authorities grossly underestimate those reported in anonymous survey-based research. Such discrepancies in reported and unreported rates have been demonstrated in studies of college students, who are the most frequently studied population of sexual victims.

Risk Factors

The most important risk factor for heterosexual sexual victimization is gender: Women are significantly more likely to be victimized sexually than are men (less is known about sexual victimization among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

populations). Among women, those at highest risk are college aged. Among female college students, alcohol consumption and membership in sororities are established risk factors. Recent research shows that “hooking up” (single sexual encounters with no expectation of future relational commitment, which have largely replaced monogamous dating) is another significant risk factor for sexual victimization.

Although college and university life is usually perceived as safe, studies of both national samples and individual campuses consistently reveal sexual victimization rates (including rape and nonrape incidents) between 20% and 25% for women. Similar rates of serious disease outbreaks or other types of criminal victimization would likely lead to public outcry and concerted efforts at primary prevention, and so it is important to consider why sexual victimization has not led to such responses (although some recent efforts at primary prevention have shown promise). The most important factor in maintaining sexual victimization, both on campus and in the general population, is the continued hegemony of male socioeconomic power and heterosexism.

Consequences

Rape is rarely reported to legal or organizational authorities, and instances of nonrape sexual victimization are even less likely to be reported. Many such cases occur in private situations, in which perpetrator and victim are the only witnesses. Even in those cases in which victimization occurs in public (e.g., at a bar or a party), the perpetrator, victim, and potential witnesses are often sufficiently intoxicated that the reliability of their reports after the fact may be called into question. Indeed, many cases of sexual victimization that involve inebriation are never adjudicated because prosecutors cannot achieve convictions when the victim’s testimony will be challenged on this basis. Thus, sexual assault perpetrators may use alcohol and other sedating drugs on victims not only to facilitate the assault but also to hinder prosecution.

Psychological/Social

Reported or not, sexual victimization often causes significant, harmful psychological and

social consequences. Some preliminary evidence indicates that even seemingly innocuous incidents, such as unwanted sexual touching, may be related to subsyndromal levels of psychological symptoms (increasing attention is being paid to subsyndromal symptoms—symptoms the frequencies or intensities of which do not meet criteria for formal diagnosis but are nonetheless significantly disabling). Among the most frequent psychological consequences associated with sexual victimization are stress-related reactions that include acute stress disorder, posttraumatic stress disorder, and other commonly co-morbid conditions, such as anxiety (e.g., generalized anxiety disorder) and mood disorders (e.g., major depression). Difficulties with social and occupational adjustment are also likely to accompany sexual victimization.

Treatment and Prevention

Treatment for the psychological consequences of sexual victimization assumes that survivors avail themselves of therapy, but most survivors probably do not. In some cases that do receive clinical attention, cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) is the current treatment of choice. CBT is usually focused on repeated imaginal exposure to stressful/traumatic memories, in an effort to reduce the aversive emotional reactions associated with such memories. Although research clearly demonstrates the clinical efficacy of CBT, patients usually experience diminished symptoms, not cures. The lack of clinical cures underscores the importance of efforts at primary prevention. Some recent programs that use men to teach other men not to abuse women sexually have shown promise, but much more effort is needed to change individual perpetrators as well as the sexist social cultures that produce, encourage, and protect them. The rates of sexual victimization are unlikely to diminish until truly equitable relationships are established between women and men.

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See also Rape; Rape and Consent Issues; Rape and Sexual Victimization, Measurement of; Rape Trauma Syndrome; Sex and Victimization; Sexual Harassment; Sexual Harassment, Measurement of; Sexual Orientation and Victimization

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SHADOW OF SEXUAL ASSAULT HYPOTHESIS

The shadow of sexual assault hypothesis is a supposition used to explain women's fear of crime. Women's fear of crime is disproportionate compared with their actual rates of victimization. The shadow of sexual assault hypothesis asserts that the higher levels of fear among women may be because of their fear of rape or sexual assault. For women, any victimization may involve the risk of sexual assault, and women may then associate all types of victimization with sexual assault. Hence, a woman's fear of sexual assault influences her fear of all other offenses. This notion is important to the fields of victimology and crime prevention, as it provides some idea of how women view their potential for victimization and perhaps can provide some ideas on how to address the fear of victimization among women. Additionally, examining fear among women may also reveal information relating to precautions women take in order to prevent victimization. This entry describes the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis in more depth covering what led to the development of the hypothesis, research concerning the hypothesis,

and implications for addressing fear of crime among women.

Development

In relation to fear of victimization, females are generally more likely than males to fear victimization. Yet victimization rates for most crimes are typically lower among women than among men. The contradiction between actual victimization rates and levels of fear among women is somewhat of a paradox. To offer some explanation, a range of academic research on fear of crime has concentrated on female fear. One explored topic is the relationship between the actual rates of rape or sexual assault victimization of women compared with their fear of rape or sexual assault or other crimes. As female victimization rates of rape or sexual assault are significantly higher than victimization rates of men, this fear may perhaps be considered justified. In fact, the National Crime Victimization Survey consistently shows significantly higher rates of rape or sexual assault victimization among women than men. And the National Violence Against Women Survey found that lifetime rates of rape or sexual assault victimization were about 18% for women compared with only 3% for men. Women are also significantly more likely than males to report higher fear of sexual assault. And, more specifically, women are more likely to fear sexual assault by a stranger than an acquaintance, even though they are more likely to be sexually assaulted by an acquaintance. Furthermore, younger women express a greater fear of sexual assault than older women, and younger women are at an elevated risk of sexual assault, especially among college-aged women. Based on the inconsistent level of fear among women compared with their victimization in most crimes other than rape, some arguments regarding women's elevated levels of fear began to concentrate specifically on the fear of rape or sexual assault and its relation to other victimization fears.

Feminists argue that the threat of rape functions as a type of social control of women as it can affect their daily routines. Furthermore, they contend that women view their safety in terms of both sexual and physical ways, whereas men think of their safety as physical only. As a result of this

perception of safety and women's fear of victimization, women incorporate defensive tactics into their lives. In particular, women may incorporate self-protective measures specific to their fear of rape. Furthermore, it is possible that any victimization of women may involve the chance of sexual assault. Women may view the threat of victimization in this manner. Mark Warr considers these "perceptually contemporaneous offenses" or offenses that people may associate with another type of victimization. It is proposed that rape would qualify as one of these offenses to most, but in a particularly unique way, it is associated with the victimization of women. That is, women may associate some minor crimes, like burglary, with more serious crimes, like rape. Overall, the fear of rape may contribute to the fear of other offenses.

Based on this and various other feminist discussions of fear of victimization, Kenneth Ferraro developed the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis. This hypothesis asserts that sexual assault "shadows" other kinds of victimization among women. Women are more afraid of all types of crimes, but this hypothesis proposes that this fear is mainly based on their fear of sexual assault. For women, any victimization may also involve sexual assault, and this notion may lead to elevated fear for all other offenses. Overall, the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis contends that fear of rape or sexual assault affects other victimization fears.

Research

Since the development of the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis, research has been conducted to test its claim. If the shadow hypothesis is true, that is, fear of rape influences other victimization fears, then theoretically the fear of rape should correlate with other types of fear. To test this, both gender (if not a female only sample) and fear of rape are considered independent. In fact, strong correlations between women's fear of rape and other victimizations have been found. Specifically, a strong association exists between fear of rape and fear of victimizations that involve face-to-face contact. Furthermore, when one uses the fear of sexual assault as a predictor of nonsexual victimization, the explained variance in fear of other crimes significantly increases; in some cases, the effect of

gender actually disappears. If the gender effect remains significant with fear of rape taken into account, the relationship sometimes reverses; to be exact, women exhibit less fear than men. When controlling for the variable(s) used to measure fear of rape, this variable is generally shown to be the strongest predictor of all other types of fears. Interestingly, these effects emerge more so when predicting fear of personal crime. That is, the shadow effect seems stronger concerning fear of personal crimes, such as murder or physical assault. In addition to examining fear of nonsexual victimization, some have also analyzed women's fear of sexual assault, and the perceived risk of victimization is found to be the most important predictor. Researchers have also begun to examine the college population, as empirical evidence has shown that for women, the college years may be a period of elevated risk of rape and sexual assault; hence, the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis may work as an explanation of college women's fear of other crimes. Like other samples, college women are significantly more fearful of crime than college men, and the shadow hypothesis seems to also be supported among college samples. More recently, temporal differences have also been considered in the fear of crime research area comparing fear during the day versus fear during the night, and whether the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis predicts either fear better than the other. It turns out that fear of sexual assault is a significant predictor of fear of other crimes both during the day and night. Furthermore, research has questioned whether a distinction could be made between the fear of stranger-perpetrated versus acquaintance-perpetrated sexual assault, namely, whether one would predict other fears more accurately than the other. It has been determined the fear of stranger-perpetrated sexual assault is most related to women's other crime fears. In particular, the fear of stranger-perpetrated sexual assault is more highly associated with other stranger-perpetrated crimes. Generally, it is argued that empirical support exists for the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis both within the general population as well as among college students. Women may be more afraid of victimization, but this seems to be mainly because of their fear of rape or sexual assault. Overall, support for the shadow hypothesis shows that models of fear of

crime should include not only specific domain and temporal consideration but also fear of rape and sexual assault when considering fear of other offenses that involve face-to-face or personal contact. Future research is needed to continue to test the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis in other domains and to refine our understanding of the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis and the fear of crime among women.

Implications

The development and testing of the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis supports the notion that fear of rape and sexual assault must be addressed to affect the general fear of crime among women. With the knowledge from this hypothesis and the research surrounding it, it is hoped that effective social programs may be developed and existing programs with the aim to decrease fear of victimization be evaluated. Fear of victimization among women is prevalent, and knowledge about the subject as well as actual victimization risks may work to provide women with ways to keep themselves safe or at least make them feel safe. According to feminists, too much fear is incapacitating and limiting to women's activities, but arguably, some fear may promote using precautionary behaviors that may protect some women or keep them feeling safer. One particular population of concern is that of the college population, as they are at a heightened risk for sexual victimization; the research shows that fear among college women is significantly higher than that of college men, and some explanation can be provided from the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis. For instance, it is important that college administrators should focus their attention not only on actual victimization but also on the fear of victimization. Because gender proves to be the most significant predictor of fear of victimization, with females reporting significantly greater fear, perhaps programs could be specifically designed for college women. Because research has shown support for the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis, it seems fruitful that policies or programs should be developed to address college women's actual victimization risk and fear of victimization from both strangers and acquaintances, as well as the shadow of sexual assault. However, it is argued that simply educating women to use

certain behaviors or resources to reduce the chance of victimization may not empower them, and it may actually create more fear. Therefore, it is suggested that colleges develop programs to assist women in risk assessment by educating them about their level as well as sources of risk of crime. Overall, the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis remains an important concern when considering how to deal with fear of crime.

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See also Fear of Crime; Fear of Crime, Individual- and Community-Level Effects; Fear of Crime, Measurement of; Feminist Victimology; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Perceptions of Dangerous Situations Scale; Rape

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SHAKEN BABY SYNDROME

In the United States, shaken baby syndrome (SBS) is the leading cause of death among cases of child abuse. SBS results when an infant is shaken vigorously, causing the brain to shift back and forth. This motion causes the brain to hit the skull and results in intracranial injuries. SBS may also stem from an infant being thrown either onto a bed, against a wall, or other surface that causes blunt force trauma to the child's head. SBS usually occurs when the infant is grabbed around the torso and shaken, or by grabbing their limbs and swinging them. The shaking motion typically occurs for between 5 and 20 seconds and often results in quieting the baby—the most common intended effect. The perpetrator, however, usually does not realize that the infant has stopped crying not because he or she was soothed by the shaking motion, but because brain damage has occurred.

The shifting motion experienced by the brain in SBS is similar to what occurs during motor vehicle crashes resulting in whiplash. However, the type of damage that occurs from this type of movement can be more severe for infants than is typically found among other age groups and therefore can have more devastating effects. This is because infants' heads are disproportionately large compared with their bodies, and their neck muscles have not fully developed and are therefore not strong enough to support their heads.

Victims

Most victims are younger than 1 year of age, and the average victim is between 3 and 8 months old. However, it is not uncommon for children up to 4 years of age to be shaken. About 60% of victims are males. This may partly because of misconceptions that male babies should be treated differently from female infants. The higher prevalence among male infants may be attributable to gender stereotypes that male babies should

“man-up” and learn at an early age to not be emotional or cry. Or, caregivers may wrongly believe that male babies are stronger and can better withstand more physical handling than female babies.

Victims may be taken to the hospital or doctor for treatment after the incident. When asked by a medical staff member, many offenders will suggest that he or she was simply bouncing the baby on his or her knee, or that the infant fell off the couch. However, SBS will not result from these types of activities. The movement involved in SBS is so violent that these motions will not result in the types of damage encountered after an infant has been shaken. In some cases, the injuries will not be noticeable until years after the incident. If the injuries are identifiable and congruent with child abuse of any kind, such as SBS or another form of abuse, then physicians are required to report any individuals suspected of child abuse to child safety authorities. Any medical employee who fails to report child abuse can face legal and professional sanctions. Physicians may misdiagnose cases of SBS in infants manifesting milder injuries leading to an underestimation of the true prevalence of SBS. Children who do not have injuries congruent with child abuse are often diagnosed as having colic or a viral infection.

Consequences

Even one instance of shaking a baby can result in both immediate consequences and long-term outcomes that are often beyond repair. Each year, between 1,000 and 3,000 infants are diagnosed as having suffered from SBS, and one quarter to one third of these children die from the trauma. The shaking may rupture the blood vessels and nerves in the brain that can lead to bleeding. Bruising and swelling in the brain may also occur. Other possible injuries include fractures of the skull and bones (including the ribs if this is where the baby was grabbed), whiplash, spinal cord damage, swelling of the brain, neurological symptoms (e.g., seizures or lethargy), blood clots in the brain, and bruising on the body of the child where he or she was gripped by the offender. One telltale sign of SBS is hemorrhaging in the retinas of the infant's eyes. Ocular injuries and retinal hemorrhaging (i.e., blood spots on the eye) are one of the most prevalent injuries in cases of SBS and other abuse.

About one third of SBS victims can expect a sufficient recovery. However, all infants who suffer from SBS may experience behavioral problems over their life course. Sufferers of SBS may be impulsive, apathetic, and lack inhibition because of frontal lobe injuries. Other health-related consequences include blindness, hearing loss or deafness, seizures, and developmental delays, such as impaired speech, partial paralysis, cerebral palsy, learning disabilities, and attention problems. They may have problems with lethargy, decreased appetite, and difficulties reaching normal infant milestones. Furthermore, scores on IQ and memory tests may be below average and special education classes may be necessary when the child enters school.

Recovery from SBS is impeded because of the young nature of the victim. Infants' brains have had little time to learn and store information, and the trauma to their brains may impact their ability to acquire new knowledge and the need to compensate for their injury and any deficits is an added burden. Victims may need physical and/or occupational therapy to progress along standard developmental pathways, develop skills, and reach age-appropriate milestones.

Perpetrators

Offenders may shake a baby out of frustration when the infant is crying. They are often stressed and do not know how to handle and console a restless baby properly. Perpetrators of SBS are often parents or caregivers. Males, particularly young males in their early 20s, are the primary offenders. About 37% of all perpetrators are the biological fathers, and about 21% are boyfriends of the child's mother. Another estimate suggests that biological fathers and biological mothers' boyfriends are responsible for 65% to 90% of all cases of SBS. After fathers and mothers' boyfriends, babysitters are the most common perpetrators. Children's mothers are infrequently the source of SBS. Offenders are often detached emotionally from the infant or child. This is particularly the case in situations where the offender is the biological mother's boyfriend. It is much easier to inflict harm on someone to whom you are not emotionally attached.

A key risk factor for SBS is a lack of parental preparedness to care for the child—including inability to soothe a crying child, poor coping skills under stressful situations, alcohol and/or drug use or abuse, poor anger management, and feelings of being overwhelmed (perhaps because of more than one infant child in the home or multiple births). Additionally, being a young parent or caregiver increases the chances that an infant will be shaken. Children are also at increased risk if they are from a family that lives at or below the poverty level. Disadvantaged families may experience the added stressors of trying to support a family and may lack social support (e.g., relatives and friends) to deal successfully with the strain of caring for a child.

Another reason an individual may shake a baby might stem from personal experience as an abused child. Perpetrators who were abused as a child may not know appropriate ways to handle a crying infant and are at increased risk of shaking a child. Persons who were abused as children may mimic behaviors they encountered or witnessed growing up and may believe that they are parenting appropriately. Alternatively, perpetrators who were abused as children may seek to avenge their past and project their anger onto an innocent child. In either case, this perpetuates a cycle of violence.

Criminal Prosecution

If SBS is identified accurately, the offender may be criminally charged and stand trial in court. Perpetrators in cases where the victim dies as a result of SBS are likely to be charged with homicide. Depending on the intent of the perpetrator, he or she may be charged with first- or second-degree homicide, reckless homicide, or manslaughter. If a victim survives, the offender will be charged with a lesser crime, such as child neglect or endangerment. The penalty sought will also depend on the outcome of the incident. Graver outcomes (e.g., death) will garner more severe penalties (e.g., jail or prison).

To argue the case successfully, the prosecutor must educate the judge and jury about the causes and consequences of SBS. Medical personnel and law enforcement officers play a key role in providing accurate evidence to support the charge. Physicians and nurses can interpret medical tests performed on the victim and describe the consequences of

sustaining injuries from SBS. Law enforcement officials can assist by thoroughly investigating the case, interviewing all parties involved, and evaluating the evidence.

Secondary Victims

SBS directly affects the infant or child who was shaken, and it also affects the parents and caregivers who did not inflict the injuries. SBS victims who live may face a lifelong battle with various disabilities, and caregivers are left to deal with a momentary lapse in judgment on the part of themselves or someone they trusted to care for their child. Children with serious injuries will likely be disabled or have special needs. They may require continuous care or additional support to meet developmental milestones. Parenting a disabled child, particularly one with SBS, can lead to psychological and emotional problems. Possible psychological issues among caregivers include depression, grief, fear, betrayal, posttraumatic stress disorder, and denial. They may also suffer from guilt for putting the child in danger as well as for the resulting injuries and disablement of the child.

Prevention and Intervention

Shaken baby syndrome is completely preventable and early interventions have been successful. Parents and caregivers should be educated on the devastating effects of SBS and taught how to properly handle a crying infant. In lieu of shaking, many alternatives are available to quiet a crying baby. These include rocking a baby in a chair or infant swing, taking the infant for a ride in a stroller or car, providing a pacifier, and making sure basic needs (e.g., food, sleep, and diaper change) are met. For at-risk families or parents, at-home visits from nurses after release from the hospital can provide a means for teaching appropriate parenting skills. These types of programs have been successful for reducing child abuse and future consequences (e.g., delinquency and aggression) of child abuse. Babysitters and other child care professionals should also be educated on how to care for infants and children correctly. Anyone who is given the responsibility of caring for a dependent child should be taught how to do so appropriately.

Another important preventive factor is social support. Many perpetrators of SBS do not have sufficient resources or support to care for an infant, particularly one that may be fussy. Reaching out to family members and close friends for assistance in caring for the child can provide a necessary respite and allow the caretaker to get some rest and regain control of their emotions before reaching the point where shaking may occur. Sharing the responsibility of raising a child or simply taking a brief time away from a stressful situation can help prevent shaken baby syndrome. For caregivers who cannot depend on others for assistance, leaving a baby for 10 minutes in a safe environment such as a crib while stepping out of the room to regain control can prevent incidents of shaking, prevent injuries associated with shaking, and potentially save the child's life.

Eileen Ahlin

See also Battered-Child Syndrome; Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment; Family Violence; Infanticide; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization

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SITUATIONAL ACTION THEORY

The following three fundamental questions need to be addressed when developing an explanation of

acts of crime and devising effective crime prevention: (1) What is crime (what is it we attempt to explain and prevent)? (2) Why do people engage in acts of crime (what are the immediate processes which move a person to carry out an act of crime)? (3) What person and environmental factors interact in moving people to engage in acts of crime?

Situational action theory (SAT) is a recently developed theory that aims to explain moral action and crime. The theory builds on insights from various traditional criminological theories and research traditions as well as draws on social and behavioral science theory and research more generally. It sets out to overcome key common shortcomings in existing criminological theory, such as (1) the problem of the concept of crime (not being clear about what the theory aims to explain), (2) the problem of distinguishing causes and correlates (a poor understanding of causal mechanisms that often lead to a mixing up of markers and symptoms with causes), (3) the problem of integrating levels of explanation (a poor understanding of how person and environmental factors interact in causing acts of crime), and (4) the problem of explaining development and change (a poor understanding of the role of processes of development and change in crime causation).

Key Arguments

Situational action theory seeks to explain moral action and crime by explaining the key processes that lead to acts of crime (and transgressions of moral rules more generally), as well as the person and environmental factors which directly (and indirectly) influence those processes.

The key arguments of situational action theory are as follows:

1. Acts of crime are moral actions (actions guided by what is the right or wrong thing to do or not to do in a particular circumstance) and therefore need to be explained as such.
2. People engage in acts of crime because they (a) come to see such acts as a viable *action alternative* and (b) *choose* (habitually or deliberately) to carry them out.
3. The likelihood that a person will come to recognize an act of crime as an action alternative

and choose to carry out such an act ultimately depends on his or her morality (his or her action-relevant moral values and emotions) and its interplay with the moral context in which he or she develops and operates (its action-relevant moral rules and their enforcement).

4. To understand the role of broader social factors and their change (e.g., social integration and segregation) in promoting acts of crime, it is essential to focus on identifying how such factors influence the emergence of and change in (relevant aspects of) the moral contexts in which people develop (have their moral development) and act (express moral habits and make moral judgments).

Foundations of the Theory

The aim of SAT is to provide causal explanations that tell us *why* and *how* acts of crime occur. Situational action theory is based on a realist perspective. Two important assumptions of *realism* are (1) the world exists independent of us and our theorizing about it (e.g., in science we do not invent causes, we *discover* them), and (2) many important explanatory processes are unobservable, or partly unobservable (i.e., scientific knowledge is *not only* what is observable).

Situational action theory argues that crime is best analyzed as moral action. Situational action theory defines moral action as action guided by moral rules about what is right or wrong to do in a particular circumstance. It defines crimes as breaches of moral rules defined in law. Acts of crime are thus viewed as a special case of moral rule-breaking more generally. The advantage of this definition is its focus on what all kinds of crime, in all places, at all times, have in common, namely, (moral) rule breaking. What is to be explained by a theory of moral action is thus why people (follow and) breach moral rules, and what is to be explained specifically by a (sub-)theory of crime is why people breach moral rules defined in law.

Any action that is guided by rules of what it is right or wrong to do in a particular circumstance is a moral action. There is no difference in that respect between, for example, stealing a CD from a shop or blowing up people by the use of a roadside bomb. Both are examples of moral actions.

Hence, both kinds of actions can be explained within the same theoretical framework. What may differ in the explanation of different kinds of acts of crime is not the process (the perception-choice process) leading up to the action, but the content of the moral context (the action-relevant moral rules) and a person's morality (the action-relevant moral values and emotions), which drives the process and the broader social processes (the causes of the causes) that generate particular moral contexts (contents) in which people develop and act. Both in the case of shoplifting and roadside bombings, the actor has to perceive the particular action as a viable alternative and choose to carry out the act. However, the specific moral rules that guide whether an act of shoplifting is perceived as an action alternative will differ from those that guide whether an act of roadside bombing is perceived as an action alternative.

Situational action theory is based on explicit assumptions about human nature and its relation to social order. Most criminological theory does not have an explicit theory of action. Those that do have a theory of action generally allude to the importance of choice (as guided by self-interest and rationality) without further detailing its role in the explanation of crime. Situational action theory accepts that rationality and self-interest (at times) play a role in guiding human action, but it reasons that on a more fundamental level, humans are rule-guided actors. Human actions (including acts of crime), therefore, ultimately have to be explained as rule-guided action.

Most criminological theory focuses either on the role of the person or the environment in the explanation of crime. Situational action theory is developed to overcome the common (but unfruitful) divide between person and environmental explanations of moral action and crime. It achieves this by proposing a situational mechanism (a perception-choice process), which links the person and his or her environment to his or her actions. It postulates that all action (including acts of crime) is ultimately an outcome of (1) what action alternatives a person perceives and, in turn, (2) what choices he or she makes. In contrast to most choice-based theories, which focus on how people choose among predetermined alternatives, SAT stresses the importance of why people perceive certain action alternatives (and not others) in the first place. Perception of

action alternatives thus plays a more fundamental role in explaining action than the process of choice (which is secondary to perception). Importantly, a realist approach acknowledges that different people may view the same reality differently, but it insists that this fact does not imply subjectivism and can be rationally explained (e.g., is caused by individual differences in experiences and knowledge).

One of the most difficult problems in explaining human action is reconciling the role of deterministic and voluntaristic forces in the explanation of action. Situational action theory aims to integrate behavioristic (deterministic) and voluntaristic (free-will) approaches to the explanation of moral action and crime. It does so by recognizing that human actions (including law abidance and acts of crime) may be caused either by habit or rational deliberation. It argues that only in choice processes when people deliberate do they exercise free will and are subject to the influence of their ability to exercise self-control (internal control) or respond to deterrence cues (external controls). Whether a choice of action tends to be an outcome of deliberation or habit depends on the actor's familiarity with the circumstances in which he or she operates. Habits are created by repeated exposure to particular circumstances, which leads to action becoming automated, rather than deliberate, in these and similar circumstances.

Although acknowledging that motivation (desires and commitments) has a general directional influence on moral action, SAT states that the crucial factor in the explanation of moral action is the interplay between the morality of the person (values and emotions) and the moral context in which he or she operates. The outcome of this interaction will serve as a moral filter to determine whether a person will act on his or her desires or commitments. Many people are, for example, disadvantaged and frustrated for various reasons, without breaking moral rules to overcome or change conditions perceived to cause their disadvantage or frustration. Motivation (in terms of desires and commitments) is a necessary but not sufficient factor in the explanation of moral rule breaking (and crime).

The Causes of Acts of Crime

The causes of moral actions are factors that influence the moral perception of action alternatives

and influence the process of moral choice. Causes of crime are thus factors that influence a person to view an act of crime (a particular crime) as an action alternative and factors that influence a person's process of choice to carry out such an action alternative.

According to SAT, all moral actions are an outcome of the (causal) interaction between a person's propensity (to engage in the particular moral action) and his or her exposure to environmental inducements (to engage in the particular moral action):

$$\text{Propensity} \times \text{Exposure} = \text{Action}$$

The process that links the interplay of propensity and exposure to action is the "moral perception-moral choice process," as detailed earlier. This process can, depending on the familiarity of the circumstances, be predominantly habitual (expressing moral habits) or deliberative (expressing moral judgments) in nature.

Individuals will vary in their *propensity* to engage in a particular moral action depending on their moral rules and emotions. Moral emotions (shame and guilt) attached to violating a particular moral rule may be regarded as a measure of the strength with which a person holds a particular moral rule. For example, although many people may think it is wrong to steal something from another person, some may feel strongly about this whereas others may not. Those who feel less strongly about stealing from others may be regarded as having a higher propensity to engage in such action.

An individual's ability to exercise self-control (i.e., to act in accordance with his or her morality in the face of temptations and provocations) can also affect his or her crime propensity significantly. An individual's ability to exercise self-control is influenced both by relatively stable individual characteristics (executive capabilities) and momentary influences, such as high levels of stress and intoxication. However, the ability to exercise self-control is only important when an individual perceives crime (or moral rule-breaking) as an alternative, because self-control exerts its effects through the process of choice. When an individual deliberates over whether to commit an act of crime, his or her ability to exercise self-control influences the process of choice and plays a causal role in his or her decision to offend (or not offend).

It is important to bear in mind that propensities always need some environmental inducement to get activated. People do not act in a social vacuum. Individuals will vary in their *exposure* to moral contexts (external moral rules and their enforcement linked to particular circumstances). The extent to which moral rule following in a particular context is enforced (supervised and breaches sanctioned) may be regarded as the strength of the moral context.

If there is a high degree of correspondence between a person's morality and the moral context in which he or she operates, then it is likely that he or she will abide by the moral rules of the particular context. That is so because he or she will not recognize breaching the moral rules as a viable action alternative. If a discrepancy is found between a person's morality and the moral context in which he or she operates, then a particular moral action *deterrence* will be one important factor influencing whether he or she will act on a motivation to breach a moral rule (or commit an act of crime).

According to SAT, changes in a person's actions stems from changes in his or her propensity and/or changes in his or her exposure. This also implies that if one wants to change (or prevent) a person's moral actions, the aim should be to change his or her propensity (to engage in such acts) and/or his or her exposure (to environmental inducements for such acts), as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} &(\text{Change}) \text{ Propensity and/or } (\text{Change}) \\ &\text{Exposure} = (\text{Change}) \text{ Action} \end{aligned}$$

Changes in propensity and exposure are not unrelated in a developmental perspective. Changes in exposure may lead to changes in propensity (through socialization and habituation), whereas changes in propensity may lead to changes in exposure (through selection). The key developmental concept in SAT is moral education. People internalize moral rules (and emotions) through processes of learning, through others' responses to their actions, and through observation of others' actions and their consequences.

The Causes of the Causes

The role of broader social factors and individual development in crime causation may be regarded as a question of *the causes of the causes*. According

to SAT, factors that influence how particular moral contexts emerge and are sustained and factors that influence moral development (and the development of a person's ability to exercise self-control) are particularly interesting causes of the causes to address when analyzing moral action and crime.

Societies vary in their social integration (cohesion and trust) and moral integration (homogeneity of moral values held by the population and their correspondence to moral rules expressed by the larger society, e.g., in terms of laws). It is reasonable to assume that societies that have higher degrees of social and moral integration will have less moral rule breakings and crime because there will be less room for a discrepancy between individual and collective moral rules.

Changes in the broader social environment in which peoples' daily lives are embedded (e.g., political, economical, and social changes of relevance to moral actions) may instigate changes in the kinds of moral contexts present in a society and the processes of exposure of different groups of people to particular moral contexts. This, in turn, may (in the longer term) affect the moral education of the population or segments of the population, as well as (in the short term) the moral contexts in which people, or groups of people, act.

Key Questions for Research and Prevention

A research program built on and guided by the insights from SAT suggests that researchers should focus their analyses and research on addressing the following questions:

1. What kind of moral values and moral emotions support perceptions and choices relevant to peoples' engagement in acts of crime (and particular acts of crime)?
2. What aspects of the social and moral context (a) support the moral development of such values and emotions and (b) instigate their enactment?
3. How do social and moral contexts which promote the moral development of supportive moral values and emotions and the enacting of acts of crime emerge and how are they sustained?

The better researchers can answer these three questions, the stronger the knowledge base will

be on which they can develop effective crime-prevention strategies and interventions. According to SAT, the most effective ways to prevent crime are (in order of importance) the successful development of interventions as follows:

1. Make people not see crime as an action alternative.
2. Prevent the emergence of, and/or break existing, moral habits which promote acts of crime.
3. Influence the decision making of those who consider (deliberate) committing an act of crime.

The extent to which one succeeds in achieving the first goal is the extent to which the other two will be redundant.

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See also Crime Prevention; Crime Prevention: Micro, Meso, and Macro Levels; Future of Crime Prevention; Violence, Theories of

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SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION

Situational crime prevention is the science of reducing opportunities for crime. It focuses on specific forms of crime or disorder and analyzes the opportunity structure giving rise to these problems—in particular, the immediate settings in which they occur. It then seeks to identify the changes in the design and management of these settings that will reduce crime with fewest economic and social costs. The changes are intended to discourage potential offenders by increasing the risks or difficulty of crime, making it less rewarding or excusable and reducing temptations or provocations.

Early situational prevention projects focused on ordinary crimes of burglary, car theft, vandalism, robbery, street prostitution, and violent assaults. More recently, situational prevention has been applied to a greater variety of crimes, in a greater variety of contexts, which include crime and misconduct in prisons, Internet frauds, organized crime, and terrorism.

Opportunity and Crime

Situational prevention is based on theories of environmental criminology, including routine activity theory, the rational choice perspective, and crime pattern theory. These theories share the following two assumptions that are important for situational prevention:

1. Opportunity is a cause of crime. Crime can only be explained as the result of the interaction between two broad causes: criminal motivation and opportunities for crime. Both must exist for a crime to occur. In fact, opportunity is an important cause of every form of crime, even a crime as important as homicide that is usually thought to be driven by strong motivation. This is shown by a comparison of homicide in the United States and in the United Kingdom. At present, the risk of being murdered in the United States is about 6 to 8 times greater than in the United Kingdom and in most other European countries. This is not because the United States is a more criminal country. In fact, recent research has found that rates of burglary and car theft are lesser in the United States than in the United Kingdom. Rather, the high U.S. murder rate is related to the widespread availability of guns, especially handguns, in America. In other words, the availability of guns is an important situational cause of homicide.

2. People are not compelled to commit crime by their backgrounds or personalities, but they choose to commit crimes because they judge these will bring them some benefit. The benefit is not always financial, but it might be excitement, sex, power, intoxication, revenge, recognition, loyalty, and love—indeed, anything that people want. Whether they choose to commit crime depends on their calculation of the chances of obtaining the reward and the risks of failure. Their choices may be made under emotional pressure or when intoxicated. They might also be split second, foolhardy, ill informed, or ill advised—but they are still choices.

These principles have important corollaries for situational prevention. First, criminally disposed individuals will commit more crimes if opportunities for crime increase. Second, generally law-abiding people can be drawn into committing

specific crimes if they regularly meet easy opportunities for these crimes. Finally, society unintentionally creates opportunities for crime by its physical and social arrangements. It produces “criminogenic” goods that facilitate crime, such as handguns or products that attract crime such as cars with weak door and ignition locks; credit cards with poor security; unprotected software; and high-value, easily stolen goods (“hot products”). It puts in place systems that inadvertently provide opportunities for crime, such as poorly regulated public drinking, inadequate checking of insurance claims, and banking procedures that facilitate money laundering. It designs and lays out places and buildings without thought to the crime opportunities they create, such as car parks without surveillance and shop displays that facilitate theft. It establishes poor management practices that result in crime, such as lack of staff on trains and buses, unsupervised football crowds, and disorderly, overcrowded pubs and clubs.

Reducing Opportunities for Crime

The following principles have been identified as crucial to the success of any situational prevention project:

- The project should deal with a very specific category of crime or disorder.
- It should seek to understand how the crime is committed.
- It should consider a variety of solutions.

Specific Categories of Crime

The situational determinants of any specific category of crime are different from those of another one, even one that seems similar. Each category may be committed for different motives, and by different offenders with different resources and skills. These points can be illustrated by research on residential burglary in one British city, which found that residential burglaries committed in the suburbs were different from those committed in the city center. City center burglaries were committed by offenders on foot, looking for cash and jewelry. Because the housing was mostly row housing, burglars could only get in through the front door or a front window. Suburban burglaries,

however, were committed by criminals who used cars and were looking for electronic goods, such as videocassette players and TVs. They were more likely to break in at the back of the house than the front. They needed cars to get to the suburbs and to transport the stolen goods. The cars had to be parked near to the house but not so close as to attract attention.

As these descriptions might suggest, the suggestions for preventing the two forms of residential burglaries were different. To prevent burglaries in the city center, it was suggested that security and surveillance at the front of houses should be improved. To prevent the suburban burglaries, it was recommended that security at the rear of houses should be improved and surveillance of parking places should be strengthened. It was also suggested that the police should crack down on fencing of stolen goods, particularly electronic items. Such a crackdown would have little effect on the inner city burglars who were primarily targeting cash and jewelry.

How the Crime Is Committed

These preventive suggestions depended on the knowledge of how the burglaries were committed and what goods were being sought. The researchers did not study why the burglars wanted to steal goods. It was enough to know that some are willing to break into other people's homes and steal things.

In trying to understand how a specific form of crime is done, the task should be examined from the offender's point of view. In doing so, interviews with offenders can be helpful, but an alternative is to "think thief." This strategy means putting oneself in the shoes of offenders and trying to think through the decisions that they must make to complete the crime.

This process reveals another important fact—committing a crime consists of a linked series of steps, each of which requires decisions to be made by the offenders. For example, burglars have to decide which houses to hit; how to get into them; which property to take; how to leave the house without being discovered; whether to sell or keep the property, and if to sell, how to do this, who to, what price to ask, and how to make sure that the goods will not be traced

back to them. Understanding in detail how a crime is committed helps in finding different ways to intervene.

It has often been argued that situational prevention cannot work because it does not attempt to understand or change motivation. It is true that a fuller understanding of motives can often assist situational prevention, but this is not always necessary. For example, an outbreak of random murders in the 1980s that resulted from people buying painkillers that had been laced with cyanide was eliminated by the introduction of tamper-proof packaging for all medicines and foods. The murderers were never arrested and their motivation remains obscure, but a straightforward situational measure eliminated future occurrences.

A Variety of Solutions

It is usually not difficult to identify a variety of solutions for any specific category of crime if it is analyzed in sufficient detail. To help identify possible solutions, researchers have classified the many different ways that exist to reduce crime opportunities. Situational prevention researchers have identified 25 opportunity-reducing techniques grouped under the following five main headings: (1) increase the effort, (2) increase the risks, (3) reduce the rewards, (4) remove excuses, and (5) reduce provocations.

The potential solutions identified in any project need to be assessed carefully for their cost and benefits. In all cases, the assessment must go beyond financial considerations and must include a variety of social and ethical costs, such as intrusiveness, inconvenience, unfairness, discrimination, and so on. Even if the assessment is informal, as it usually must be, this stage should never be skipped. Because opportunities can be reduced in many different ways, there is no necessity to adopt a particular solution if it is found unacceptable in certain respects.

Displacement

Many dozens of successful situational prevention studies have been reported since the concept was first described more than 25 years ago. In some cases, the reductions in crime achieved have been

dramatic. For example, U.S. cell phone companies largely wiped out cloning by the introduction of five new anticloning technologies; at its height in the mid-1990s, cloning had been costing the companies about \$800 million per year in fraudulent phone calls.

Despite these successes, some critics have argued that the reductions claimed are negated by displacement (e.g., the offenders shift their attention to other places, times, and targets; use different methods; or commit different crimes); that situational prevention results in escalation (i.e., offenders resort to more harmful methods to gain their ends); and that even if displacement does not occur immediately, the criminal population adapts in the long run to reduced opportunities by discovering new ways to commit crime.

The most persistent of these criticisms concerns displacement because it is often assumed that offenders are under a compulsion to commit crime. This may be true for some rare crimes—such as forms of arson—but it is not the case for most crimes. For example, it is highly unlikely that new security measures at a supermarket would lead local people, who had been accustomed to making small thefts in the course of their weekly shop, to shop at a more distant store where they could continue to shoplift.

In fact, the most recent review of displacement studies undertaken in 1994 by Rene Hesselting for the Dutch Ministry of Justice found no evidence of displacement in 22 of the 55 studies he examined; in the remaining 33 studies, he found some evidence of displacement, but in no studies was there as much crime displaced as prevented. If his review were repeated today, when many more studies of displacement have been reported, much the same would be found. For example, little displacement seems to have occurred to “subscriber” fraud, which is the second largest category of cell phone fraud, when cloning was eliminated by new technology. On the one hand, subscriber frauds involve the use of a false name and address to obtain cell phone service and would be difficult to reproduce on a wide scale. They would therefore not be attractive to organized groups. Cloned phones, on the other hand, were “mass produced” by offenders who had learned how to acquire hundreds of legitimate phone numbers and program them into stolen phones.

Diffusion of Benefits

“Diffusion of benefits” refers to the fact that situational prevention can often bring about reductions in crime beyond the immediate focus of the measures introduced. This general phenomenon is shown by the following examples:

- Closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras installed to monitor parking at a university in England reduced car crime as much in a lot not covered by the cameras as in the three that were covered.
- When “red light” cameras were installed at some junctions in a large Scottish city, fewer drivers “ran the red” not only at these locations but also at other nearby traffic lights nearby.
- A regime of daily counting of valuable merchandise in the warehouse of a New Jersey discount electronic store substantially reduced thefts, not only of these items but also of other items not repeatedly counted.

The explanation for diffusion of benefits seems to be that potential offenders might know that new preventive measures have been introduced but overestimate their precise reach and scope. They might think the measures are more widespread than they really are and that the risks and effort involved in committing the crimes have been more increased than in fact is the case.

Anticipatory Benefits

Just as offenders often overestimate the reach of new preventive measures, they often seem to think that such measures have been introduced before they actually have been. As a result, crime drops before any measures have been introduced. This is what is meant by the “anticipatory benefits” of prevention. Anticipatory benefits have been found in about 40% of situational prevention projects, and it seems that publicity could be used to enhance these benefits.

Adaptation

Offender populations discover new crime vulnerabilities after preventive measures have been in place for a while. This is known as adaptation and is a longer term process than displacement, which

refers to the ways in which individual offenders seek to circumvent measures put in place to stop them.

One example of adaptation concerns the baggage and passenger screening measures introduced in the early 1970s to curb hijackings of airliners between the United States and Cuba. These measures quickly eliminated the hijackings and other countries soon followed suit, which meant that hijackings in those countries also declined. No real evidence of any displacement was found. For example, there was no increase in bombs placed on airliners. However, the authorities became increasingly lax over time, which allowed the 9/11 hijackers to find loopholes in the screening measures and seize the airliners. Their attack is a clear example of adaptation to preventive measures.

Blaming the Victim

It is increasingly understood that the government alone cannot protect people from crime and that people themselves have some responsibility for taking protective measures. Together with the fact that situational prevention includes measures that cause inconvenience or annoyance to ordinary members of the public, this has led to the claim that situational prevention “blames the victim.” This claim is incorrect, but at the same time it should be recognized that people often welcome advice that protects them from crime. For example, tourists often ask whether it is safe to use local taxis or to walk in the streets at night. It is also useful to know that British research has shown that putting cars in garages overnight considerably reduces the risks to car owners of falling victim to vehicle crime. For those with garages, they can then decide whether the reduced risk is worth the extra effort of putting the car away.

In cases where risks are taken in blatant disregard of the costs for others, those responsible are open to blame. A case in point would be shopkeepers who refuse to alter practices—such as displays to encourage impulse purchases—that they know increase the risks of theft. Despite this, they often expect the police to arrest any shoplifters.

Future Research

Situational prevention has been described as the fastest growing form of crime prevention in the

world. Much has been done in the past 20 years to reduce opportunities for crime through many different measures, which includes the widespread use of security guards, burglar alarms, CCTV surveillance, antifraud systems for credit cards, car immobilizers, better lighting, and improved building design. Despite this, situational prevention is rarely mentioned as a reason, perhaps an important reason, for the widespread decline of crime in most advanced western nations. Research is needed into the relationship between the combined effect of these and other situational controls and the crime drop.

Ronald V. Clarke

See also Anticipatory Benefit; Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Science; Diffusion of Benefits; Displacement; Hot Spots; Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access (VIVA); Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Terrorism/Terrorist Attack

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SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION, CRITIQUES OF

Situational crime prevention has been a controversial development and has struggled to gain acceptance within mainstream academic criminology. The concerns and approaches of situational prevention contrast in significant ways with those of traditional criminological theory. Where criminology generally seeks to understand offenders as well as the social and psychological forces that create them, situational prevention is concerned only with the immediate circumstances under which crime is performed. The situational approach promotes neither social reform nor offender rehabilitation, both of which are central themes elsewhere in criminology. Instead, situational theorists and researchers actively engage with police and other governmental agencies to help tackle immediate crime problems. For these reasons, situational prevention is often treated with skepticism and suspicion by other criminologists, and it is somewhat disparagingly classified as “administrative criminology.” Criticisms of situational crime prevention are of two broad sorts—those questioning the theoretical and conceptual adequacy of the approach and those attacking the ethical foundations and social outcomes situational interventions.

Theoretical and Conceptual Criticisms

Depending on the disciplinary assumptions made, most criminological theories explain criminal

behavior either as the response of offenders to macrolevel, sociocultural factors, such as social disadvantage and economic disparity, or as an expression of a criminal disposition created by each individual offender's biological makeup and life experiences. Situational analyses examine neither the sociological contexts of criminality nor the development of criminal dispositions, and theoretical criticisms of the approach center on these omissions.

The Situational Approach Is Sterile, Simplistic, and Atheoretical

It is claimed that the situational approach lacks the vigor, complexity, and sophistication of other criminological theories and amounts to little more than common sense. Situational analyses might explain where and when crimes occur but contribute little to our understanding of why crimes occur. Situational crime prevention, in turn, relies on mindless target hardening and is a simplistic response to a complex social problem.

In response to this criticism, it is argued that situational prevention is based on a fundamental tenet of modern psychology that all behavior arises from a person-situation interaction. Situations are not just places in which crimes occur; they play a causative role in initiating crime and shaping its course. Situational prevention is underpinned by rational choice theory, routine activity theory, crime pattern theory, and social and environmental psychology. Furthermore, target hardening is just 1 of 25 major techniques of situational prevention, and the selection of appropriate intervention requires a detailed analysis of the crime problem in question.

Situational Prevention Ignores the Root Causes of Crime

It may be conceded that situational prevention has a theory base, but those theories do not examine factors such as poverty, inequality, discrimination, poor parenting, and so on, which are the root causes of crime. By focusing on the performance of criminal behavior, situational prevention attacks the symptoms and not the underlying, systemic causes. It can at best provide a pragmatic, stop-gap solution to crime problems.

In reply, it is a fallacy that one must understand and change the historical causes of a behavior to

change that behavior. Random breath testing of motorists significantly reduces drunk-driving offenses independently of the psychosocial dynamics of alcohol abuse. Moreover, situations are one cause of behavior, and the distinction between root and nonroot causes is arbitrary. One might equally criticize other theories for ignoring situations. Indeed, a counterargument can be made that those causes that are nearest to the performance of behavior have the most powerful effect and are also the most amenable to intervention. It is difficult to make parents love their children more but relatively easy to make houses more difficult to burgle.

Situational Prevention Will Only Displace Crime

A related criticism is that situational prevention may succeed in displacing crime but will not prevent it. Because situational prevention does not address offenders' criminal dispositions, if thwarted in one criminal endeavor, offenders will simply move on to other crime opportunities. They may seek out alternative crime locations, offend at different times, change to different targets, use different tactics, and/or commit other sorts of crimes. In some cases, situational prevention will make matters worse by encouraging offenders to escalate their crime efforts.

There is a superficial logic to this criticism, but its validity depends on an overestimation of the role of criminal dispositions in crime and discounting the role played by opportunity and other immediate environmental factors. The flaw in this criticism can be observed by turning the question around. If everybody stopped taking any security precautions—did not lock their houses, left their keys in their cars, gave out their credit card personal identification numbers (PINs), walked in dangerous neighborhoods late at night, and so on—would crime increase? If the answer to this question is “yes,” then clearly taking routine precautions prevents rather than displaces crime. Empirically, it has been found that displacement often does not occur, and where it does, it is invariably less than the amount of crime prevented. In fact, the reverse effect has often been observed—that situational interventions targeting one location or crime can have preventive effects beyond the original target (referred to as diffusion of benefits).

Situational Approaches Are Not Appropriate for “Irrational” Crime

Some critics concede that situational prevention may be effective for prudent crimes—that is, offenses such as burglary where there is a clear monetary gain involved—but maintain that it is not applicable to crimes of passion (such as acts of expressive violence) or ones that involve strong drives and deviant impulses (such as sex offenses). These offenses are caused by emotional and psychological deficits of the offender and are beyond rational control via situational intervention.

It is true that early situational interventions were largely applied to acquisitive crimes such as burglary. However, situational factors have also been found to be important in a range of “pathological” behaviors, which include suicide, child sexual abuse, serial murder, and drug addiction. It has been shown that many so-called irrational crimes involve decision making by offenders that is sensitive to the perceived consequences of the contemplated action. Moreover, situational prevention is not limited to manipulating the costs and benefits of crime, but it takes into account situational factors that might provoke crime. Thus, expressive violence might be prevented by altering situational conditions—crowding, frustration, excessive noise, and so on—that elicit aggression.

Social and Ethical Criticisms

Along with a theoretical commitment to the social causes of crime, criminology generally embraces an ideological commitment to social justice issues. Because situational prevention does not espouse a social reform agenda and instead works hand-in-hand with government and law enforcement agencies, it is often cast as a politically conservative approach that promotes Orwellian solutions to crime problems.

Situational Prevention Uncritically Supports the Status Quo

Situation prevention was originally developed in the British Home Office in the 1970s, and in the eyes of critics, it has remained a tool that the authorities use to manage social problems and to protect the interests of the rich and powerful. It focuses on the crimes of the poor and disadvantaged (burglary, thefts, and the like) while ignoring

crimes of the affluent and crimes against women and minorities.

The situational prevention of crimes such as burglary may disproportionately target the poor and disadvantaged offenders, but these crimes also disproportionately involve poor and disadvantaged victims. Moreover, situational prevention is increasingly being applied against a wide variety of crimes, including computer fraud, assault, and rape. The pragmatic focus on prevention of crime rather than on harsh punishment of offenders differentiates the approach from the political agendas of most on the political “right.”

Access to Situational Prevention Will Become the Privilege of the Rich

An alternative scenario with similar outcomes is that governments will increasingly withdraw support from publicly funded law enforcement and adopt a user-pay policy. Only the rich will be able to afford the necessary security to protect their property. This will not only leave the poor unprotected, but will increase the threat that they will be victimized as perpetrators seek out alternative targets.

It is obviously true that the rich can afford better security than the poor, but the significance of this is overstated. The rich still need to move about in the world at large, and like everybody, they benefit from living in a secure and orderly society. Little evidence suggests that governments are withdrawing from law enforcement, and in fact, “law and order” has become a standard issue in most election campaigns. The charge of displacement has already been addressed.

Situational Prevention Blames the Victim

Because situational prevention techniques often rely on citizens taking precautions against their own victimization, it is accused of blaming the victim. Shifting responsibility to victims is not only morally indefensible, but also it is another example of governments abrogating their role in law enforcement.

The evils of victim blaming are the most evident in extreme and emotive examples, such as blaming rape victims for wearing provocative clothes. However, as noted earlier, citizens happily take many routine security precautions in their daily lives, and situational prevention can assist them

with advice on what measures are most effective. It is unrealistic to expect governments to take responsibility for all aspects of public safety. In some cases, it is wholly appropriate to blame the victim. For example, businesses, which through their irresponsible practices generate crime problems—like pubs that serve patrons to intoxication and then experience high levels of violence—should contribute to the prevention of these problems.

Situational Prevention Is Invasive and Oppressive

Situational prevention conjures images of Big Brother and insidious social control. Situational prevention advocates increased surveillance of citizens through the use of closed-circuit television (CCTV), identity checks, and the like, and such techniques are an invasion of privacy and restrict personal freedoms.

It is true that situational prevention may involve increased surveillance. However, in democratic societies, there are checks and balances that generally ensure that personal freedoms are not unduly curtailed. People are prepared to tolerate the costs of increased surveillance if there are obvious benefits that are delivered. For example, the inconvenience of airport screening procedures is generally endured patiently by passengers who are more concerned about the threat of terrorism. Likewise, most customers are happy for their banks to monitor their credit card usage if this helps detect unauthorized transactions.

Situational Prevention Will Create a Fortress Society

For many critics, the logical end point of situational crime prevention is the creation of a fearful and distrustful society divided by locks, bars, walls, guards, and other forms of obtrusive security. Communities will disintegrate as those citizens designated as undesirable are excluded from public spaces, whereas those with the financial means hide in gated communities.

As noted earlier, situational prevention involves more than target hardening. Many situational techniques actually involve “softening” the environment and bringing communities together. For example, housing estates which incorporate situational principles will typically have designed-in opportunities

for residents to interact with, and look out for, one another. Likewise, many situational measures—for example, improved street lighting—can reduce fear of crime. Situation prevention does not advocate the profiling of “undesirables,” arguing instead that security measures should be deployed on the basis that anyone might exploit crime opportunities. Although the number of gated communities is increasing, most are built in low-crime areas, and security levels are often minimal.

Richard Wortley

See also Crime Pattern Theory; Crime Prevention; Crime Science; Displacement; Rational Choice Theory; Routine Activities Theory; Situational Crime Prevention

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SMALL BUSINESSES, VICTIMIZATION AGAINST AND WITHIN

The small business sector is an increasingly important component to larger economies. Small business operations act as a jumping-off point for entrepreneurs in both mature and emerging economies. Despite their importance, small businesses have a high failure rate. One important component to small business financial stress, especially in communities that need such operators the most, is the costs associated with crime and its prevention.

As most small businesses have low levels of capitalization and small profit margins, a single crime incident can be the deciding factor in success or failure. This entry is organized to reflect the following definitional issues related to small business: the availability and relative quality of crime data in the small business sector, recent research into small business crime, and identified internal and external threats to small business along with suggested crime-prevention tactics.

How we define small business goes a long way in determining the trends and impacts of criminal victimization faced by this class of commercial operator. The U.S. Small Business Administration has a fairly liberal definition of a small business, with most commercial sector concerns being defined as small if they have fewer than 500 employees. Another complication in defining small business is the question of whether to examine company-level data or establishment-level data; many large commercial concerns are made up a multitude of smaller branch operators or franchises that have operational scales similar to small businesses.

Aside from these definitional concerns, little comprehensive data are available that examine business victimization, whether large or small. An early effort to assess the damaging effects of crime on small business was performed in 1969 by Albert Reiss and Howard Aldrich for the Small Business Administration. This study was national in scale and looked at the impacts of business crime by business size and geographic location of the operation. This study determined the total costs against all U.S. businesses in 1967–1968 to be \$3 billion (\$18 billion in 2007 dollars), with small businesses and urban areas being disproportionately impacted by the costs of crime.

Another effort to track business victimization comprehensively occurred during the 1970s when the Bureau of Justice Statistics, as part of the National Crime Victimization Survey, sampled businesses in more than 20 U.S. cities about their experience with burglary and robbery. This survey found that rates of crime against business were substantial.

Currently, much knowledge of small business victimization comes from smaller efforts focused on specific case cities or even smaller geographies, such as select business districts. Work in this area has also shown significant levels of small business victimization, especially compared with residential

communities. Examples of cases include the work of Bonnie Fisher and Johanna Looye, who found that small businesses in the Midwest region of the United States had substantial crime exposures, with the failure rate associated with crime and its attendant prevention costs also being large. Donald Kuratko and his colleagues, who collected data by way of a small business survey, found that small businesses that deal in cash transactions were more likely to suffer losses and more likely to institute substantial prevention methods.

Although these few cases tell us something about the nature and extent of small business victimization, research on business crime has lagged for several reasons. The first is that many businesses do not wish to share their victimization experiences with researchers or the outside world. This is partly because of trends related to repeat victimization; that is, they do not wish to advertise their vulnerability to a larger audience. From a methodological standpoint, businesses are less likely to take the time to fill out a survey or respond to a phone enquiry because of productivity concerns.

Even if we do not have a complete handle on the problem of small business victimization because of a lack of good data, the crime risks faced by small business concerns are many. In general terms, the costs associated with small business victimization include costs to replace lost merchandise, costs associated with security measures and insurance, and personnel costs related to employee turnover. Each of these costs either result in a loss of profit for the operator or increased prices to consumers (or both).

The U.S. Small Business Administration has developed a compendium of crime issues facing small business. These problems include external crime threats such as robbery, burglary, shoplifting, and theft; check, credit card, and Internet fraud; and vandalism. In addition to economic loss for the establishments, both the owners and staff of small business concerns face threats of violent, personal crime, as well as property crime threats to their personal property and vehicles.

Internally, businesses are vexed by additional threats relating to embezzlement and employee theft, theft of trade secrets, business reputation losses, and interpersonal violence. Measures taken to curtail internal losses related to crime include employment applicant screening procedures, which

may involve performing a formal background check on the potential employee. A second internal issue is that of audit controls; this process establishes a clear financial control system. Such a system creates a chain of responsibility and is especially useful in curtailing embezzlement or other inside financial frauds.

Whatever the employment sector—but especially among retail and service sectors that are dominated by young and inexperienced workers—the establishment of management systems viewed by workers as fair and equitable is important in promoting honesty and establishing positive workplace norms. Management systems that express lines of accountability among employees and are clear on employment expectations, while providing the necessary tools for employees to meet these objectives, act as a line of defense against employee dishonesty.

Robert J. Stokes

See also Burglary; Business Community Crime Prevention; Larceny/Theft; Robbery

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SOCIAL CONTROL AND SELF-CONTROL THEORY

Victimization has many serious consequences for public health and safety. Indeed, experiences of

victimization—from extreme forms of personal victimization such as sexual assault and intimate partner violence to lower level, yet still significant forms of property victimization—touch many households and can have devastating consequences for families and communities.

It is important to understand patterns of victimization as well as consider how theories, in particular criminological theories, can help account for the causes and consequences of victimization. Increasingly, research illustrates the use and relevance of criminological theories for understanding victimization. Theories that involve learning processes and cultural experiences, as well as routine activities/lifestyle characteristics, all seem relevant for understanding certain forms of victimization. However, it has been increasingly recognized, especially based on more recent research, that control theories provide credible and useful explanations for understanding victimization.

This entry describes the unique features of control theories and applies them toward understanding victimization. In particular, this entry describes two prominent control theories—Travis Hirschi's social control and Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's low self-control theory—and explains how these theories account for forms of victimization. The entry concludes by examining strategies for preventing victimization based on the principles of these particular control theories.

Control Theories: Evolution and Key Dimensions

Control theories enjoy a prominent place among the landscape of criminological theories. Indeed, dating back to the early work of French sociologist Emile Durkheim in the early 20th century, control theories have emerged since the turn of the 20th century to provide explanations that account for variations in rates of crime across neighborhoods as well as explanations for why individuals become involved in crime and deviance. It is only recently that control theories have been employed to account for victimization.

According to Hirschi's social control or social bonding theory, deviance occurs because of an absence of social control. Under this theory, individuals are naturally antisocial and hedonistic. What needs to be accounted for and understood is

why people conform. According to the theory, people conform because of the strength of their social bond or bond to society. The social bond is composed of four subcomponents, which include *attachments*, or affectional ties to parents, family members, and peers; *commitment* to prosocial courses of action and pursuits; *beliefs* in the moral validity of the law; and *involvement* or spending time in prosocial activities. A strong social bond is expected to insulate individuals from their innate tendencies to be self-interested and deviant. Taken together, Hirschi's social bonding theory represents a plausible explanation for why crime and delinquency occur.

Given that social control theory asserts that deficient socialization processes are expected to free individuals up to act on their antisocial tendencies, it is plausible to expect that such a process could also free individuals up to experience victimization. Many individuals who offend also experience high levels of victimization. In general, research finds a strong linkage between the characteristics of offenders and the characteristics of victims. What many theories have attempted to ascertain is the precise relationships between victimization experiences and offending. Whereas Hirschi's theory of social control would suggest that persons weakly bonded to society would inevitably put themselves at risk for victimization because of their antisocial orientations and their lack of integration to prosocial institutional settings, other theories assert that victimization gives rise to offending behavior through processes of strain, as individuals are pushed toward delinquent coping based on their victimization experiences. By contrast, routine activity or lifestyle theories assert that offending behavior and lifestyles could easily give rise to victimization experiences. Some social cultural theories would also expect a similar relationship. However, an equally plausible interpretation is that the conditions that lead toward offending behavior also lead toward victimization experiences; this interpretation is put forward by Hirschi as well as by Gottfredson and Hirschi in their book *A General Theory of Crime*. This book provides a comprehensive statement about the nature of low self-control and why it reflects a useful way for understanding crime and related outcomes, such as victimization (e.g., car accidents, drug use, and bad marriages). Their book reflects

a clear extension and elaboration of Hirschi's earlier theory of social control theory.

Theory of Low Self-Control

Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory of low self-control provides a comprehensive explanation of criminal and analogous behaviors including victimization. Although the primary focus of the theory has been on explaining offending behavior, the theory also applies to a range of outcomes, which include victimization. The authors have acknowledged the similarities between victims and offenders, wherein they both share individual and social factors, and a strong relationship exists between self-reports of victimization and offending.

According to the theory, individuals are naturally hedonistic and self-interested. Persons lacking in self-control tend to have an inability to restrain themselves and are at risk of succumbing to temptations that maximize their pleasure. Individuals with low self-control tend to act in the moment and do not often consider the longer term consequences of their actions. There are many aspects or dimensions of low self-control. For example, persons with low self-control tend to be risk takers (as opposed to cautious), exhibit a preference for physical as opposed to mental tasks, are self-centered, have concrete here and now orientations (as opposed to a having a future orientation), have angry temperaments, have a low frustration tolerance, and tend to lack diligence (i.e., lazy). According to the theory, these characteristics or aspects of self-control tend to reflect a "unidimensional latent trait."

The causes of low self-control, according to the theory, rest in parenting failures or deficits. A lack of effective and consistent parenting skills and behaviors provides the context for early socialization processes that are problematic and incomplete. In particular, parents who provide lax, inconsistent, or highly erratic discipline, coupled with poor or inadequate supervision, are providing a rich environment for their children to fail in developing effective levels of self-control. In effect, the absence of such effective parental management strategies, over time, ensures that children do not effectively appreciate limits and boundaries and ultimately have their antisocial dispositions reinforced. In effect, such children fail to develop adequate levels of restraint or self-control, which

allows them to act on their inner most hedonistic tendencies and needs. Criminal behavior occurs, according to the theory, because individuals lacking in self-control, coupled with opportunities to act on their lack of constraint, offend in a particular situational context.

Links Between Control and Victimization

It has only been in more recent years that Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory has shifted focus beyond offending behavior, to consider other forms of analogous behaviors such as victimization. According to Christopher Schreck, individuals who have low self-control are at risk for victimization for various different reasons involving distinct processes. First, individuals who have low self-control tend also to be impulsive and perhaps do not recognize the impact of their behavior on others; therefore, these persons may not recognize their own victimization risks. Moreover, individuals with low self-control are likely to lack diligence and have a concrete, short-sighted time orientation; thus, they may not recognize particular risks for their own personal victimization or take proactive measures to minimize their own risks. Third, individuals with low self-control may also have dispositions toward risk taking and thrill seeking, which may increase their likelihood of having accidents and/or being victimized.

Individuals with low self-control tend also to have physical orientations as opposed to more cognitive orientations. Such individuals may not cognitively consider and weigh up the risks of a particular situation that may increase their risk for victimization. Such individuals are also more likely to engage in physical violence, including fist fights and assaults, which may increase their risk for victimization.

According to Schreck, individuals with low self-control tend to be highly self-centered in their orientations and as such may not have strong levels of friendship networks and social support networks; these relationships tend to minimize their victimization risks. Individuals with low self-control also are expected to have a low frustration tolerance (i.e., short fuses), and it is perhaps not surprising that they are often easily angered. In that context, it is expected that individuals with low self-control would be more violent as both perpetrators and victims.

As mentioned above, individuals with low self-control tend also to be thrill seekers and seek excitement without considering all the consequences of their actions. They tend not to take the precautions required against personal victimization, and their impulsive decision making places them in particular situations that can increase their risk for victimization. Some of these processes may also involve neighborhood-level influences, as persons with low self-control tend to be concentrated in areas with a high level of poverty and economic disadvantage. In such areas, there is often an overrepresentation of lax and/or poor parental management skills and ample opportunities to engage in crime and experience victimization.

Current Research Findings

Several studies have examined control theories in relation to offending behavior, but only a few have examined relationships between control and victimization. However, studies exploring the unique relationship between self-control and victimization have only emerged since the late 1990s. For example, based on a study of college students, Schreck found that levels of self-control were statistically associated with criminal victimization. Erik Stewart, Kirk Elifson, and Claire Sterk examined violent victimization among African American female offenders and found support for the relationship, thereby suggesting that links between low self-control and violent victimization, can be observed among an at-risk sample of minority females.

Alex Piquero and his colleagues examined whether self-control relates to both violent offending and homicide victimization. Using longitudinal data on released offenders in California, the authors found that, consistent with Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory, low self-control was significantly related to violent offending and certain forms of homicide victimization.

Schreck, Stewart, and Fisher provided a comprehensive examination of the role of self-control in understanding repeat victimization. Their findings, which are based on an analysis of three waves of data from a large multi-city data set, found that low self-control preceded victimization experiences and that victimization was persistent over time, more than other influences. While being careful to assert that many victims do not fit into

this pathway, the authors did make the point that at least for some forms of victimization, "those who have low self-control facilitate, provoke, or precipitate their own victimization" (p. 337).

In an interesting study, Stephen Baron and his colleagues examined the influence of low self-control on violence and victimization among 140 at-risk street (i.e., homeless) youths in Canada. The study was significant because it emphasized to a greater extent the situational factors in close proximity to criminal events, in addition to dimensions of self-control. Moreover, the authors disaggregated self-control into the six component parts mentioned in the theory. The authors actually found that the risk-taking component of self-control was the only clearly related dimension that was significantly related to victimization. These findings are significant because they suggest that perhaps only certain aspects of low self-control are especially important in understanding why some forms of victimization occur.

Finally, in a 2008 study, Schreck, Stewart, and Wayne Osgood sought to separate and understand the role difference between offending and victimization. They found a great deal of overlap between many predictors of offending and victimization drawn from available theories, including Hirschi's theory of social control. However, in terms of role differences, they found that youth who get drunk frequently had a stronger tendency toward perpetrating violence than experiencing victimization, and offenders who were older tended toward more victimization experiences as opposed to violent offending behavior, in part because they may be aging out of offending behavior but still are exposed to risks for victimization in their environment.

In summary, although only a limited number of research studies have examined victimization from the perspective of control theories, some of the existing research suggests that control, including aspects of self-control, is related to victimization. These findings suggest that addressing aspects of control and self-control could help prevent victimization experiences.

Preventing Victimization: Strategies Based on Control Theories

Control theories are useful in informing efforts at preventing various forms of victimization. In

general, increases in informal social control or social bonding would reduce individual involvement in delinquency as well as victimization. Efforts at strengthening social bonding and improving levels of self-control with a view toward preventing victimization could occur through a series of programs and activities. For example, programs that foster more effective relationships between parents and children are worthwhile investments and would go some way toward fostering more effective ties and parental attachments. Moreover, efforts at improving parental management skills would foster more prosocial development of children and facilitate stronger affectional ties as well as higher degrees of constraint and self-control among youth. Parent training programs, such as those developed by Gerald Patterson in Oregon, Matthew Saunders in Australia, and David Fergusson in New Zealand, all show positive effects and illustrate worthwhile and cost-effective investments for raising self-control and reducing levels of victimization and related outcomes.

The school, as an institution of social control, provides a unique opportunity to embed young people into prosocial environments and pathways that reduce their opportunities for victimization. Programs aimed at fostering greater school commitment and performance, promoting prosocial beliefs, encouraging engagement with prosocial others and related extra curricular activities can provide worthwhile prevention investments. Kids who remain in school, as opposed to dropping out, tend to have better long-term outcomes. Moreover, programs aimed at reducing school bullying are worthwhile for preventing school-based forms of victimization.

In summary, the role of social control and self-control is important in efforts to prevent various forms of victimization. Programs have operated at either the familial or the school setting, and in general, efforts that foster higher levels of constraint in young children as well as provide further layers of social support, prosocial beliefs and awareness, and commitment to prosocial activities are significant in reducing victimization.

Conclusion

Control theories have a long history in criminology and have experienced resurgence since the

early 1990s. Although originally developed to explain crime and delinquency, more recent control theories can be employed to provide a useful explanation for victimization. Under this theory, victimization becomes another outcome for which individuals with low levels of self-control come to experience. Individuals with low self-control tend to be impulsive, have a physical as opposed to a cognitive orientation, are more likely to be self-centered, lack empathy, have angry temperaments, and have a thrill-seeking orientation. Consequently, they are often enmeshed in risky social situations where victimization is likely to occur, and they may not easily recognize their victimization risks. Moreover, the individual with low self-control is also quick to resort to violence, given their angry temperaments, thereby facilitating more risks for victimization. Such persons tend not to recognize their own personal victimization risks and are not committed toward taking proactive steps to minimize victimization outcomes.

Deficits in self-control are caused by ineffective parenting practices during early childhood, and it is expected that individuals with the lowest levels of self-control in childhood will also tend to be found in the lowest self-control group in adulthood, relative to other similarly aged individuals. The theory expects also that persons with established levels of low self-control are also at risk for persistent victimization risks given that they do not typically respond with a rational decision-making calculus to avoid future victimization experiences. Thus, efforts at minimizing victimization need to focus on the early years, to ensure that individuals are socialized to develop more constraints and healthy levels of self-control.

Paul Mazerolle

See also Offending and Victimization; Victimization, Theories of

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SOCIAL DISORDER

See Incivilities/Social Disorder

SON OF SAM LAWS

The victims of crimes forever bear the scars of the crimes that are committed against them. When the immediate victims are dead, the scars are born by the loved ones they leave behind. What makes this

situation even worse is when the killer or other perpetrator of the crime reaps a financial benefit from the crime by selling his or her story and becoming a celebrity. Although there is little that can be done to stop the media sensationalism of a crime, the law has tried to prevent those criminals from making money through telling their stories in books, television shows, and movies, unless the money is used in compensating the victim or the victim's families for their loss.

The Son of Sam laws, as they have come to be known, are the result of a \$75,000 book deal that resulted after David Berkowitz, the killer of innocent people, sold his story to the media. In 1976 and 1977, Berkowitz spread fear among New Yorkers by random attacks with a .44 caliber pistol that resulted in the deaths of six people and numerous injuries to others. People were afraid to walk the streets or sit in their cars, fearing that they would be the next random target of the killer. On the street near the shootings of Alexander Esau and Valentina Suriani in April 1977, the police found a letter addressed to Police Captain Joseph Borelli. The letter identified the killer as the "Son of Sam." In the letter, Berkowitz went on to talk about being programmed to kill and how he had been abused. In May 1977, Jimmy Breslin, who is a columnist for the *New York Daily News*, also received a letter. This letter included considerable psychotic ranting by Berkowitz, who signed it as the "Son of Sam." The police were eventually able to track down Berkowitz through a traffic citation he received in the vicinity of one of the crimes. As the story played out, Berkowitz stated that "Sam" was actually a former neighbor whose dog told him to commit the murders.

When New Yorkers heard about a proposed book deal, many were outraged by the attempt of a serial killer, Berkowitz, to profit from his crimes. This led the legislature to pass New York Executive Law Section 632-a (McKinney, 1982) that ultimately became known as the first Son of Sam law. More than 40 other states and the federal government passed similar legislation. The original law was written to prevent any convicted perpetrator from profiting from the sale of the story of his or her crime. Any proceeds were to be placed in a fund, to compensate the victims of the crime; but the Son of Sam victims would not receive any benefit from the original law. Berkowitz was never

tried and convicted of the crimes; he was declared incompetent to stand trial. However, "Berkowitz voluntarily paid his share of the royalties from the book *Son of Sam*, published in 1981, to the victims or their estates" (*Simon & Schuster Inc. v. Members of the New York State Crime Victims Board, et al.*, 502 U.S. 105, 111 [1991]).

The U.S. Supreme Court declared the New York Son of Sam law as unconstitutional, in that it was overly broad and impeded the First Amendment rights of the authors. In it *Simon & Schuster Inc. v. Members of the New York State Crime Victims Board, et al.*, 502 U.S. 105, 106 (1991), the court stated,

The New York law is not narrowly tailored to achieve the State's objective of compensating victims from the profits of crime. The law is significantly overinclusive, since it applies to works on *any* subject provided that they express the author's thoughts or recollections about his crime, however tangentially or incidentally, and since its broad definition of "person convicted of a crime" enables the Board to escrow the income of an author who admits in his work to having committed a crime, whether or not he was ever actually accused or convicted.

The *Simon & Schuster* case dealt with a book deal between Henry Hill, a writer, and his publisher. Hill was a convicted criminal and member of the Mafia who documented his exploits in the book *Wise Guy*, which was later the basis of the movie *Goodfellas*.

This ruling does not affect the ability of crime victims to seek restitution from those who commit the crimes through the filing of a civil or tort action, or a state victim's compensation fund claim. In cases where the victim is killed, the specific tort filed is called a wrongful death action. Most perpetrators of these crimes are not wealthy and cannot provide any financial compensation. By attaching any money received from selling their story, those victims would have an opportunity to recover something.

Where the crime involves a federal offense, Title 18 United States Code Section 3681 (2003) was passed to permit the prosecutor, after the defendant's conviction, to request the court to issue an "order of restitution under this title" requiring the "defendant to forfeit all or any part of proceeds

received or to be received by that defendant, or a transferee of that defendant, from a contract relating to a depiction of such crime in a movie, book, newspaper, magazine, radio or television production, or live entertainment of any kind, or an expression of that defendant's thoughts, opinions, or emotions regarding such crime."

Numerous other Son of Sam laws have been written, struck down, and rewritten. The rights of the people under the constitution have been preserved, as well as the rights of the victims to be compensated for the crimes that have been committed against them.

Keith Gregory Logan

See also Homicide, Victim Advocacy Groups; Punitive and Compensatory Damages; Vicarious Victimization

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SPORTS VIOLENCE

A relationship exists between violence and sports. The relationship takes one of the following four forms: the violence of athletes while engaged in sports, the violence of athletes outside of competition, the violence of spectators proximate to a sporting event, and the violence of sports consumers. Explanations for these relationships include the following three broad mechanisms: learning or socialization, particularly traditional masculinity, and the physical arousal of sports participation explain the violence of athletes on and off the field and the violence of sports consumers. Violence between spectators tends to be explained

by the in-group/out-group processes between team supporters.

According to Sara Fields and her colleagues, sports violence is often typed as hazing, brawling, and foul play. Although these actions do seem to represent different activities and thus different types of violence, this typology ignores the interconnectedness between these activities. The correlations and their explanations noted above also suggest a high degree of interconnectedness.

Violence by Athletes on the Field

Violence by athletes on the field is required in many sports. In some sports—boxing, “ultimate” or “mixed-martial arts” fighting, and wrestling—the violence is the means and the goal of the athletic competition. For some sports—the various forms of football and stick games—violence is a means but not the goal of the competition. Still, other sports have rules limiting contact—basketball, water polo, baseball—but nonetheless can be extremely physical in nature. Finally, many sports have no physical contact whatsoever, although the act of competition itself can be viewed as a form of aggression. The intensity of the violence in each sport varies also by the local sporting culture. Coaches and supporters can teach and encourage a team or individual to enact higher levels of violence. The variation between sports and across locations is based on learning or socialization. Another variation is the level at which the sport is being played, with lower levels often, but not always, less violent than higher forms. This variation seems to be related to the arousal effects of high-stakes competition when compared with the lower arousal effects of recreational games.

Violence by Athletes off the Field

Violence by athletes outside of competition is the most researched of the four relationships. The arousal threshold of athletes and self-selection of violence-prone individuals into sports were once the most common explanations for this type of violence, but recently the emphasis has shifted to the ways in which sports inculcate the meanings and behaviors of traditional masculinity that includes physical domination and the use of violence to achieve an end. Derek Kraeger found that

male athletes, particularly those who engaged in sports where violence is part of the game, were more likely than nonathletes and athletes in less violent sports to engage in “serious fighting.” The effect was even stronger when the individual’s peers also played higher violence sports, which suggests a socialization effect. Gordon Forbes and his colleagues found levels of “dating aggression,” “sexual coercion,” and attitudes supporting aggression toward women were higher in males who engaged in more violent high-school sports. The sexist attitudes, expressions of hostility toward women, acceptance of rape myths, and low tolerance for homosexuality again suggest the effect of socialization. Inger Endresen and Dan Olweus found that young participants in “power sports” (weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, and martial arts) were more likely to exhibit antisocial behavior and violence. Collecting data for 2 years, the authors also demonstrated that the outcomes were not related to a selection effect where kids prone to violence select violent sports, but rather the data indicate that participation in the sports produced more aggression.

Spectator Violence

With the exception of post-game celebrations that have produced property damage, violence in and around stadiums by spectators has generally not been an American phenomenon. Fights between individual spectators are rare but do occur, and few deaths have occurred as a result. Outside the United States, violence between the supporters of opposing teams is such a concern that Interpol keeps a database of “hooligans” they track and sometimes prevent from attending games. Stefan de Vreese examined data from 9 years of Belgian soccer and found that all the violence (4,240 incidents) occurred between opposing groups of “hard-core” supporters where the “other side” is viewed as weaker and inferior and thus deserving of an attack. Examining news reports on English soccer violence, Eric Dunning argues that the violence is the result of a combination of masculinity and territorial struggles. Protecting one’s home turf from the other side’s supporters is a source of status. This mechanism, Dunning argues, explains the observed violence between national team supporters, regional rivalries, and the conflicts between the subnationalist teams in Spain.

Sports Consumption and Violence

Violence by sports consumers is a relationship with much research but little resolution. Some early studies in psychology found that people who view violence became more violent, which is an arousal effect (see the famous punching bag experiments with children in the 1970s). This mechanism was also applied to those who consume violent sports. After an initial flurry of research on this topic, the pace has slackened since 2000. Carolyn Sachs and Lawrence Chu recently found a strong relationship between professional football viewing and domestic violence. Domestic violence declined in the football offseason but increased as the football season got under way and peaked during the play-offs and Super Bowl.

Another way of examining this relationship is to study the consumption habits of a particular culture. The United States is widely viewed as a “violent” nation and ranks high in homicides and other forms of violence. J. C. H. Jones and his colleagues examined the effects of attending hockey games on fan attendance and found a positive relationship between the amount of violence on the ice and the game attendance. The more violent the game, the better attended it was, although this was true for the American audiences but not the Canadian audiences. Michael Atkinson examined the phenomena of professional wrestling and its appeal to excitement through violence. The study does not connect consuming violence to violent behavior; instead, it examines the symbolic meaning of the demand for violent entertainment, the consumption of violence, and what this says about the culture as a whole.

Mark Konty

See also Football Hooliganism

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STALKERS, TYPES OF

The early stages of understanding behavioral phenomena often begin with attempts to identify types of individuals engaging in such behavior. When the first antistalking laws were passed in the early 1990s, efforts were undertaken to identify types of stalkers. The resulting typologies represent ways of theorizing about the nature of stalkers and the ways in which stalking cases can be managed and prevented. At least 25 typologies of stalkers have been reported but many have been highly speculative. Only a few have received substantive empirical investigation, and fewer still have received replication.

Typologies can be constructed along any number or content of dimensions. Such dimensions tend to represent either theoretically deduced features or empirically induced features. Some stalker typologies are simple, and others are complex. Typologies are considered simple if they have a single list of primary types and complex if they are hierarchically organized, or have two or more levels or axes of classification.

When typological systems are arrayed cross sectionally by underlying or classificatory dimension, four primary sets of characteristics emerge: *type of disorder* (e.g., physiological or psychological), *type of relationship or context* in which the parties involved began or continue contact, *type of primary motivation* (e.g., love or revenge), and *type of behavior* (e.g., harassing or violent). Some of these sets of characteristics translate into actual dimensions. For example, some typologies classify stalkers along ordinal continua that range from delusional to nondelusional, nonviolent to violent, or type of relationship (e.g., stranger to romantically involved). Other subtypes of stalkers in existing typologies focus on features such as victim characteristics (e.g., celebrity/public figure or neighbor), motivation of stalker (e.g., love or revenge), or risk of harm (e.g., low, moderate, or high).

Several early typologies revealed debts to the language of psychiatric and personality diagnoses. Early typologies reflected relatively deductive frameworks, in which existing criteria for psychological disorders were superimposed on the available empirical cases. For example, one of the earliest typologies identified three types of stalkers. *Erotomaniac* stalkers are characterized by delusions, typically nonbizarre, that a person is in love with the stalker. The object of obsessional harassment is likely to be of higher status than the stalker and is unlikely to have a prior relationship with the stalker. *Love obsessional* stalkers are similar to erotomaniac stalkers except that they are likely to have an additional primary psychiatric diagnosis. *Simple obsessional* stalkers are nondelusional harassers who have a prior relationship history, typically romantic, with the victim.

Simple Typologies

Simple typologies cluster multiple features of stalkers or stalking cases into an unsubordinated list of

types. Such typologies often produce labels for each type that are largely self-explanatory. For example, one largely speculative typology identified the following stalker types: celebrity stalker, lust stalker, hit stalker, love-scorned stalker, domestic stalker, and political stalker.

Simple typologies can classify stalkers or cases by type of behavior. One meta-analytically derived behavioral typology identified eight types of stalker activity. *Hyperintimacy* consists of inappropriate types of courtship or flirtation. *Interactional contact* involves efforts at establishing proximal or face-to-face conversation with the victim, whereas *mediated contact* involves attempts to establish contact through communication media. *Surveillance* behaviors attempt to monitor or acquire information about the victim. *Harassment/intimidation* activities are bothersome or stress-inducing behaviors, which range from insults, reputational assaults, regulatory or legal persecution, or simple excessive persistence. *Invasion* behaviors involve intrusions of the victim's personal space or property, which range from information theft to breaking and entering the victim's home. *Coercion/threat* activities represent verbal or nonverbal communications that imply potential harm to the victim or those people or things the victim values. Finally, *aggression and violence* is composed by all the forms of behavior that inflict or attempt to inflict injury or harm on the victim or those people or things the victim values. Any of these types of behavior can be enacted by the stalker directly or by third-parties, or *proxy* stalkers.

Another simple typological approach identifies the primary motivation that underlies a stalker's activity. The most typical motives identified in the stalking case literature involve *intimacy* motives, which range from abandonment or attachment loss, dependency, infatuation, jealousy, envy, love, obsession, reconciliation, relationship development, or sexual attraction. A second motivation complex involves *aggressive* intentions, which include anger, revenge, attack, control, possession, and intimidation. Other stalking cases seem more characterized by the stalker's *disability*, because of factors such as drug abuse or mental illness. Finally, some stalkers seem motivated by *task conflicts or issues*, in which a particular policy, decision, or action of the victim is considered problematic or in need of change. The main problem of simple

behavioral and motivational typologies is that most stalking cases reflect multiple and evolving patterns of stalker activity and intentions.

An early typology based on case studies of political stalkers identified hunters and howlers. *Hunters* are those who seek to harm or attack a political figure, whereas *howlers* are largely characterized by people who pursue, harass, or threaten, but are unlikely to carry out any actual attack. Howlers seem more threatening because they make their resentment or fixation known through their communications and attempted contacts with the victim. Hunters tend to hide their intentions or actions, and they are therefore more dangerous because the victim does not see the hunter coming.

An inductively derived typology used multiple victim-reported features to formulate a four-category typology of obsessive pursuers and harassers: harmless, low threat, violent criminal, and high threat. These types emerged largely from the differentiations of motive (hostile, love, controlling, and jealousy/freedom) and behavior (e.g., harassment, physical threat, illegal behaviors, and aggression toward victim's new partner).

One of the more detailed typologies in its case descriptions identified five types: rejected, intimacy seeking, incompetent, resentful, and predatory. These types are clearly focused mostly on motivational features. *Rejected* stalkers had a previous relationship with the victim and typically experience jealousy, infatuation, and possessiveness toward the victim. *Intimacy-seeking* stalkers are also infatuated but tend to experience erotomanic delusions regarding their victim. Such delusions fuel particularly persistent pursuit. *Incompetent* stalkers lack the social skills needed to pursue appropriately the mutual negotiation of relationship desired with the victim. Unlike intimacy-seeking stalkers, incompetent stalkers realize that the object of their pursuit may not be similarly interested in developing a relationship with the stalker. *Resentful* stalkers engage in a campaign of harassment in response to a perceived harm or transgression on the part of the victim. Such transgressions, as well as the relationship presumed between the stalker and victim, may be delusionally constructed. The object of pursuit is some form of revenge or vindication. The *predatory* stalker engages in organized and planned activity designed

to attack a victim, typically with sexual motivations entwined with the motive for such attack. The motives may involve paraphilia, power, and control, and the stalker may have a prior record of sexual offense. Applications of this typology to the classification of stalking cases produced a broad distribution across the following categories: rejected (35%), intimacy seeking (32%), incompetent (14%), resentful (14%), and predatory (5%).

Complex Typologies

One of the earliest typologies classified stalkers by their relationship to the victim and by the level of mental disorder. At the highest level of the typology is relationship context. Stalkers emerge from either nondomestic, or stranger or nonromantic beginnings, or from domestic romantic or familial beginnings. Each one of these categories then is subdivided. Nondomestic stalkers can be *organized* or *delusional*. Organized stalkers are characterized by forethought, intentionality, planning, and preparation, and they are likely to display reasonable reality-testing ability. In contrast, delusional stalkers will reveal imagined roles or scenarios in which the object of pursuit is prominent. Domestic stalkers can also be of a delusional subtype, in which the imaginary or imaginary scenarios involve significant romantic or familial content. Nondelusional stalkers tend to be persons who had some actual romantic relationship with the object of pursuit but cannot relinquish a persistent desire to continue contact, whether the motivations are amorous, harassing, antagonistic, or a combination of these.

Another dual-axis typology compares the motives of the stalker (affectionate/amorous or persecutory/angry) across relationship types (personal, professional, employment, media, acquaintance, or stranger). Affectionate/amorous stalkers are primarily seeking romantic intimacy, although such feelings can shift to anger or aggression if such pursuits are rejected by the victim. Persecutory/angry stalkers tend to seek redress of an attributed transgression or injury. Such stalkers are more likely to have multiple victims and psychiatric disorders.

Another complex taxonomy of stalkers uses duration of stalking, victim apprehension, actual victim risk, stalker motive, and ability to intervene

to differentiate four types, as follows: ex-partner (harassment/stalking), infatuation (harassment), delusional fixated (stalking), and sadistic (stalking). *Ex-partner* harassment and stalking cases are long-lasting cases, which are motivated by resentment, produce victim fear and anger, and represent high risks based on proximity and personal contexts. *Infatuated* stalking cases tend to be short-term in duration, are motivated by love or attraction, lead to victim annoyance or embarrassment, and reflect relatively low-level risks to the victim. *Delusional fixated* stalking cases involve long-lasting cases, which are motivated by often incoherent obsessions, blatantly inappropriate forms of communication and contact, and victim fear and bewilderment. These cases range from moderate (i.e., less dangerous) to high (i.e., dangerous) risks to the victim. *Sadistic* stalking cases represent long-term cases, in which the motive is control and predation, the victim typically experiences fear and feelings of helplessness; in this scenario, the risks to the victim are high.

The typology that was developed on the basis of the largest sample of stalking cases is formulated along the two dimensions of relationship (intimate, acquaintance, or stranger) and context (private or public). These axes produced two complex types: Type I consists of stalkers who had a previous relationship with a private figure context. Type I stalkers comprise the following two subtypes: *intimate* stalking, in which the victim is a former partner, and *acquaintance*, in which the victim was a co-worker, friend, client, customer, or other non-romantic or nonfamilial affiliation. Type II stalkers, strangers, have no prior relationship or only incidental contact with the victim. Two subtypes for Type II stalkers consist of *public figure* contexts, in which celebrities or politicians, or other publicly accessible person is pursued, and *private figure* contexts, in which the victim has relatively little public exposure and no relationship to the pursuer, but nevertheless becomes an object of the stalker's fixation. This typology was derived from an examination of more than 1,000 stalking cases, and it produced a distribution of 50% intimate, 27% public figure, 13% acquaintance, and 10% stranger stalkers. Type I stalkers tended to have more female targets (91% vs. 77%) than Type II stalkers, and these individuals use more threats (79% vs. 26%) and violence (69% vs. 10%),

whereas Type II stalkers tended to have more male targets (29% vs. 10%) and were more likely to be diagnosed as psychotic (26% vs. 13%).

Limitations of Typologies

As useful as typologies are for a general understanding of stalking, they tend to suffer from several limitations. First, they are rarely grounded in a coherent theory of stalking activity. Second, although many typologies take into account the relationship of the stalker to the victim, existing typologies are entirely focused on the stalker as an individual, rather than the features of the *stalker-victim* interactional pattern. Third, with one or two exceptions, there has been a lack of replication, publication of coding details, or explicit validation of categories. Fourth, whereas the more complex typologies may better reflect the complexity of the phenomenon, they also tend to produce more impure categories, such that given features occur in multiple categories. Fifth, empirically based typologies are based on biased samples, which are typically derived from counseling or forensic sources. Such cases are likely to represent more serious or violent cases, thereby excluding many of the more mundane and unreported types of cases. Sixth, another source of bias is the potential for a Western, Anglo orientation, given that little stalking research has been reported in non-English-speaking cultures. Finally, stalking cases often last months or even years, and consequently, few stalking cases are likely to be validly characterized by a single typological characterization.

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See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cyberstalking; Intimate Partner Violence; National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Stalking; Stalking, Measurement of; Stalking Laws

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STALKING

It was during the 1980s that stalking first became recognized as a crime in the United States. After the highly publicized stalking and murder of actress Rebecca Schafer, as well as several other stalking murders and attempts, we began to think of stalking as a serious crime that the country needed to legislate and enforce. Legislation criminalizing stalking followed these tragic, and potentially foreseeable, events. California was the first state to adopt legislation that defined stalking as a criminal offense (in 1990). After the U.S. Congress enacted legislation that required the Attorney General to research and develop a model anti-stalking code, other states followed in short order, and currently, all 50 states have similar stalking classifications.

It is staggering to consider how prevalent stalking is, yet it has remained relatively unnoticed by

scholars and practitioners until recently. The National Center for Victims of Crime estimates that 1 of 12 women and 1 of 45 men will be stalking victims during their lifetimes. Thus, during any given year, nearly 1 million women and 400,000 men experience the crime of stalking. Furthermore, there is no possible way to estimate the number of secondary victims of stalking: the friends, family, co-workers, and neighbors who may experience fear, injury, threats, and harassment simply by virtue of living in the same locations, having contact with, and being important to the primary victims of stalking.

Equally interesting is the difficulty policy makers have with its definition. Undoubtedly, some of these difficulties stem from the orientation of the criminal justice system: that one is innocent until proven guilty, and one cannot be arrested without actually *doing* something illegal. Prior to stalking legislation, a victim might have reported her stalker to the police only to be told that they could not do anything because “he (she) hasn’t actually done anything wrong yet.” Now, although specifics vary across states, most statutes include definitions that convey the idea that stalking is made up of tangible *behaviors*. As such, these tangible behaviors, such as when a person follows, observes, harasses, or threatens another repeatedly, are, in and of themselves, illegal and should not be viewed as harmless preludes to future illegal behavior.

The Problem of Definition

Currently, most stalking statutes incorporate several elements, as follows: (1) the behavior is a course of conduct; (2) it is viewed as unwanted and harassing—that it causes substantial emotional distress and serves no legitimate purpose; (3) the offender must pose a credible threat to the safety of the victim, his or her family, or friends; and (4) most recently, *cyberstalking* has been added to the growing ways in which stalkers harass and frighten their victims.

There are problems when interpreting these definitions and behaviors of stalking. For one, the notion that the behaviors represent a “course of conduct” can be difficult, because how long does it take, how many acts does it take, for certain behaviors to create a “pattern” or “course” of actions? Victims may have different interpretations regarding

how long the stalking goes on before they actually label what is happening to them as stalking. Law enforcement officers may also have interpretations concerning how many incidents make up a trend. These varying interpretations can make it difficult to pinpoint the moment when a person stops being just irritating and becomes a stalker; when the conduct moves from legal but inappropriate to illegal. And, of course, it can prolong unfortunate and potentially dangerous circumstances when victims and law enforcement officers have different interpretations of this element.

Furthermore, the terms *credible* and *threat* are both complicated. For example, how serious does one have to be to be considered credible or reasonable? Presumably, standards for reasonable fear would be different for males and for females, or for timid people and more aggressive people; which standard should we use, or should they be different? Some stalkers say things that on the surface seem romantic to an outsider, but to the victim, the underlying menace in the stalker's voice makes the discussion much more threatening. In addition, must threats be verbal? Could threats be written? Do they have to be clear and direct, or can they be implied? Can threats take the form of a rose left on the victim's car windshield? To an outsider this gesture may seem romantic, the message one of begging for forgiveness; whereas to the victim, the message may clearly be "I know where you are. You can't hide from me."

In the end, the federal government and most states have passed antistalking laws that authorize the arrest of persons who repeatedly follow or appear within the site of another, approach or confront another person in a public or private place, appear at the workplace or home of another, enter or remain on a person's property, call a person on the phone, or send mail or email to another. States have also acknowledged that the behavioral pattern of stalking is typically characterized by increasingly more serious actions, and as such, these states have legislation that places stalking behaviors on a continuum from misdemeanor to serious felony.

Offenders

Stalking is most often characterized as a crime of obsession, and offenders are viewed as having

often severe psychological disorders or psychoses. Many scholars typify stalkers into three categories: simple obsessional, love obsessional, and erotomania. Using this typology, the simple obsessional is the type who stalks his or her spouse, lover, or former boss. The love obsessional is typically a male who stalks a stranger (possibly a celebrity) and professes inappropriate romantic notions. Finally, the erotomaniac is typically a female who stalks a man she believes loves her. She reinterprets his responses to her to support her delusions. In this case, it is the latter two types of stalkers who may have psychological disorders. Other typologies of stalkers include the following: the *intimate* stalker who wants to (re)establish a permanent romantic union; the *rejected* stalker who pursues his or her victims to reverse or avenge a rejection (e.g., divorce, separation, and termination); and the *predatory* stalker who spies on his or her victim to plan an attack—usually sexual—on the victim. In this typology, any of the stalking types may be persons who are psychologically unbalanced or they may be normal, just inappropriately and unflaggingly relentless.

Stalkers use a wide variety of strategies. Depending on the type of stalker, he or she may use courtship behaviors like professing love or begging the victim to return. The offender may use surveillance techniques such as following the victim, driving by the victim's home or place of work, spying on the victim, tapping phones, or otherwise listening in on the victim's conversations. Most stalkers use threats, either direct or implied against victims. These may include threatening to kill the victim; breaking in or vandalizing the victim's car, home, or property; entering the victim's home without permission; verbally abusing the victim; threatening to harm the victim; threatening the victim with a weapon; threatening suicide if the victim does not comply; theft; opening or closing financial accounts; taking money from financial accounts; and using victims' credit cards. Stalking often escalates into violent behaviors such as physical assault, preventing the victim from leaving some place, sexually assaulting the victim, or murdering the victim. Other types of behaviors that are typical of stalkers are showing up at the victim's home or work, repeatedly

telephoning, contacting the victim's family, and leaving written messages.

Victims

Women are primarily the targets, and their stalkers are usually ex-partners who cannot accept the conclusion of the relationship. Typically, the stalking behaviors start right after the conclusion of the relationship, which was likely characterized by abuse. The Federal Bureau of Investigation estimates that about one third of female victims of homicide were previously stalked by their killers.

Victims of stalking (both male and female) are unique from many other types of crime victims. They experience a crime that is ongoing, rather than having a definite beginning and end. Many victims experience great confusion because the stalking often incorporates romantic gestures, even while still being threatening, and the victim may have once loved the stalker. Nonetheless, stalking is a crime that produces extreme stress, fear, and hysteria. The stalker may seem to be everywhere; she hides but he finds her. He may be whispering sweet nothings to her, but he may also be ranting abuse as well. Victims try to get help, but it is often not particularly effective, and all the while he or she continues to experience stalking. Stalking causes great emotional distress. Victims may experience denial, guilt, shock and confusion, irritability, fear, anxiety, phobias, panic attacks, anger, depression, flashbacks, difficulties with concentration, posttraumatic stress disorder, health problems, sleep disturbances, or alcohol/drug use or abuse. Research by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) shows that victims' worst fears resulting from the stalking include (in order of notation by victims) not knowing what would happen next, thinking that the behavior would never stop, experiencing bodily harm, having their child(ren) harmed or kidnapped, having a family member harmed, experiencing loss of freedom, being killed, having a current partner harmed, or losing their minds. At the beginning of the stalking or harassment, victims typically felt annoyed or angry, but these feelings quickly moved to feeling frightened, helpless, depressed, sick, or suicidal.

Research findings suggest that stalking victims are not terribly likely to take actions to protect themselves or to stop the unwanted behaviors.

However, when they do, the most common actions they take are to change their usual activities (e.g., staying with family, taking time off from work or school, avoiding family and friends, changing route to work or school, changing or quitting job or school, and altering their appearance). Victims may also take protective actions such as installing caller ID/call blocking; changing their phone number; changing locks; getting a security system; getting pepper spray, a gun, or other weapon; or taking self-defense classes. Finally, victims may change their personal information, such as their email addresses or social security numbers. Similarly, stalking victims were not likely to seek help from others. However, when they did, it was likely to be from family and friends or their bosses. Victims also may ask people not to release their information.

Patterns

Researchers tend to find that the typical victims of stalkers are women (~70%) and that women are most likely to be stalked by a spouse or ex-spouse. Men are far less likely to be stalked, and when they are, it is likely to be by a stranger or acquaintance. Having said that, research indicates that although women may be more likely to be stalked, both men and women are equally likely to experience harassment. Regarding the relationship between the offender and victim, research highlights that most stalking victims (males and females together) are stalked by someone they know but who is not an intimate or ex-intimate partner. To elaborate, 45% of stalking victims were stalked by a friend, roommate, or neighbor. It may have been someone they knew from work or school, a casual acquaintance, or a relative. The next most likely relationship of the offender to the victim was an intimate or former intimate such as a spouse, a former spouse, or a boyfriend or girlfriend. Last, victims may have been stalked by a stranger. Interestingly, approximately 17% of stalking victims did not know who their stalker was. Nevertheless, according to the BJS, nearly three in four stalking victims knew their stalker in some capacity. Furthermore, male and female stalking victims were equally likely to report the offense to the police.

In 2008, the Supplemental Victimization Survey (a subset of data from the National Crime

Victimization Survey) reported on the stalking victimization experienced by members of U.S. households in the previous year. Many patterns emerged. The most likely age group of stalking victims was 18- to 19-year-olds who comprised nearly half of those individuals who indicated they had been stalked. The next most likely age group was 20- to 24-year-olds with only slightly fewer in proportion. Persons who identified as being a member of more than one race were the most likely stalking victims (49%). American Indian/Alaskan Natives were the next most likely victims (33%), and Whites and Blacks followed with proportions of 24% and 23%, respectively. Divorced or separated individuals were those with the greatest risks for stalking victimization regarding marital status, and household income emerged with a telling pattern: Those who were the poorest (incomes less than \$7,500) had the highest rates of stalking victimization.

Regarding length of time, statisticians indicate that nearly half of stalking victims experienced at least one unwanted contact per week, and 11% of victims said they had been stalked for 5 years or more. The largest group of victims, however, experienced stalking for 6 months or less.

The form stalking takes is another question and concern. The report found that one in four stalking victims reported some form of cyberstalking, such as email (83%) or instant messaging (35%). Stalking victims also reported that they had their property damaged, had their residence or car illegally entered, had their financial accounts tampered with, had their credit cards used without permission, or experienced some other theft. Physical harm typically came in the form of being hit, slapped, and knocked down, but victims were also choked, strangled, attacked with weapons, chased or dragged with cars, and raped. Furthermore, victims indicated that stalkers also attacked family members, co-workers, pets, and the victims' children. The most likely weapon used in physical attacks was a knife.

The consequences of stalking can be significant. More than half of stalking victims lost 5 or more days from work. Many victims reported they feared bodily harm to themselves, and only slightly fewer were worried about the safety of a child or other family member. Ten percent of stalking victims feared their stalker would kill them. About 40% of victims revealed their stalkers threatened

the victims' families, co-workers, or family pets. There was also likely to be a financial impact on stalking victims as they had to pay for things such as attorney fees, damage to property, child care costs, moving expenses, or changing phone numbers. Victims may also have lost pay because of missing work.

Cyberstalking

Cyberstalking is a relatively new phenomenon. With access to a computer, stalkers' identities and whereabouts can remain undetected. They can engage in stalking and harassment behaviors easily and cheaply, and they can wreak havoc on the lives of victims with little effort. Online, stalkers can get to their victims via chat rooms, message boards, discussion boards, email, instant messaging, texting, posting pictures or information on Web sites, and hacking into financial, social networking, and professional accounts. In these contexts, the cyberstalker can seem to be everywhere. He or she can post messages that seem to be from the victim, and can give out personal information about the victim so that others can contact or harass the victim. Stalkers can text their victims frequently indicating they know where their victims are. Cyberstalkers can hack into victims' school accounts and change their class schedules and post discussion messages that look like they are from the victims. The victim may have his or her accounts frozen, drained, closed, or altered. Victims have had various types of accounts opened in their names. For example, stalkers can open an email account in the victim's name and send inappropriate emails to co-workers and friends. Victims have had pictures of themselves that have been altered so that they seem to be naked posted on message boards where their friends, families, and co-workers may see them. Or, these pictures may be posted with personal information and solicitations to strangers. A computer-savvy stalker can set up a program to have hundreds, if not thousands, of emails sent to his or her victim daily. He or she can hack into a victim's bank account and cancel automatic bill payment. In essence, cyberstalkers, with only a small amount of personal information about the victim can steal the victim's identity and completely destroy his or her life. It is obvious that even though cyberstalking is a new form of stalking, the methods and

consequences can, and are, just as dangerous and devastating as more traditional forms of stalking.

Police Responses Versus Victims' Responses to Stalking

Typical or usual (and completely understandable) victims' responses often jeopardize their cases as well as their positions and significance as "victims" in the eyes of the criminal justice system. To illustrate, many victims engage in what are called acquiescence strategies. These involve assenting to their stalkers to some small extent so that "he would stay cool." These may be viewed by law enforcement as the victim being unsure of what she wants or leading the stalker on. Another example is that many stalkers engage in "courtship"-like behaviors (e.g., leaving a rose on the windshield of the victim's car, professing love, or begging the victim to return). Although the victim is aware of the true meaning and threatening nature of these "romantic" displays, others, such as criminal justice personnel, may recognize these seemingly insignificant behaviors as nothing to worry about or get so uptight about. As expected, these issues regarding the definition of stalking negatively impact victims' experiences with the criminal justice system as well as the ability of criminal justice personnel to protect the victim adequately. As such, many victims of stalking do not report their harassment to the police, or do so only minimally.

Responses to Stalking

Given the difficulties in enforcing stalking statutes, victims need to be provided with concrete information about how to plan for their safety. Several types of strategies have been suggested by researchers and law enforcement officials. And, although these strategies need to be empirically tested for their effectiveness, until that time, they are the best strategies "those in the know" have developed. Such strategies include alerting friends, family, and co-workers about the situation so that the stalker cannot manipulate them. Victims should obtain a restraining order, even if only to show officials they are serious about the stalking being unwanted. Victims should alter their routines and learn self-defense. They should establish

security measures at their residence, use an answering machine and keep all messages from their stalkers, establish a separate phone for their personal calls, and have the phone company install a trap on their phone so hang-ups and harassing calls can be traced. If victims have garages, they should use them and close the doors so that the stalker does not know whether they are home. They should put all bills in fake names, and set up accounts in fake names (this is legal as long as the companies with whom the bills and accounts are with know the situation and what the account holder's real name is). Finally, they should avoid places that the stalker knows they frequent, and if they have children in common and visitation is required, they should have custody exchanges take place at the police station or via a third party. Practitioners should have these suggestions at the ready for stalking victims and researchers should empirically examine strategies to assess their effectiveness at ending the stalking more quickly, with less violence, or with less escalation in injury and damage.

Elizabeth Ehrhardt Mustaine

See also Cyberstalking; Stalkers, Types of; Stalking, Measurement of; Stalking Laws

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STALKING, MEASUREMENT OF

Stalking is a complex behavior and is not easily studied. Stalking can generally be described as a pattern of unwanted contacts and harassing behaviors directed at a specific person that can induce fear and distress. Because the meaning of the stalking behaviors is often contextual and subjective (usually these behaviors have special significance known only to the offender and victim), objectively measuring these behaviors is difficult. Attaining reliable and consistent data on the prevalence and incidence of stalking is challenging because inconsistent measures are used to identify stalking behavior. Despite this difficulty, research on stalking has illuminated much of the complexity, nature, and extent of the crime. This entry outlines the important areas of focus in stalking research, several methodologies used, some challenges associated with studying stalking, and recommendations for the future.

Researchers have attempted to identify the frequency of stalking, the behaviors and characteristics of stalkers, the impact of stalking behaviors on victims, victim responses, actions taken by criminal justice and mental health systems, and correlation of stalking with other crimes. Stalking research methodologies vary, but it has been studied through epidemiological analysis, general surveys, case studies of forensic samples of stalkers, and self-reports of stalking victims. Although most stalking research is completed with sample populations of victims or offenders involved with the criminal and civil justice systems, several epidemiological reports have stimulated researchers to look at nonforensic populations of stalkers, such as university and college students.

Survey research involves asking standardized questions of a large number of respondents and may be done through questionnaires or individual interviews. The first large-scale survey on stalking in the United States was the National Violence Against Women Survey, which measured lifetime prevalence rates of stalking. Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes developed a measurement for stalking victimization behaviors. This important tool also measured the extent of fear stalking victims felt as well as the frequency of experiences specific to stalking behaviors.

Descriptive epidemiologic studies are document reviews or large population surveys. These provide information about the occurrence of stalking in a specific population or its subgroups, such as Bonnie Fisher and Francis Cullen's National College Women Sexual Victimization Study. When researchers review available records, they do not necessarily interact directly with subjects. Instead, researchers examine and analyze narratives, stalking arrests records, and other court records to find commonalities or trends that can be used to identify populations and subgroups at high and low risk for stalking, as well as to provide insights on which to base future studies.

Case studies in stalking research focus on known stalkers or self-identified victims to provide information on the context of stalking, predictors of stalking, or cues to managing stalking behavior. Case studies have helped researchers assess the types of stalking behaviors, the frequency and intensity of the behaviors, the nature of attachment of stalkers to their victims, and the motivation for the stalking actions.

Studies that measure the experiences of stalking victims often examine the impact stalking has had on their lives and the actions victims have taken to stop or ameliorate the problem. Through case studies and epidemiological reviews, researchers have theorized various classification systems or typologies for different kinds of stalkers. Other research has examined the poststalking interventions that criminal justice and social service organizations have taken to assist victims or treat the stalking offender. Correlations between stalking and other interpersonal crimes have also been explored through case studies on intimate partner violence and sexual assault.

Developing scales to predict a stalker's future use of violence is another area of research. These studies attempt to gauge the threat of future violence by analyzing contextual factors, such as characteristics of victims and stalkers, stalking behaviors, and the nature of the relationship between the stalker and victim, to formulate a structured risk-assessment tool. These structured risk-assessment tools can be clinical guides or actuarial measures: Structured clinical guides identify potential areas of concern or create checklists to guide clinical assessment of future risk for violence; actuarial instruments are guides that assign specific significance to the different variables to assess the risk.

Studying stalking entails several challenges. Because of the high cost and complexity involved, community-based studies on the prevalence of stalking are scarce. Other studies are limited by a lack of diversity or the size of the sample population. Researchers usually create their own definition or operationalization of stalking, and this has resulted in no consistent or standard measurement in identifying stalking victims or classifying stalkers. Measurement scales vary among behavioral indices, self-classification schemes, and stalking perpetration scales. For example, studies on stalking behaviors might consider "obsessive relational intrusion" or "unwanted pursuit behaviors" whereas others outline "harassment in abusive relationships." Few replication studies of previous research have been conducted using the same stalking measurement. Risk assessments of potential stalking-related violence are limited by a lack of prospective studies.

Although stalking research has not yet provided consistent measurement for prediction, assessment, or even management of stalking behaviors, it has raised awareness, increased our understanding, and provided necessary guidance for those working with stalkers or stalking victims. Having a better understanding of stalking is critical, as it can reveal opportunities for intervention, aid in offender accountability, and most importantly, enhance victim safety.

Rebecca Dreke and Kevin O'Brien

See also Cyber and Internet Offenses; Cyberstalking; Stalkers, Types of; Stalking; Stalking Laws; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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STALKING LAWS

Stalking legislation in the United States has significantly evolved since the first criminal statutes were passed in the early 1990s. As lawmakers across the country began to write legislation, they struggled to define and address adequately the complicated, often-evolving crime of stalking. Nearly 20 years later, legislators are still revising statutes, and the criminal justice system is still adapting its approaches to the crime.

When California enacted the first criminal stalking statute in 1990, many criminal justice practitioners and legislators were just beginning to understand the nature and impact of stalking. During the last 18 years, research and practice have yielded statistical and anecdotal data that show the magnitude of the crime: An estimated 1.4 million people are stalked annually in the United States, and 1 in 12 women and 1 in 45 men

will be stalked in their lifetime. Most stalkers are male, and are most often known to their victims. The toll of stalking on victims can be great. Many victims experience anxiety, insomnia, social dysfunction, severe depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder. They may lose time from work or even be unable to return to work. Some victims incur additional financial costs because they relocate to escape their stalker. As knowledge about the crime has increased, jurisdictions across the country have worked to clarify and strengthen their stalking laws.

History

Stalking legislation began in 1990 in Orange County, California, after four women had been murdered despite the restraining orders they had obtained against the men who later killed them. Municipal Court Judge John Watson, after reading a newspaper article about the powerlessness of law enforcement to prevent these murders, drafted the first stalking statute and presented it to a state senator for consideration. Watson's actions, coupled with national media attention of the murder of actress Rebecca Schaeffer by her stalker, led the California state legislature to enact CA Penal Code Section 646.9 "Stalking" that same year. The law made it a felony to cause another, or their family, to be in reasonable fear for their safety and carried a prison sentence.

Jurisdictions across the country quickly followed suit by enacting stalking statutes of their own. By the end of 1993, all 50 states and the District of Columbia had enacted laws that addressed stalking, although two states addressed stalking behavior under broader statutes such as harassment or terrorizing. In 1996, U.S. Congress made interstate stalking a federal criminal offense. Many American Indian/Alaska Native tribes, the U.S. Territories, and other common-law jurisdictions also criminalized stalking in their legal codes. Criminal justice practitioners and victim advocates (primarily domestic violence advocates) have been encouraged that many of these laws criminalized frightening and threatening stalking behaviors that had previously been dismissed as noncriminal.

Most stalking statutes passed in the early 1990s included a definition of stalking and a penalty for committing the crime. The statutes often defined

stalking as involving a "pattern of behavior." Jurisdictions varied widely, however, on how they choose to define this pattern of behavior or course of conduct. Some included a list of prohibited behaviors (e.g., following, threatening, or repeated harassment), and others simply stated that it is illegal to conduct a pattern of behavior against someone that would cause that person to feel fear.

Model Codes

National Institute of Justice Model Code

In 1993, Congress, to support and guide states' efforts to enact stalking statutes, asked the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) at the U.S. Department of Justice to create a model stalking code (NIJ Model Code). NIJ and other national partners worked with criminal justice practitioners, victim advocates, and legislators across the country to address the many legal issues that may arise when a jurisdiction enacts a stalking statute. Because the NIJ Model Code was published so soon after the first statutes were enacted, there was little time to test the stalking statutes (through appeals of criminal convictions) and decipher the exact legal issues that would emerge from those appeals.

Although the NIJ Model Code gave much-needed help to jurisdictions seeking to enact stalking statutes, in many states few stalking cases were investigated and prosecuted in the years immediately after the new statutes were passed. Law enforcement officials cited a lack of reporting by stalking victims and a lack of direct evidence for prosecution in the stalking cases that were reported to them as reasons for the low number of investigations and prosecutions. Prosecutors found it challenging to prosecute an offender for stalking; the fact-finder (judge or jury) often knew little about this crime.

Several of those cases that were prosecuted and resulted in a conviction were appealed to higher state courts in an effort to overturn the conviction, a part of the statute, or the statute as a whole. Appeals during this time often involved challenges to the constitutionality of stalking statutes. Offenders argued that their jurisdiction's statute was either overly broad (that the statute was written to include too many behaviors that are legal) or vague (that the statute was not written clearly

enough for the average person to understand what behavior is criminalized).

Other appeals pertained to the sufficiency of the evidence used against the offender to convict him or her of stalking. Offenders often argued that there was not enough direct evidence of a fear-inducing pattern or behavior or that the behaviors committed by the offender did not meet the jurisdiction's definition of stalking. Appeals courts sometimes struck down parts of state statutes. Such court rulings, along with requests from criminal justice practitioners and victim advocates who continued to observe cases being ignored, prompted many state legislators to begin revising their existing stalking statutes.

National Center for Victims of Crime Model Code

In January 2007, after years of requests from various jurisdictions on specific ways to strengthen their stalking statutes, the National Center for Victims of Crime (NCVC) released "The Model Stalking Code Revisited" (NCVC Model Code). The NCVC Model Code was informed by new empirical research on stalking and the experiences and knowledge of the staff of the national Stalking Resource Center, which is a project NCVC launched in 2000 to raise national awareness of stalking and to encourage the development and implementation of multidisciplinary responses to stalking in local communities across the country. The Stalking Resource Center has provided training and assistance to thousands of victims, victim advocates, and criminal justice practitioners, and it has learned the various problems jurisdictions were facing with their existing stalking statute, including lack of awareness of statutory requirements and lack of enforcement.

The NCVC Model Code aims to address these statutory problems by clarifying the definition and punishment sections of a stalking statute. For example, in clarifying the definition of stalking, jurisdictions can address the emerging use of technologies or other new behaviors in stalking cases. In clarifying the punishment section of the statutes, jurisdictions can show that they take stalking seriously by enacting appropriate punishment for the crime.

One major issue addressed in the NCVC Model Code is the importance of eliminating the "credible

threat" requirement in many definitions of stalking. States often require prosecutors to prove that the offender had made a "credible threat" (generally defined as a threat made with the intent and apparent ability to carry out the threat) against the victim to prove that the accused had committed the crime of stalking. However, research and practice have proven a strong connection between stalking and other intimate partner crimes, such as domestic violence and sexual assault. In intimate relationships, threats often may be understood only by those in the relationship, not by outside parties, and it was often difficult for prosecutors to prove to a judge or jury that certain behaviors constituted threats. For example, if a stalking victim who has relocated in an attempt to escape her stalker finds a rose in her car—the same type of rose she has received from the offender in the past—the victim is likely to perceive the rose as a message that she has been found and is in danger. However, someone unaware of the history between the victim and the offender may view the rose as a harmless gesture. Therefore, the NCVC Model Code recommended removing the credible threat requirement from stalking statutes.

With the help of the NIJ Model Code and NCVC Model Code, states have much more information and education to help them enact stalking statutes that meet the needs of stalking victims and hold offenders accountable for their criminal behaviors. Informed by the Model Codes, many states have amended their stalking statutes to address the use of technology (e.g., telephones, spyware, and global positioning systems) as part of the "course of conduct" of stalkers—an element of the crime that was almost entirely absent from early stalking legislation. Many states have acted to include the standard of "fear for the safety of a third person" in addition to fear for the victim's own, recognizing that stalkers often deliberately target those close to the victim to terrorize the victim even more.

Enhancing Responses to Stalking

Although jurisdictions have worked hard for the last 20 years to enact statutes to cover the criminal stalking behaviors identified in their communities, stalking victims and the criminal justice system still face many challenges in dealing with the crime.

One challenge is the continued lack of understanding of the crime of stalking and awareness of stalking laws among those who encounter stalking victims. Despite the availability of stalking training for criminal justice practitioners and victim advocates in many jurisdictions, some jurisdictions cannot afford the training or have not made such training a priority. Even when professionals are trained, high turnover rates in first-responder positions (patrol officers and crisis line workers) often leave many professionals uneducated about the crime and the seriousness of stalking, and leave stalking victims with little information and little recourse.

Another challenge is the hesitation of some prosecutors to prosecute stalking cases either because they do not believe they have enough direct evidence to prove the case or they are unwilling to risk losing at trial. Finally, judges and juries (public citizens) often receive little to no training or information about stalking and its seriousness.

In some jurisdictions, enhanced stalking statutes have resulted in increased arrest and prosecution of stalkers. However, well-written stalking laws and effective criminal justice responses often do not stop the stalking behavior. Therefore, successful responses to stalking require a community-wide approach that ensures an effective criminal justice response via continued review, analysis, and enhancement of criminal stalking statutes, along with legal, medical, mental health, and advocacy services to support and enhance the safety of victims of stalking. Together, these multifaceted coordinated community responses to stalking can help ensure that stalking laws achieve their goals of enhancing victim safety and increasing offender accountability.

Sandy Bromley and Michelle M. Garcia

See also Cyberstalking; Stalkers, Types of; Stalking; Stalking, Measurement of; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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Web Sites

National Stalking Resource Center: <http://www.ncvc.org/src>

STOCKHOLM SYNDROME

Stockholm syndrome is a psychological and emotional process whereby the abused comes to identify with the abuser. In some cases, a bond forms between a victim and a victimizer whereby the victim actually feels a strong attachment to his or her abuser. The syndrome was initially identified as the result of events that took place at a bank robbery in Stockholm, Sweden, on August 23, 1973. The reporter who documented the infamous robbery in Stockholm in great detail noted that the hostage takers acted with both brutality and kindness. A commissioner who entered the bank to check the status of the hostages a few days into the ordeal noted that the environment was peculiar, in that the hostages were hostile toward him and almost comfortable with their abusers, engaging in banter, light conversation, and even smiling. The hostages reported that the small kindnesses afforded them were seen as gifts, which they appreciated. They saw their captors as merely responding to the threat of police. Hostages later reported confusion in these feelings of gratitude, even though at the time they seemed rather genuine.

Classic Stockholm Syndrome

During a bank robbery, three women (Birgitta Lundblad, Elisabeth Olgren, and Kristen Ehnmark) and one man (Sven Safstrom) were held captive by two male bank robbers with extensive criminal histories. The hostages were held for 131 hours, during which they developed strong attachments to their captors, coming to hold empathetic and

protective feelings toward them; the women eventually viewed police as more threatening than their captors. The relationship between the victims of the robbery and their captors persisted beyond captivity; some victims reported they continued the relationship for years after the actual event. Dee Graham, Edna Rawlings, and Robert Rigsby report that, in 1985, a leading American paper reported that two of the female captives were engaged to their captors.

This behavior response pattern has come to be known as Classic Stockholm Syndrome. Indications that Stockholm syndrome is present include (1) positive attitudes and emotions by the captives toward their captors, (2) negative attitudes and emotions by the captives toward the police and other authorities trying to win their release, and (3) positive attitudes and emotions by the captors toward their captives.

Graham's Stockholm Syndrome

Graham, Rawlings, and Rigsby proposed several paradoxes of the syndrome. They argue that fundamental differences are found between what the hostages perceive and how behavior is interpreted by outsiders to the situation. One of the most common features of the syndrome is that often, the hostages feel gratitude toward their captors for letting them live. In some cases, this can be interpreted as having their lives given back to them. This feeling is juxtaposed against the perspective of the outsider who believes that no one has the right to willfully threaten or take another's life. The syndrome is also characterized by the hostages who find it difficult to feel anger toward captors. Outsiders expect the hostages to express anger for being terrorized and being held against their will. In addition, the hostages view captors as kind, with the captors' small kindnesses superseding the psychological impact of terror. Outsiders view captors as indifferent to hostages' and others' suffering.

Individuals who are taken captive and develop an affinity for their captors do not take advantage of opportunities to escape, as opportunities are not viewed as such. Outsiders find this difficult to comprehend as opportunities for escape are more visible from outside the situation. This is hampered

by the fact that even if offered a route of escape, many captives with the syndrome will not take advantage of it expressing concern for the people who have taken them hostage. Outsiders view this concern as unwarranted. Another paradox is that the captives come to see the captors as "good guys" and may come to think of the police as threatening, contrary to the public's perception. The captives become sympathetic to their captors and may refuse to testify against them. In some cases, captives have tried to fundraise for their captors' legal costs. This runs contrary to the public view that those who engage in this kind of illegal activity should be held accountable, often to the maximum sentence available, and that their captives' sympathy is based on a relationship that is not real.

Finally, many captives do not feel safe after their release. Despite their feelings of sympathy toward their captors, once released they fear that the captors will come back and hold them hostage again. Outsiders understand that the hostages are safe once they are released and fail to understand the anxiety that captives feel after the ordeal has passed.

In an actual hostage negotiation situation, the development of the syndrome between captives and captors is encouraging to those involved in negotiating the release of hostages. The presence of protective feelings from either the hostages or their captors may mean that victims have been somewhat successful in bonding with their captors. If bonds are formed between these two parties, it is widely thought that this may increase the hostages' chances of survival.

Extending Stockholm Syndrome Beyond Hostage Negotiation Situations

Graham, building on these ideas in 1987 but published in *Loving to Survive* 7 years later, extended the idea of Stockholm syndrome to other groups where there was an indentified victim and the presence of intense, long-term abuse. Graham, Rawlings, and Rigsby examined other possible groups to determine whether there was evidence of similar facets of the syndrome. They reviewed records of concentration camp prisoners, cult members, civilians in Chinese Communist prisons, pimp-procured prostitutes, incest victims,

physically and/or emotionally abused children, battered women, prisoners of war, prisoners, hostages, and—in some cases—children and partners of alcoholics. In all groups, there was evidence of bonding when the four conditions were present.

The first of these was that there was a genuine perceived threat to one's own survival and that there was a strong belief that the captor was willing to carry out threats. Second, the captive perceived some small kindness by the abuser toward the abused and it was appreciated. Third, the victim was isolated, and views of outsiders to the relationship were dissuaded leaving only the captors views to be adopted. Finally, the abused had a genuine belief that they could not escape their situation.

The abuser creates an intense relationship, based on violence and manipulation, forging a similar situation as evidenced in the Stockholm bank robbery. Once a bond is established, victims become protective towards their captors, and often try to protect their abusers, despite the actions of the abusers. Outsiders may find the behaviors of victims who have bonded with their abusers difficult to understand, not comprehending how a bond could form under these conditions.

Stockholm Syndrome and Intimate Partner Violence

Using the example of intimate partner violence, it is often confusing to friends, family, police officers called to a dispute, and so on, when the abused tries to protect the abuser, even though it is clear that the victim of intimate partner violence is in grave danger. The victim may attempt to explain the violence he or she has experienced by using the abuser's reasoning, such as blaming the abuser's stressful employment situation or blaming oneself for aggravating the abuser, thereby causing the abuser to injure the victim. This reasoning is often questioned by outsiders as irrational, but understood using elements of Graham's Stockholm Syndrome. The abused has bonded with the abuser and has served to identify with their abuser as a survival technique. Proponents of Graham's theory predict that removal from the abuser is necessary, but it will cause anxiety for the abused similar to the aftereffects of those

identified by the syndrome. Using this example, victims of intimate partner violence may report feeling sympathy for their abusers, as well as not feeling safe and a fear that the abuser will return, even after the abuser has been arrested and incarcerated.

Hannah Scott

See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Child Abuse, Neglect, and Maltreatment; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Incest; Intimate Partner Violence; Kidnapping; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization

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STRATEGIC APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY SAFETY INITIATIVE (SACSI)

Efforts to combat crime using partnerships have become commonplace today. One early initiative in the United States, the Comprehensive Communities Program (CCP), was implemented in 1994 as a partnership-building endeavor aimed at fighting crime and improving the quality of life in communities. A total of 15 communities participated in the project. The major key to CCP was to use a problem-solving approach which included a wide array of community individuals, agencies, and groups. Of particular interest was to bring those individuals and

groups most impacted by crime into the project. Assessments of the CCP program pointed out that partnerships could be built and have a positive impact on the communities. A second important partnership program was Operation Ceasefire, which began in 1996. Like CCP, this project used a wide-ranging partnership of agencies to address gun violence in Boston. Using the efforts of all participants, Operation Ceasefire was able to reduce significantly the level of homicides by firearms. The Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) took what was learned from CCP, Operation Ceasefire, and other partnerships and attempted to address the problem of violent crime in the target communities. This entry examines the development of SACSI and its impact on crime and the community.

Growth and Development

The SACSI project was initiated originally in 5 sites in 1998 and later expanded to 10 sites in 2000 to fight primarily violent personal crimes. The initial five sites included Indianapolis, Memphis, New Haven (Connecticut), Portland (Oregon), and Winston-Salem (North Carolina). The cities added in phase 2 were Albuquerque, Atlanta, Detroit, Rochester (New York), and St. Louis. The array of problems addressed in the various cities included homicide, gun violence, rape and sexual assault, and assaultive crimes by both adults and juveniles. All the projects were funded by the U.S. Justice Department through the National Institute of Justice.

The lead agency in the SACSI sites was the local U.S. Attorney's Office, which attempted to build a partnership that consisted mainly of other criminal justice agencies. Similar to Operation Ceasefire, SACSI included local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies; probation and parole offices; local, state, and federal attorneys; and social service agencies in the primary core of participants. Each of these agencies brought different strengths and abilities to the table. Of particular importance was the fact that each partnership included a local research team whose task was to analyze the problem in the community, participate in selecting the appropriate response, and evaluate the operations of the SACSI team. The primary framework for the work of the partnerships can be

described as following the SARA model—scanning the situation/problem and gathering information, analysis of the data, response by way of an intervention appropriate to the particular problem being addressed, and assessing the impact of the activities.

Evaluation

Most material available on the SACSI project is restricted to process evaluations which show that partnerships can be successfully established, although concerted effort is often needed to sustain them. Some outcome information has become available in recent years. In one evaluation, Scott Decker and his colleagues analyzed the ability of SACSI in St. Louis to reduce gun crime. They noted a significant reduction in gun crime, as well as a reduction in homicides after the initiation of the project. Similarly, an evaluation of SACSI in New Haven presented promising results. The New Haven project, TimeZup, involved a range of participants, including local law enforcement, the U.S. Attorney's office, the State Attorney's office, probation, parole, corrections, and social services. Eliot Hartstone and Dorinda Richetelli noted decreased levels of violent gun crimes, calls for service, and numbers of guns seized. Other positive results included the reduced fear of crime and increased confidence in the police.

The most recent evidence on the success of SACSI appears in a national evaluation that reports on project outcomes across all 10 target cities. Examining preprogram and postprogram police data, Jan Roehl and her colleagues find significant reductions in the crimes targeted in each location. For example, gun assaults were reduced by almost 60% in Indianapolis, homicide dropped by more than 40% in Portland, and forcible rape fell by 49% in Memphis. Interestingly, although the reductions started to appear before the initiation of the interventions, the positive results persist while crime data for all cities of 100,000-plus population in the United States show increasing homicide and violent crime.

The national evaluation attributes the success of SACSI to several key components. The first of these is the leadership provided by the U.S.

Attorney's Offices, which was instrumental at gaining the cooperation of key decision makers. Second was the ability of the program to assemble a strong partnership effectively that could work together effectively to identify the problem and arrive at interventions. An important third component was to build on prior partnerships. This allowed the programs to have a more immediate impact on the problems. The final aspect was to undertake meaningful research before, during, and after the implementation of interventions. The largest problem faced by the different SACSI partnerships was the lack of adequate funding to carry out their interventions fully.

Steven P. Lab

See also Crime Prevention Partnerships, United States; Operation Ceasefire/Pulling Levers; Project Safe Neighborhoods

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STRUCTURAL CHOICE THEORY

The structural choice theory of victimization was first proposed by Terance Miethe and Robert Meier in 1990. It incorporates elements of the routine activities and opportunity perspectives on victimization, and it recognizes the importance of interaction between the variables typically included in empirical tests of their hypotheses. Structural choice theory also recognizes the importance of including multiple measures for variables typically associated with impacting the

risk of victimization, and it is a theory aimed at predicting the risk factors most conducive to victimization. This entry summarizes the elements that comprise structural choice theory, details some of the philosophical assumptions and predictions relative to the theory, and surveys some of the empirical research testing elements of the theory.

Assumptions and Predictions

In formulating the structural choice theory of victimization, Miethe and Meier take note of three assumptions made within the context of traditional victimization theories. First, per Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson's formulation of the routine activities perspective, most theories of victimization assume the convergence of a motivated offender and a suitable target in the absence of a capable guardian. Furthermore, it is implied that these occur within spatial and temporal proximity of one another.

Second, most existing theories assume that changes in the lifestyles of individuals have an impact on the likelihood of victimization. For example, in working-class neighborhoods (where residents ostensibly spend a considerable amount of their time away from home working), the absence of capable guardians is presumed to make their property more attractive to potentially motivated offenders. If those residents were to spend more time at home, then the implication is that their risk of property victimization at home would decrease. Another example provided by Miethe and Meier resides in neighborhoods that experience an increase in the number of single parent households, which presumably also impacts the likelihood of victimization through a decrease in the availability of capable guardians.

Third, most existing theories of victimization make assumptions philosophically related to rational choice theories of crime causation, namely, that potential offenders seek to maximize their profits while minimizing the attendant costs of criminal behavior. Rational choice theories are rooted in the concept of humans as rational utility maximizers, which in the spirit of John Locke and David Hume presume free will as the organizing principle of human

agency. Rational choice theories presume that offending individuals engage in a calculation, witting or otherwise, whereby offenders seek to increase pleasure while minimizing pain. It is presumed that by increasing the costs and penalties associated with criminal and delinquent behavior, potential offenders will forego their impending actions. Thus, rational choice theories hinge on the verisimilitude of the concept of deterrence, which has been the subject of considerable debate among scholars since the publication of Cesare Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishments*.

Building on these assumptions taken from existing theories, the structural choice theory of victimization contains two propositions. Miethe and Meier consider each of them "a necessary condition" of predatory crime, which they contend is supported on the basis of prior literature specifying the importance of the convergence of these factors in space and time. First, "routine activity patterns and lifestyles in contemporary society create a criminal opportunity structure by enhancing the contact between potential victims and offenders" (p. 245). Second, "the subjective value of a target and its level of guardianship determine the choice of a particular crime victim" (p. 245). Thus, the structural choice theory of victimization includes both a structural component recognizing the importance of "proximity and exposure" to potential motivated offenders, and a choice component recognizing the importance of "target attractiveness" coupled with low levels of "capable guardianship."

These "necessary conditions" of predatory crime facilitate several predictions, which were articulated by Miethe and Meier in their original presentation of the theory. First, the absence of any necessary condition *must*, by definition, decrease rates of victimization when stated as above. The opposite is also true, in that if there are higher levels of those necessary conditions, then the risk of victimization *must* increase. Second, the researchers note that various combinations of the variables should highlight the impact their interaction has on victimization rates but recognize that the sophistication required in modeling those dynamics relative to the change in risk factors has not been addressed by any existing theory of victimization. Finally, one prediction made possible

by structural choice theory is that differences in levels of "attractiveness" and "guardianship" ("target selection factors") should be most pronounced by those experiencing relatively high levels of exposure to crime or who are already in close proximity to motivated offenders.

Empirical Research

According to Miethe and Meier, structural choice theory represents an advance over previous theories of victimization, in that it accounts for the interaction among variables typically included in models assessing the risk of victimization. Furthermore, they argue for including multiple measures for each of the traditionally relevant variables, which suggests that doing so would greater capture the multidimensional aspects of concepts like "capable guardianship" and "target attractiveness." Their first empirical test of structural choice theory revealed findings divergent from what would be expected in testing traditional theories of victimization. For example, the "target selection factors" ("guardianship" and "attractiveness" of target) were either insignificant or contrary to what one would expect from traditional theories predicting risk factors relative to victimization. The traditional variables of "proximity" and "exposure to motivated offenders" had the expected impact on victimization, but cumulative effects in combination with other variables were found to be insignificant, although the researcher question whether methodological decisions may have conditioned this result.

Miethe and David McDowell integrated specific elements from theories related to predicting the conditions conducive to crime with elements of victimization theories, which are generally concerned with how targets are selected by criminals, thus accounting for the impact of both criminal opportunity as well as the traditional social correlates of criminal behavior in explaining predatory crime. They suggested that including both levels of effects is important because the impact of structural conditions represented in the characteristics of neighborhoods may condition the impact of criminal opportunities. Furthermore, most sociological theories of crime causation tacitly suggest that structural

conditions do indeed impact the behavior of individuals.

Consequently, Miethe and McDowell examined the structural characteristics of neighborhoods in a way that is compatible with Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay's original formulation of social disorganization theory, which states that criminal behavior is associated with communities characterized as ethnically heterogeneous, populated with low-income residents, and possessing a high rate of residential mobility; these variables are ostensibly proxies for measuring the social capital of a community. They also included measures of criminal opportunities compatible with the routine activities perspective. Miethe and McDowell found that the socioeconomic status of a community did not significantly impact rates of property and violent victimization. Furthermore, when the community context was controlled, the opportunity-enhancing conditions of "living alone" and "having low income" did not affect victimization rates. Similarly, "target attractiveness" and "low guardianship" were only relevant in predicting victimization within middle- and upper-class neighborhoods. Their findings illustrate the relevance of combined models in predicting the likelihood of victimization in specific socially demarcated geographic areas.

Maria Velez assessed the impact of public social controls on victimization rates. "Public social controls" refer to the ability of a neighborhood to establish ties to local officials who can presumably assist in securing the resources necessary for controlling crime and disorder. It is presumed that disadvantaged communities suffer from a lack of such resources, which contributes to both higher rates of crime as well as higher victimization rates relative to more socioeconomically advantaged communities. Velez included controls for the variables included in previous tests of the routine activities perspective, neighborhood disorganization, and levels of disadvantage. Her findings indicate that public resources reduced victimization rates with respect to both household and personal offenses, and she found that the potential impact of these resources was more powerful in disadvantaged communities.

Bonnie Fisher and her colleagues examined the factors related to an increased risk of victimization

among students on college campuses. They hypothesized that several risk factors from the victimization literature may converge in the collegiate environment, which suggests that college students may have a greater likelihood of experiencing the consequences of criminal victimization. Those risk factors revolve around the fact that college campuses tend to be composed of young, unmarried students. Fisher and her colleagues also suggest that the sheer number of potential victims on college campuses may make them more attractive to motivated offenders, and the authors are consequently astonished that few studies of victimization have explored the collegiate dynamic. The authors found that the increased number of motivated offenders did not affect victimization rates in large college dormitories, reasoning that the residents may have had an increased level of awareness relative to their vulnerability of victimization. The researchers also found that victimization rates were higher for those living in exclusively male or mixed-gender dormitories (in comparison with those living in exclusively female dormitories or housed in off-campus locations); this finding is compatible with previous studies of risk factors related to victimization.

Laura Dugan and Robert Apel tested variations on structural choice theory in a way that represented a theoretical departure from traditional considerations of the routine activities perspective. Typically, the routine activities perspective is concerned with the spatial dynamics of crime in public places. However, Dugan and Apel note that not all crime is opportunistic in nature. Changes in routine activities (e.g., staying at home more often) have traditionally been hypothesized to decrease one's likelihood for victimization. However, those changes may also increase the likelihood that one becomes the subject of violence from intimates, which official data indicates is more common than stranger-on-stranger violence. Dugan and Apel hypothesize that "staying at home" may increase the likelihood of retaliation, particularly with respect to the crime of domestic violence; they term this condition the "irony of the routine activity model." In comparing domestic with stranger violence, they found that women were less sheltered by those traditional protective measures endemic to the routine

activities perspective. Furthermore, female victims were at higher risk for retaliation from intimates if they separated themselves spatially from their offender, contrary to what one would expect from traditional interpretations.

Future Directions

The structural choice theory of victimization formulated by Miethe and Meier represents an advance in that it recognizes the importance of potential interactions between variables typically included in other models of risk assessment. Future extrapolations of the theory will most likely increase its predictive power by specifying the factors that condition the impact of traditional lifestyle and opportunity variables.

Douglas J. Dallier

See also Campus Crime, College and University; Correlates of Victimization; Lifestyle Theory; Meta-Analysis; Rational Choice Theory; Revictimization; Routine Activities Theory; Threat Assessment

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SUBSTANCE ABUSE, PREVENTION OF

Substance abuse is a common correlate of criminal offending and victimization, yet there is no single, universal definition of substance abuse. The American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* generally defines substance abuse as any substance use that is associated with persistent interpersonal, legal, occupational, and/or educational problems. It can also be used to refer to the use of substances in risky situations. The term *substance abuse* has been used broadly across research disciplines to cover behaviors such as substance use, misuse, abuse, and dependence.

Efforts to prevent substance abuse are concerned with eliminating the risk factors and enhancing the protective factors associated with drug use. The primary goal of substance abuse prevention is to intervene and halt the influence of risk factors while simultaneously enhancing the effects of protective factors against substance use and abuse. Prevention programming focuses on increasing knowledge about drugs and the dangers associated with their use, deterring or reducing use, delaying age of onset, encouraging the development of negative attitudes toward drug use, and fostering individuals' self-esteem and self-awareness. This latter focus serves the important task of addressing possible psychological correlates of drug abuse. Another key component of substance abuse prevention is aimed at peer-based programming, such as the development of refusal skills to combat peer pressure.

Risk Factors for Substance Abuse

Research has identified a variety of factors that put individuals at risk for substance use and abuse. These risk factors do not exist solely at the individual level but rather occur across multiple

domains. Much of this research has focused on youths, given the strong association between adolescent substance use and delinquency, and the negative impacts of these problem behaviors into adulthood. J. David Hawkins and his colleagues (1992) at the University of Washington succinctly summarized risk factors for both substance abuse and delinquency that exist across community, family, school, and individual levels. At the community level, risk factors for substance use and delinquency include the presence of attitudes favorable to drug use and crime, and the availability or perceived availability of drugs in the community. Another community characteristic, that is, increases in the transitions and mobility of community residents, can reduce the level of informal social control in a community, which may facilitate the tolerance of delinquent, substance-using subcultures. Also, communities with high population density and signs of physical deterioration have been shown to have higher rates of juvenile substance use and crime. Low levels of attachment to the community may also undermine informal social control, as can the community's level of economic deprivation.

At the school level, academic difficulty and low attachment and commitment to school may put youth at risk for substance abuse and delinquency. Youth who have positive attitudes toward school and their schoolwork are less likely to use substances. Within the family, risk factors for substance abuse and delinquency include a history of problem behaviors among family members, family management problems, poor parental monitoring, and high levels of family conflict. Parental behaviors that may serve as risk factors for youth include severe, inadequate, or inconsistent discipline, as well as parental substance use, criminal behavior, and/or parental attitudes favorable to drug use and crime. Studies frequently find that youth whose parents engage in substance use or crime are more likely to use alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs.

Individual-level risk factors include personality characteristics such as antisocial behavior, feelings of alienation, aggression, and rebelliousness. Association with peers who themselves abuse substances and/or engage in other criminal behavior is a prominent risk factor for these similar behaviors in youths. Even associating with peers who have

attitudes favorable to drug use and crime, regardless of whether or not they use substances or commit delinquent acts, puts youth at risk for engaging in substance abuse and delinquency. Substance use by romantic partners is another risk factor for individuals' substance use. Early initiation of drug use is a risk factor for continued substance abuse problems that has also been associated with delinquent behavior.

Protective Factors for Substance Abuse

Much of the scholarship on substance abuse focuses on risk factors; however, given that the primary goals of prevention programming concern reducing risk factors while simultaneously enhancing protective factors, it is important to review some of the characteristics and contexts that deter individuals from abusing substances. Protective factors can lessen the impact of risk factors on the likelihood of using drugs and represent more than merely the opposite or absence of risk factors. Protective factors are often understood as interacting with risk factors. For example, a strong attachment to parents may lessen the effect of associating with drug-using peers on one's own likelihood of substance use. Supportive, affectionate families are often cited as protective against substance use and delinquency. Parents who provide opportunities and rewards for their children to engage in positive, prosocial behavior have children who are less likely to engage in substance use and delinquent activities. This can also serve to strengthen negative attitudes toward substance use. Attachment to community members or school may buffer the effects of family conflict. Social bonding to parents, school, and community are particularly important protective factors that may operate alone or in conjunction to reduce youths' risk of substance use and abuse, as well as delinquency.

The Importance of Substance Abuse Prevention

Research frequently highlights the links between substance abuse and criminal offending and victimization, emphasizing the need for substance abuse prevention in crime-reducing efforts. In terms of the association between substance abuse

and victimization, several nationally representative surveys have found associations between childhood physical/sexual victimization and substance abuse problems later in life. The direction of the relationship between victimization and substance abuse is unclear and possibly even bidirectional. It has been suggested that violent victimization influences substance abuse because victimization leads to psychological distress or posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which facilitates substance use and abuse as a coping mechanism. Also, victimization leads to feelings of guilt, shame, or isolation; stigmatization; and feelings of belonging to some disconnected “other,” which may lead to identification with alienated, deviant groups and individuals, who may provide opportunities for substance use and normative definitions favorable to drug use and abuse. Alternatively, substance use and abuse may be associated with violence through impaired decision making by both victims and offenders. Individuals who are under the influence of substances may be unable to perceive adequately risky or dangerous situations and potential offenders. Intoxicated individuals are more vulnerable targets. Potential offenders who abuse drugs may have impaired perception of victims’ resistance cues. Substance use often occurs in contexts or environments that may condone or encourage other types of criminal behavior.

Types of Substance Abuse Prevention Programs

Many past substance abuse prevention efforts have focused on reducing risk factors in one or more specific areas. Early methods concentrated on targeting supply and enhancing law enforcement to deter use. For example, there have been various prohibitions on the sale of alcohol, including age restrictions, restrictions on hours available for purchase, and restrictions on the amount purchased at a time. Law enforcement efforts were increased to combat drug offenses, and criminal justice responses became harsher; however, none of these methods seemed to impact significantly the supply and demand of substances.

Another approach to substance abuse prevention involves modifying public opinion about substance use to enhance the social disapproval of such behavior. Various antidrug coalitions, media

campaigns, and policy changes have been implemented, all with varying degrees of success. Similarly, classroom-based programs that teach skills for better resisting the pressures of peer substance use have become popular, with evidence suggesting success at reducing drug use. Because of the spike in delinquent activity occurring during the hours at the end of the school day, many prevention programs have been implemented as after-school programs that provide antidrug messages, education and social skills development, as well as prosocial recreational and leisure activities, such as the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) or the Boys & Girls Club.

More recently, primary prevention refers to “universal” programs designed for populations who have not yet begun engaging in substance use. This type of programming focuses on the prevention of substance abuse prior to the initiation of any substance use. Secondary and tertiary prevention represents “targeted” programs focused on intervention efforts to reduce and eliminate substance use among individuals who are already using. These types of prevention programs adhere to a risk-reduction or harm-reduction model that is more applicable to individuals who have already used substances.

As noted above, risk factors for substance abuse and crime exist across multiple levels, including the community, school, family, and individual. Therefore, prevention programs can be implemented at any one of these levels or across more than one level. For example, school- or individual-based prevention programs may provide education, information, and awareness about drugs and their associated effects, peer pressure resistance skills, and decision-making skills. Family-based prevention strategies can focus on enhancing family relationships and parenting skills. Community-level prevention programming may address the provision of opportunities for youth involvement in positive, community activities, and youth interaction with supportive community members who can also act as mentors or role models. A review of specific prevention programs is beyond the scope of this entry; however, program evaluations are presented and discussed in numerous primary papers, meta-analyses, and review articles in psychology, sociology, and public health journals.

At-Risk Populations and Contexts for Substance Abuse Prevention

Although most prevention researchers focus on adolescents, colleges and universities are a context vulnerable to both substance abuse and violent victimization, and these examples represent a setting where substance abuse prevention programming is needed. The abuse of alcohol and other drugs has been associated with sexual victimization, particularly for female college students. Evidence also suggests a reciprocal relationship, where substance abuse is associated with victimization, which is then associated with subsequent substance abuse.

Studies suggest that university women are at greater risk of sexual assault than women of a comparable age in the general population, likely because of the close daily interaction between men and women in a range of social situations as well as frequent exposure to alcohol and other drugs. This relationship between substance abuse and sexual assault has been illustrated in studies showing high levels of alcohol and other drug use before the incident by both victims and perpetrators, and by studies that demonstrate substance abuse occurring as a coping mechanism after the victimization. Substance use can incapacitate victims, make it difficult for them to consent to or refuse sexual activity, or lead them to take risks they might otherwise avoid. Substance abuse may decrease a perpetrator's awareness of his behavior, lead to the misinterpretation of resistance cues, or diminish the victim's ability to prevent an assault. Substance use by both victims and perpetrators has been associated with increased severity of injury.

Prevention programming is particularly important in this context because substance use at the time of the incident may inhibit victims' willingness to report their victimization, either because victims blame themselves or because their use of substances has impaired their ability to recall sufficiently various details of the incident. Because many sexual assaults experienced by university women occur in conjunction with the use of alcohol or other drugs, the risks of substance abuse must be addressed in prevention messages presented to university students, particularly the risk of drinking to excess. Certain characteristics of college culture may promote substance abuse. For

example, there are increased opportunities to attend parties where alcohol is served and other substances are available. The proximities of bars to campus and fraternity or sorority residences have also been linked with increased substance use. For many students, college offers an environment notorious for encouraging excessive drinking and experimenting with drugs. Many students may be unaware of the effects of mixing drugs and alcohol, and they may be unfamiliar with the point at which their cognitive ability is so impaired that they cannot protect themselves. Substance abuse and early initiation of substance use puts one at risk for violent victimization and a variety of other negative health consequences. Prevention programming is needed across multiple domains (individual, family, school, and community) and across various target populations (adolescents, university students, and adults).

Principles of Substance Abuse Prevention Programming

The National Institute on Drug Abuse has summarized key general principles for effective substance abuse prevention programs. The primary goal for prevention programming is to inhibit risk factors while enhancing protective factors. It is also necessary that prevention efforts address all types of drug use and abuse. This is particularly important given evidence indicating that alcohol abuse puts one at risk for the subsequent abuse of other licit and illicit substances. Given the multiple levels of risk factors, prevention programming should not neglect issues of drug abuse in the community. Programs must also be tailored to the specific needs of different at-risk populations, such as disadvantaged youth, college and university students, and racial/ethnic/sexual minorities. Effective prevention programs are theoretically driven, provide sufficient dosage; provide opportunities for positive, prosocial relationships; and have well-trained staff.

Successful prevention planning and evaluation involves the identification of specific goals and objectives, a thorough review of previous evaluation research, a conceptual framework of how the program will operate, a plan for the collection of program evaluation data, and the ability to provide feedback on the program's effectiveness.

In their report on prevention efforts to combat substance use on campuses, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism reviewed specific prevention strategies for colleges and universities. The specific goal of university substance abuse prevention programs may be to eliminate student substance use, reduce excessive consumption of substances, deter substance use-related problem behaviors, and so on. A “needs assessment” can be a useful tool for program planners to solidify their specific goals.

Prevention programs to reduce substance abuse by college students can be implemented at multiple levels, such as the individual, group, college, or community. At the individual level, alcohol and other substance awareness programs can be used to instill negative attitudes about substance abuse and provide students with information about various problem behaviors associated with substance abuse. Workshops, retreats, and other training activities may connect better with students than do lectures. Group-level prevention programs focus on impacting peer-to-peer communication about substance abuse norms in an effort to reduce consumption. This type of prevention strategy is particularly useful for highly interactive groups, such as fraternity and sorority members, or members of athletic teams. Providing students with accurate information about the substance using behavior of their peers can help them adjust their behavioral expectations accordingly, and it can reduce perceived social pressures to drink heavily and abuse substances. At the college or university level, institutions can promote activities that do not involve drugs or alcohol, limit alcohol availability and restrict the marketing and promotion of alcohol, and develop and strictly enforce campus antidrug policies. Community and campus coalitions can work together to reduce students’ alcohol use by reducing the number of alcohol outlets near campus and limiting the available hours of alcohol sales. Also, colleges and local law enforcement agencies can collaborate to establish driving under the influence stops on weekends.

Challenges and Implications for Studying Substance Abuse Prevention and Crime

No single prevention strategy or organization framework exists, and many evaluations of prevention

programs have been plagued with various methodological limitations, such as participant dropout (“attrition”) and problems with program implementation fidelity. As such, it is difficult to identify effective “evidence-based” prevention programs, and some widely disseminated prevention programs have received conflicting evaluation findings. Despite these methodological challenges, substance abuse prevention remains an important area in the study of victimization and crime. Given the strong correlation between substance abuse and crime, it is important to link prevention, intervention, and treatment efforts. Substance abuse prevention programming should consider the inclusion of techniques focused on the prevention of subsequent victimization. Previous prevention efforts have been focused on risk reduction; however, it is necessary also to enhance protective factors to achieve effective programming.

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See also Campus Crimes, College and University; Community Antidrug Programs; Correlates of Victimization; Crime Prevention; Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Risk and Protective Factors and Resiliency; Substance Abuse, Treatment of; Substance Use and Victimization

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SUBSTANCE ABUSE, TREATMENT OF

Substance abuse involves the overuse of, dependency on, and/or addiction to nonfood items, natural or synthetic, that changes an individual's body and/or mind because of their chemical composition. In general, the drugs of alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamine tend to be the most abused substances that often require regimented treatment approaches for successful cessation. Although surveys have demonstrated that substance abuse has been decreasing since the early 2000s in the United States, it still remains a problematic behavior that affects youth, families, employers, co-workers, schools, and communities. Prevention and intervention programs have attempted to address the issue of substance abuse using a variety of methods across several ecological levels, such as the individual, the family, the school, and the community.

Whereas some programs, such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) and other community antidrug programs, operate mostly to prevent initial drug use, these are not the focus of this entry. Rather, the examples that follow highlight the commonly used approaches for treating persons already addicted to drugs. Before discussing these interventions, however, a review of principles observed in more than 20 years of research as to what is effective in drug addiction treatment is noted.

Effective Drug Addiction Treatment

In 1999, the National Institute of Drug Abuse reported on 13 principles found to characterize successful treatment for drug addiction. These principles are still hailed today as core qualities that should be recognized and followed when treating addicts. First, one treatment approach will not work for all addicts. Second, treatment must be immediately available and accessible by users. Third, treatment should extend beyond the drug use and include assistance with related medical, mental, and vocational problems. Fourth, flexibility in treatment is important, as individuals' needs will likely change over the course of the program. Fifth, adequate time in treatment is vital to its success, and tactics should be employed to prevent individuals from leaving before completion. Sixth, counseling and behavioral therapies are fundamental to successful outcomes. Seventh, the use of medications may be necessary for some addicts. Eighth, many addicts often have co-occurring mental disorders and should be assessed and treated for both at the same time. Ninth, detoxification (i.e., managing withdrawal symptoms with the use of chemicals) without additional treatment elements is not sufficient for long-term substance cessation. Tenth, individuals do not have to attend treatment voluntarily to observe success. Eleventh, monitoring drug use during the course of treatment is important as it provides the client with a tool to withstand cravings and allows for adjustments in treatment should drug use be detected. Twelfth, assessments for hepatitis viruses, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis, along with other diseases, should be conducted. Finally, several attempts at treatment may be needed to achieve success.

Types of Treatment

Methadone Maintenance

Methadone maintenance programs have been used since the mid-1960s in the United States to treat heroin addiction. Heroin addicts are given methadone to detoxify from heroin so they do not have to experience fully the symptoms of withdrawal, which have been likened to having a serious bout of the flu. The premise for the detoxification component, which is the cornerstone of methadone maintenance, is that once the physiological dependency to heroin has been lessened, counseling and other therapeutic strategies have a better chance of working.

The drug methadone was developed during World War II in Germany when the painkiller morphine was no longer accessible. Heroin and morphine, like methadone, are classified as a narcotic, which means they have analgesic and sedative effects. Typically, one narcotic can be substituted for one another and similar effects, although varying in intensity, can be experienced by the user. Methadone can be just as addictive as heroin, but its impact is not as impressive because it is a longer acting narcotic compared with heroin. The effects of one dose of heroin last between 2 and 3 hours, whereas one dose of methadone affects the user up to 24 hours.

Methadone is orally administered to addicts under inpatient care and then clients are eventually maintained on an outpatient basis. At first, low doses of methadone are administered to curb the heroin withdrawal symptoms. Dosages are then increased incrementally to the point where the user no longer experiences the euphoric or sedative effects of the methadone. Once patients' cravings are alleviated and tolerance develops, they can leave the facility and retrieve their maintenance doses on a daily basis.

Research evidence is mixed on the effectiveness for methadone maintenance programs. Some studies indicate that many methadone maintenance patients use other drugs during and after treatment, such as cocaine and marijuana, as well as heroin. Other studies have found, however, that for some addicts, treatment in a methadone maintenance program can lead to favorable outcomes such as for those clients (1) who are motivated to abstain from heroin, (2) who believe methadone

will work, (3) who are looking for a chemical cure to their addiction, and (4) who have aggressive tendencies and used heroin to control their emotions whereby methadone could readily act as an appropriate substitute.

Methadone is not the only drug that has been used to treat narcotics addicts. Other drugs that have been approved for use include levo-alpha-acetyl-methadol (LAAM), buprenorphine, and naltrexone. LAAM has been approved by the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) to use in place of methadone since 1993, mainly because LAAM's effects on the patient lasts longer, up to 72 hours, and it metabolizes through the body more slowly thereby not producing that quick high narcotics addicts seek. Buprenorphine is the newest of the heroin substitutes used for treatment, and it is one of the only therapy drugs that can be prescribed by a doctor as opposed to being distributed by a clinic like methadone and LAAM. Like its counterparts, buprenorphine assists in cessation by attenuating withdrawal symptoms and easing cravings. Its effects last between 24 and 60 hours. Naltrexone has been approved by the FDA for heroin dependency treatment since the mid-1980s, and within the past several years, it was approved to treat alcoholism as well. It works by blocking the receptors in the brain that deliver the euphoria experienced when individuals consume alcohol and narcotics in a similar manner to that of methadone and LAAM. Overall, the results from various evaluation studies demonstrate that maintenance therapy with any of these medications can be highly effective when administered in the appropriate setting and dosage, and when patients are committed to reducing their dependency on addictive substances.

Therapeutic Communities

Set in residential facilities, therapeutic communities (TCs) are residential programs designed to rehabilitate substance abusers. They have been in existence since the 1960s. TCs are different from other types of drug treatments in their use of the total community principle. This principle relies on the idea that both staff and patients are key agents in achieving abstinence from drugs. The staff are typically ex-addicts who have already graduated from a TC program, although some TCs employ

professionals to work with the residents. The main purpose of the TC approach is to bolster ego functioning by helping addicts cope with the negative behavioral and cognitive patterns that led them to their drug use such as alienation and low self-esteem.

In most TCs, patients progress through a series of stages that reward additional personal and social freedoms and privileges over the course of treatment. Individual and group counseling are used along with approaches that assist patients in learning prosocial norms and improving social skills. There is heavy reliance on the influence of peers and the idea of community, which is often likened to a surrogate family. Vocational and educational training are also offered to residents of TCs to assist them in reintegrating into society after release. The time spent in the TC is dependent on each patient's successful completion of each stage of the hierarchical model. Most patients spend between 6 and 12 months in the TC.

According to many studies, TCs are effective for program graduates. However, it is important to note that TCs might be designed to succeed not because of the programmatic aspects of the treatment but because of the screening process used for selecting patients. In addition, graduating from a TC does not necessarily imply that graduates remain or are drug free; rather, graduating means that patients successfully progressed through each stage of the process with full freedom and privileges being a component of the final step. Studies find that addicts who will do well post-TC are those who are mentally healthy, have few to no ties with other offenders, and have solid employment skills.

Although TCs are commonly located in communities, several states have had TC programs in operation in some of their prisons. These TCs go by the name of "Stay 'n Out." Inmates in the Stay 'n Out programs reside separately from the general prison population. Graduates of community TCs and ex-inmates staff the program as role models for rehabilitation. Stay 'n Out programs generally last between 6 and 9 months. Once released from prison, Stay 'n Out graduates are encouraged to join a TC based in their local community. Evaluation studies of the Stay 'n Out program have found reductions in recidivism for program graduates.

Outpatient Drug-Free Treatment Programs

Components of drug-free outpatient treatment programs can be varied and can include any of the therapeutic approaches described in this entry aside from the use of medication like methadone to reduce substance dependency. The basis for many of these types of programs is founded on the mental health perspective. Individual and group counseling, family therapy, referral to other social services, and relapse prevention are commonly used. It is difficult to determine the overall efficacy of outpatient programs of this nature because each program can differ markedly from another. For example, some programs may operate in drop-in centers, whereas others may be more structured with weekly counseling sessions. Notwithstanding the limitations, evidence does seem to show that these treatment programs are at least partially effective in decreasing substance use and crime.

Psychological Treatments

Psychological treatments are common elements of many drug treatment programs. Psychological approaches are as varied as the field of psychology itself ranging from practices based on psychoanalysis to behaviorism. In general, psychological treatments aim to change the reasons, motivations, and triggers that are believed to drive individuals to use drugs and become/remain addicted. Studies have found support for many of these strategies, and the cognitive-behavioral therapies are among the most efficacious. This section provides an introduction to some of the most commonly used psychological treatments for drug addiction.

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy

Treatments based on cognitive-behavioral approaches assert that behavior is learned, both prosocial and antisocial. Problematic behaviors, like drug abuse, are targeted by teaching the addict to understand his or her patterns of thinking that reinforce continued substance use. Therapists assist patients by helping them determine the positive and negative aspects of their drug use. Addicts also acquire the skills to identify the variables that drive them to use drugs and then to develop coping strategies to combat these triggers by avoiding high-risk places, people, and situations. For example, if a

patient is influenced by drug using peers, he or she is taught the skills to counteract the pressure to use drugs by not associating with these people.

Supportive-Expressive Psychotherapy

This form of psychotherapy relies on techniques that addicts can use to feel more comfortable during treatment (i.e., the supportive component) and strategies designed to assist in working through interpersonal problems with significant others that may have contributed to continued drug usage and addiction (i.e., the expressive component). Supportive-expressive psychotherapy was developed originally to treat depression and anxiety disorders, but it has since been modified to treat heroin and cocaine abuse. Emphasis is placed on helping the addict understand the role drugs play in relation to adverse life experiences and feelings. Alternatives to drug use are explored, and the use of these options is encouraged when faced with these problems and negative emotions. Therapists facilitate the sessions by helping the user identify themes related to the addiction such that when faced with similar situations, the patient has other means besides drugs to cope.

Motivational Enhancement Therapy

Motivational enhancement therapy centers on the client in a counseling relationship with a therapist who encourages an otherwise ambivalent addict to participate in drug treatment and abstain from using drugs. Studies demonstrated that it is effective for individuals dependent on alcohol and marijuana. Strategies used in this type of therapy are designed to inspire users to look inward for behavioral change. Assessments are conducted to determine what principles and cessation methods will encourage the client to become self-motivated and subsequently drug free. Relapse prevention techniques are also identified so that high-risk situations can be avoided. Change in drug using behaviors is regularly monitored by the therapist such that continued commitment to working toward being and/or remaining drug free is embraced by the client.

Behavioral Therapy

Behavioral therapies are mostly used with adolescent drug users rather than adults, but some

programs have been adapted to work with adult addicts as well. For changes in behavior to occur, desired behaviors, in this case, not using drugs, are demonstrated by role play and modeling. Individuals are rewarded when they can show positive progress toward cessation. Typically, urine samples are taken to determine whether clients are using drugs. Program participants are given various assignments to help them achieve several goals. For example, individuals who spend more time socializing in drug-free activities would be rewarded with praise and/or privileges, such as a special food treat. Similar to the cognitive-behavioral therapy, addicts are also taught to identify and then alter their thoughts, emotions, and circumstances that would normally have led them to use drugs had these clients not been in a behavioral therapy program. Family members are encouraged to participate in the treatment to assist in identifying the triggers that could lead to relapse. Behavioral therapies, like most other treatment approaches, can be delivered on an inpatient or outpatient basis.

Multisystemic Therapy

Multisystemic therapy is designed to treat the substance abuse problems of antisocial children and adolescents by addressing the variables associated with serious delinquency and crime. Adolescent, school, family, peer, and neighborhood factors are targeted. For example, individual and peer attitudes toward drug use, problems in school, criminal subcultures, ineffective parenting, and family conflict issues are reflective of the issues impacted by this form of family-based therapy. By focusing on the factors that influenced the problem behaviors, which are tailored to each client, youth will learn to turn away from using drugs and focus on more prosocial activities. Multisystemic therapy is typically applied outside of a secure residential facility. Some studies demonstrate that this treatment is effective in decreasing dependency on drugs, improving family relations, and reducing recidivism.

Individual Counseling

Counseling is the hallmark of most treatments, drug or otherwise. It involves lengthy discussions between a therapist and patient one to two times per week either in a residential setting or on an

outpatient basis. Counseling can encompass any of the psychological treatment approaches available as well as other forms of treatment such as methadone maintenance. The main goal is to encourage the addict to stop using drugs. Methods used are tailored to the individual and may involve employment skills training, family therapy, participation in a 12-step program, and mental and/or physical health treatment. Similar to other approaches, coping strategies are taught to assist the addict in identifying the triggers that led to past, or can lead to, future drug use. Thus, relapse prevention techniques are important in eliciting a drug-free lifestyle.

Self-Help Programs

Self-help programs are designed for individuals not seeking more formal treatment for addiction like those described above. Most self-help programs are best known as “12-step programs” whereby participants attend meetings on a regular basis while moving through a series of objectives that will assist them in achieving sobriety. In sum, the 12 steps emphasize that addicts become cognizant and verbalize their powerlessness over drugs, confess their transgressions against others and make efforts to rectify them, and requires a spiritual component that seeks the assistance of a higher power to lead addicts to sobriety. Alcoholics Anonymous is probably the most well-known and popular of self-help programs. Other programs for substance abusers include Narcotics Anonymous, Cocaine Anonymous, and Drugs Anonymous. The techniques used, along with working through the 12 steps, include giving and receiving support from peers in the program and communicating stories of addiction and problems in a group setting.

Studies have reported observing reductions in drug and alcohol use by 12-step program participants, particularly for those individuals who attend meetings on at least a weekly basis. These types of programs are generally self-selected as opposed to court-mandated for many participants. However, for some offenders, conditions of probation or parole might include participation in a 12-step program. Increasingly, self-help programs are being encouraged for individuals completing other forms of treatment as a method of relapse prevention.

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See also Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Substance Abuse, Prevention of; Substance Use and Victimization

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SUBSTANCE USE AND VICTIMIZATION

Victimization as the result of substance use is defined as the consistent and persistent use of mind/behavior-altering substances both legal and illegal that subsequently lead to the criminal abuse of another. The relationship between substance use and victimization is a major social concern in the United States and other countries around the

globe. Approximately, 50% of victimizations involve persons who were under the influence of a mind-altering substance. With the influx of substance-related victimizations associated with adolescent, college student, and adult abuses researchers have begun to study this relationship more intensely. Although national reports of victimizations have decreased, substance-related victimizations continue to be a social concern. Overwhelmingly, young people comprise the majority population of victims as the result of alcohol and substance use. Victimization of youth most typically involve physical aggression and predatory victimizations, that is, stalking, rape, and unwanted sexual contacts.

Historical Perspective

The recognition of victimization as a concept to be reckoned with is fairly new. This newfound status, victimization, typically referred to women/spouses who were abused by their husbands. Prior to the mid 1900s, no social policies were in place to protect victims. In addition, spousal/intimate partner victimizations were largely ignored by law officials who neglected these matters, citing that these victimizations were personal matters of family and not law. Consistent with historical data, however, males are more likely to be victimized than their female counterparts, with the exception of sexual victimizations, particularly substance-related victimizations. Several historical trends have changed over time, including the definition of "substances." Early on, substance-use-related victimization was largely focused in the area of alcohol as an explanation of spousal/intimate partner abuse. Recent research, however, has shown that different substances, including alcohol and an assortment of other drugs (marijuana, opiates, methamphetamine, etc.), impact victimization across diverse groups, such as adolescents, young adults, most typically college students, and the traditional married/intimate partner victimizations.

Theory and Social Policy

Routine Activities Theory

As the result of increased victimizations, Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson's routine

activities theory was proposed as a solution to assist victims of crime. Routine activities theory hypothesizes that victimizations were the direct result of a person's regular routines, their ability to be targeted by a willing participant, and the lack of capable supervision (social control mechanism) to prevent the victimization from occurring. In their attempt to address victimizations and not crime, these researchers provided valuable guidelines to decrease likelihood of victimization. Regarding substance use and victimization, routine activity theory explains that potential victims be aware of places frequented (bars and clubs).

Victim-Assistance Programs and Restorative Justice

To assist victims of crime including substance-use-related victimizations, victim-assistance programs were created in the latter part of the 20th century. The main purpose of victim-assistance programs was to provide victims with resources (monetary compensation, counseling, etc.) that would assist them in their recovery and return to an otherwise normal quality of life as a productive citizen in society. Likewise, the restorative justice ideology has impacted victimized persons and is heavily weighted in the belief that because most crime victimizations occur between parties known to the victim, restoring relationships is crucial in controlling for a safer society after the offender's release from jail/prison. The hope is that restored relationships would decrease likelihood of revictimization, as the result of increased ownership of responsibility on behalf of the offender and forgiveness on behalf of the victim.

Victim Roles

The impact of substance use and victimization on societies has proven to comprise a limitless danger. Specifically, the relationship between substance use and sexual victimizations on college campuses around the nation are disproportionately represented in the literature. Similar to expansions beyond alcohol-related substances, victimization roles and types have also become much more diverse. Compared with early accounts of sexual victimizations where females were largely victimized by their male counterparts, more recent

accounts of victimizations reveal that the substance use and victimization relationship has expanded from the traditional unidirectional relationship of male-female victimization to a bidirectional and even multidirectional trend reflecting female-male, male-male, and female-female substance-related victimizations.

Sociologists and criminologists alike have become increasingly concerned with the ever-changing roles of victims. Research has linked the relationship between substance use and victimization to childhood trauma and suicidal behavior. Victimization roles have also expanded to include victims of HIV/AIDS-related unprotected sex while under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Substance use and victimization is a major societal concern that affects every facet of civilized and uncivilized cultures around the world. And although this relationship is not a new phenomenon, substance use and victimization has expanded and now seemingly affects every subset of our society including the young. Alcohol and drugs continues to account for significant variations across victimized populations.

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See also Intimate Partner Violence; Restorative Justice; Sex and Victimization; Substance Use and Victimization; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States

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SUBSTANCE USE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women (VAW), which encompasses acts of physical, sexual, or psychological aggression perpetrated against females of any age, affects approximately one in five women during their lifetime and is recognized as a major public health problem worldwide. Child sexual abuse and intimate partner violence are among the most common forms of VAW. Extant literature links VAW with several adverse health problems, with substance use being one of the most common. This entry provides a brief overview of the relationships between VAW and substance use, as well as discusses the importance of prevention and intervention efforts addressing the interrelationships between substance use and violence to reduce VAW effectively and prevent related substance use problems.

Relationships Between VAW and Substance Use

Alcohol and drug use among victims and perpetrators has been linked to various forms of VAW, including domestic violence and sexual assault. Substance use has been indicated as both a risk factor for and consequence of VAW. Several pathways linking violence to substance use have been proposed with empirical support for each. The physiologic effects and expectancies of alcohol and drugs may increase aggression among both men and women and may increase risk for VAW. Empirical findings supporting this theory include evidence showing men were more likely to be

physically aggressive toward their female partners on days they consumed alcohol. Many behaviors for obtaining drugs (e.g., buying and selling) and environments for consuming substances (e.g., fraternity parties) have also been thought to place women at risk for VAW. For example, studies suggest that alcohol consumption at fraternities may be linked to greater risk for sexual victimization among women.

Substance use has also been indicated as a consequence of VAW. A substantial amount of literature suggests that women with histories of interpersonal violence may turn to alcohol and drugs to avoid the adverse feelings associated with violence victimization. For example, women with histories of childhood abuse, including childhood sexual or physical abuse, have been found to be more likely to have substance use problems compared with the general public, and women with substance use problems have been found to be more likely to have had histories of childhood abuse than those without substance use problems. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the relationships between VAW, including childhood trauma and substance use/problems may be mediated by psychological problems, which include posttraumatic stress. This body of work, along with other studies, has provided evidence for tension reduction theory and the self-medication hypothesis, which posit that women may turn to drugs and alcohol to cope with the negative affective states associated with VAW, including depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress.

Intervention

Although substance use is an etiological risk factor for VAW and an associated consequence of VAW, interventions for victims and perpetrators of VAW have traditionally failed to address the combined relationship between violence and substance use. For example, violence perpetration and victimization has typically been a neglected part of substance use treatment. Similarly, substance use has tended to be a neglected part of treatment for victims or perpetrators of VAW. For example, several treatment interventions for adult female survivors of child sexual abuse have excluded women with substance-use problems. Batterer treatment interventions have also largely failed to provide integrated treatment

for substance use and violence, even though evidence suggests that doing so may be more effective in reducing domestic violence. Although there have been more recent efforts to provide integrated substance-use treatment to victims and perpetrators of violence, more work is needed to make this type of treatment intervention more common.

In part, the independent treatment interventions for substance use and VAW, including psychological problems associated with VAW, were fueled by debate in the field about the temporal order for which to treat adverse consequences associated with VAW (e.g., posttraumatic stress) and substance use. Some have argued that addressing addiction should be a priority before addressing issues pertaining to violence (e.g., posttraumatic stress), whereas others have argued that treating the potential underlying triggers to substance use, such as the impact of interpersonal violence in women's lives, must precede interventions to reduce substance use.

Prevention

Prevention interventions aim to reduce adverse behaviors, such as substance use and violence, before treatment is needed. The three main types of prevention interventions are universal, selective, and indicated. These terms have replaced the previously used prevention intervention terms primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention. Universal prevention strategies are those that target the entire population with the aim of providing information to the entire population to reduce engagement in an adverse behavior (i.e., substance or violence perpetration). Public service announcements are one type of universal intervention that raises awareness about substance use problems or domestic violence in effort to reduce these problems. Selective interventions are prevention efforts that target persons at risk for substance use and VAW, whereas indicated interventions are prevention efforts aimed to prevent the progression of engaging in an adverse behavior, such as substance use, from becoming clinical (i.e., meeting criteria for substance dependence). Traditional prevention efforts have tended also to address VAW and substance use independently. Given the growing literature showing the interconnectedness between these two behaviors for both victims and perpetrators of

VAW, more integrated prevention efforts focusing on the intersect of substance use and violence are also warranted to reduce VAW and substance use effectively, which is a risk factor for VAW.

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See also Correlates of Victimization; Domestic Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Substance Abuse, Prevention of; Substance Abuse, Treatment of; Victimization, Theories of; Victimology

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SUPPLEMENTARY HOMICIDE REPORT (SHR)

Homicide victimization is significantly lower than any other type of violence. Yet this extreme form of violence has significant impacts—on families and communities, fear of crime, resource allocation, and so forth. Crime-prevention strategies require information about the prevalence, distribution, and etiology of homicide victimization and offending across various sorts of places and over time. Such information is available from the Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR), which is a widely used data source on murder, non-negligent manslaughter, and justifiable homicides in the United States.

Description

The SHR data have been collected and compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) since 1976 as part of the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. Law enforcement agencies reporting a homicide offense or arrest on the basic UCR Program Return A form are to submit a supplementary homicide report with more detailed information on each incident. Most law enforcement agencies around the country (90%-plus) voluntarily submit monthly SHR data directly to the FBI or via their state UCR Program. Recently, however, fewer agencies are submitting homicide data.

The SHR data set is unique because it is the only national program that collects information describing the homicide offender, victim, relationship between them, time of incident, location of offense, type of weapon, and situational elements, such as the precipitating circumstance. The SHR individual-level data are flexible and allow researchers to analyze victims, offenders, or incidents. The data also may be aggregated to compare homicide rates across territories (e.g., counties, both rural and urban), time periods, and different age/race/sex groups.

Murder is the most reliable measure of violent crime, and the SHR provides a good indicator of its distribution, particularly at the national level. The national-level SHR homicide estimates are fairly accurate, producing similar estimates and distributions compared with other sources, such as the National Vital Statistics System (NVSS), which is a less detailed national count based on death certificates that record manner of death. The SHR tends to undercount murder and manslaughter, because of classification and coverage differences compared with the NVSS, but more accurately it counts justifiable homicides by police and citizens. The quality and accuracy of SHR data for smaller geographic units varies, but good data are available for a sizable subset of areas.

Empirical Significance

Much has been learned about homicide that may be used in crime-prevention efforts as a result of the more detailed SHR data. For example, only a small portion of homicides take place in commercial establishments (e.g., liquor stores, gasoline stations, grocery stores, and jewelry stores) or

other work settings compared with the victim's home and public places such as streets. SHR data suggest about half of all homicides occur on weekends, usually during evening hours (between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.). Homicides most typically involve victims and offenders who are acquaintances. Important gender differences are demonstrated in the SHR data. Men are more likely to kill other men who are acquaintances or strangers. When men kill women, they are often (former) intimates. Women also are more likely to kill men; overwhelmingly, females kill family members (e.g., intimate partner and children). SHR data on the circumstance preceding homicide show that most incidents can be characterized as spontaneous ("in the heat of passion") rather than planned or instrumental. A dominant precipitating characteristic of homicide is a dispute, disagreement, or conflict.

SHR data may be aggregated and paired with indicators to assess aggregate risk factors for homicide. For example, researchers have identified similarities and differences in how features of structural disadvantage influence race- and/or sex-specific victimization and homicide rates. Attention also has been paid to whether different social conditions give rise to different sorts of homicide across relationship types. Researchers have explored trends in intimate partner homicide and have assessed reasons for why male risk has declined more than female victimization risk. The SHR data can be used to map patterns of gun homicides or other disaggregated homicide types. Extant studies, taken together, suggest that homicide victimization is not random but a function of demographic and ecological factors.

Limitations

Despite its many uses and advantages, the SHR has limitations. Homicides are more easily detected, more often reported, and frequently solved compared with other violent offenses. However, underreporting occurs when the victim's body is undiscovered or unreported or because it was not possible to distinguish between natural, accidental, or forceful causes. More pervasive and increasing, homicide is underestimated because of police agency nonreporting, which creates some challenges for researchers, perhaps including bias. Participation in the SHR is voluntary, and some

agencies do not report data at all. Others occasionally fail to submit monthly UCR Program reports or more detailed SHR reports. Nonreporting or partially reporting agencies more often tend to be smaller and more rural. Detailed SHR data are missing for about 10% of homicides known to police (UCR Program). To derive national or state estimates, SHR estimates are normed against UCR Program homicide estimates. Although an improvement, weights assume that nonreporting agencies' data are similar to reporting agencies' data, and this assumption may be invalid.

A more substantial problem is the significant and sizable increase in missing information about the offender, victim-offender relationship, and situational details about unsolved homicides. Victim data are infrequently missing, but about one quarter of offenders are "unknown." The percentage of homicides cleared by arrest has declined from about 79% in 1976 to 62% in 2005, and the proportion of SHR cases with missing offender data has increased from less than 20% to nearly 30%. Many of the unknown cases probably involved strangers and were perpetrated by young Black men in urban areas, which means that data are unlikely to be missing at random. Statisticians have developed various weighting and imputation techniques that attribute unknown characteristics based on solved cases in comparable areas that involve similar victim and incident characteristics. These approaches offer a promising solution to biases introduced by missing data.

The SHR offers detailed victim, offender, and incident data on nearly all homicides in the United States. Relatively unchanged since 1976, the SHR provides long-term data on the extent, distribution, and etiology of homicide. Problems related to underreporting and missing case characteristics can be partially addressed via developing weighting and imputation techniques. The SHR is a valuable data source that helps scholars and policy makers better understand and address differential risk of homicide victimization.

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See also Calculating Extent of Victimization: Incidence, Prevalence, and Rates; Contextual Effects on Victimization; Correlates of Victimization; Crime Mapping; Homicide and Murder; Intimate Partner Violence; Methodological Issues in Counting Victims; Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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SURVIVOR PATTERNS

Human beings have a remarkable capacity for surviving extremely difficult situations. A survivor is someone who has experienced a significant traumatic event that has a disruptive effect on his or her life. The disruptive effects of the trauma tend to fall into the following four primary categories, or patterns, for survivors: reliving the event, avoidance, numbing, and feeling keyed up. Reliving the event may occur at any time. Triggers are events that cause the survivor to relive some aspect of the trauma. When the memories of the event are triggered, a feeling of fear is common, as are feelings that mimic those that occurred at the time of the trauma. Individuals may also experience nightmares or flashbacks. Triggers may be sounds, sights, tastes, or smells. Avoidance is a method by which survivors evade situations or people that trigger memories of the traumatic event. This behavior may also include avoiding even thinking or talking about the trauma. Some survivors have remarked that they experience feeling numb, and they have difficulty in expressing

feelings. Feeling numb is a method of avoiding memories and close interactions (relationships, activities, and conversations), and it may facilitate the loss of traumatic memories. Feeling “keyed up” is an alternative term for hyperarousal, which can cause the survivor to be jittery, on guard, have a hard time sleeping, have difficulty concentrating, fear for one’s safety, and exhibit a recurring startle effect when surprised.

Other common issues for trauma survivors may include drinking or drug problems, feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, tragedy, disease, disasters, and threats to the survivor’s well-being. Trauma survivors may experience employment problems, relationship issues including divorce and violence, and physical symptoms.

Survivors find ways to overcome feelings of hopelessness, tragedy, disease, disasters, and threats to their personal well-being. Those who have survived did so by learning how to use coping skills. They develop a life philosophy oriented toward self-preservation. Self-preservation is the opposite of helplessness. It involves approaching life in ways that bolster feelings of self-efficacy, mastery, and control. The research on self-preservation supports it as a major coping skill for survival.

For those who are victims of traumatic life events, they arrive at many common conclusions to achieve self-preservation. Often, people do not want to feel like victims, so taking on the label of victim may keep survivors in the role of suffering where they experience a sense of helplessness. Additionally, the victim label can lower self-esteem because individuals believe they could not preserve themselves in a time of crisis. Those who perceive themselves to be victims often have patterned responses in an attempt to protect their self-esteem, comparing themselves with less fortunate others, seeing the positive side, using victimization as a learning experience, and finding strength in being a survivor.

Self-preservation is a way of looking at life and encouraging the individual to find a balance between realism and optimism in viewing one’s self and their control over their environment and the future. Furthermore, nurturing a belief that somehow the individual can make things turn out okay (hope) promotes a sense of reality to cope with daily problems. Hope requires the ability to be flexible in finding pathways to a positive outcome in any

given situation, as well as having a positive attitude about their ability to attain the desired goal. Individuals who cope actively take responsibility to pursue their goals, while being open to finding the best coping strategies. Taking responsibility means taking charge of things that can be controlled without falling into needless stress and self-blame for events that are beyond one's control.

Currently, the most successful approaches to being a healthy survivor include immediate talk therapy and medication, or a combination of the two. Trained mental-health professionals can provide for immediate talk therapy and appropriate evaluation by a medical doctor for medications. The goal for the survivor is to reduce psychological arousal, establish some reasonable mastery in which the survivor can exert some personal control over daily life events, and restore or make new caring attachments to others. Last, the survivor needs to be able to make sense out of the trauma that he or she experienced.

Reducing psychological arousal is aided by ensuring that the survivor is safe physically, medically, and legally. Trust with others is especially important to establish but a challenge because the survivor's ability to trust has been significantly damaged. Trust is based on two characteristics: predictable behavior (doing what you say you will do, when you say you will do it) and similar values. It is recommended that survivors avoid substance abuse or addictive behavior because it serves only to complicate the survivor's capacity to respond effectively to the crisis at hand.

Restoration of a reasonable mastery means the survivor takes as much responsibility for meeting his or her own needs as quickly as possible. Through the process of education, survivors learn about the potential fallout from traumatic events, avoiding negative thinking, and managing daily life (food, rest, paying bills, and washing clothes), thereby becoming empowered. When the act of

reconnecting to other survivors is integrated into the process, health functions and the ability to connect with daily life activities are improved. Survivors need to fight the instinct to disconnect, which is often a daily struggle. Reducing physical arousal is also critical to managing the arousal experienced by survivors, and it can typically be managed through the use of physical activity, meditation, relaxation exercises, or a combination of these.

Last, making sense of the trauma requires the survivor to grieve the loss, have some understanding of the origins of the traumatic event, and develop a new sense of purpose in life. Effective grieving for a survivor includes experiencing the sadness as he or she progresses through the stages of denial, anger, bargaining, despair, and acceptance. Mourning allows the survivor to regain some control over the feelings of fear, anger, guilt, shame, and depression. As the mourning period concludes, survivors report they experience a reintegration into the present.

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See also Compassion Fatigue; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Victimology

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TAKE A BITE OUT OF CRIME

Take A Bite Out Of Crime is a national mass media and public information campaign in the United States put forth by the National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC). The movement started in 1978 and is aimed at raising crime prevention awareness for several common crimes (e.g., residential burglary). The campaign has four primary objectives: to change pessimistic attitudes about the criminal justice system and alleviate feelings of hopelessness about crime; to foster a sense of citizen responsibility regarding crime; to encourage collective crime prevention action through partnerships among citizens, law enforcement, and community groups; and to buttress current crime prevention efforts.

In 1980, McGruff the Crime Dog was created and has long served as the cartoonish mascot for the Take A Bite Out Of Crime message. McGruff's role has generally been educational and informational, focusing on such crime prevention themes as increasing individual responsibility, fostering community cohesion and local ties, and reducing criminal opportunities. The campaign has comprised television, radio, and print advertisements in its efforts to educate the public about crime prevention. In the early days of the initiative, much of the focus was on personal and home safety, but today many of the current campaigns address emerging crime issues such as cyber bullying, identity theft, and fraud against senior citizens. Internet crimes have become such an important crime prevention

issue in recent years that there is even a Take A Bite Out Of Cyber Crime campaign currently ongoing by the NCPC.

History

The Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign began 30 years ago when 19 organizations came together to form a council called the National Citizens' Crime Prevention Campaign. A group called the Advertising Council put forth the initial media release in 1979, and in 1980, the first television ad aired that introduced the public to a then-unnamed cartoon dog in a trench coat, urging them to "take a bite out of crime." Shortly thereafter, these organizations and others banded together to create the Crime Prevention Coalition of America. Today the coalition consists of more than 300 organizations and thousands of members.

The coalition created and funded the National Crime Prevention Council in 1982 to administer the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign and advance their goals of fostering cooperation between citizens and law enforcement, and to promote crime prevention awareness through advertisements and training. Over the long history of the NCPC and the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign, there have been several noteworthy accomplishments on the part of the organization. For instance, more than \$1.4 billion in advertising time and print space has been donated for the public service announcements since 1980, and in 2003, *Worth* magazine named the campaign one of the nation's 100 best charities.

The NCPC offers numerous training and crime prevention programs as a public service. This training currently includes such topics as crime prevention through environmental design, campus crime prevention, teen victims of crime, bullying and intimidation, and many more. In addition, the NCPC offers many crime prevention programs geared toward the needs of specific age groups, ethnicities, and neighborhoods. Current programs include Teens, Crime, and the Community; Outreach to New Americans; Project Safe Neighborhoods; and McGruff House, among others.

McGruff the Crime Dog

McGruff is the mascot for the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign, and in 2005, he celebrated his 25th birthday. At that time, estimates by the Advertising Council indicated that 93% of children in the United States were aware of McGruff and his efforts to provide crime prevention tips; 96% of adults were aware of the “Take a bite out of crime” slogan. So in terms of brand recognition, McGruff has been a tremendous success.

The McGruff character was created by Sherry Nemmers. John M. Keil, an artist, is credited with writing the slogan and acting as the voice of McGruff in television and radio announcements over the years. McGruff received his name 2 years after his debut through a nationwide contest to find a name for the character. Other popular suggestions included names such as Sherlock Bones and J. Edgar Dog. Besides television and radio advertisements, McGruff has also lent his likeness to crime prevention pamphlets and books, billboards, costumes (for public appearances), a 32-foot traveling inflatable (for fairs and large events), products (such as plush animals), and even a monster truck in Arizona and a “wiener wagon” in Florida. McGruff’s name and image are also associated with many of the programs funded by the National Crime Prevention Council, such as McGruff House, McGruff Truck, and McGruff Neighborhood.

McGruff Programs

These McGruff programs represent a partnership among local coordinators and volunteers, law enforcement, and school personnel. The McGruff

House program offers kids a safe place to go when they are in danger or when they feel threatened or fearful when they are playing in the neighborhood or walking to or from school. These locations are safe havens that might be houses, townhomes, apartments, or trailers, and they are specially marked with identifiable signage, so kids can easily recognize them. The partnership with local schools is important in educating children about the program and its purpose. The volunteers at McGruff houses reassure the children and contact the authorities if necessary. The McGruff House program began in 1982 with the first house in Utah, and now 48 states have McGruff houses, with Nebraska having over 1,000.

The McGruff Truck program operates under a similar philosophy as the McGruff House program. In this case, the trucks are often utility trucks marked with the McGruff logo. People who feel there is a danger nearby can signal these trucks to pull over, and the drivers will radio the authorities for help. Currently 125 utility companies are participating in the McGruff Truck program, with 25,000 utility trucks bearing the McGruff Truck logo.

The purpose of the McGruff Neighborhood initiative is to provide and coordinate the McGruff House, McGruff Truck, and other programs focused on keeping children safe at school and in their neighborhoods. The foundation for the McGruff Neighborhood program is McGruff Club and local elementary schools. McGruff Club, in partnership with these schools, teaches children between the ages of six and ten about crime prevention and other safety issues.

Take A Bite Out Of Cyber Crime

The Take A Bite Out Of Cyber Crime campaign is an extension of the earlier Take A Bite Out Of Crime efforts to increase safety and crime prevention awareness but applied to an online environment. The campaign is a collaborative effort among the National Crime Prevention Council, the Forum to Advance the Mobile Experience, and the Chief Marketing Office Council. The primary focus of the campaign is the fight against cyber-crimes such as spam, computer viruses, phishing, identity theft, cyber bullying, and online predators. There is also a focus on educating the public, and

especially children, about general Internet safety. This safety education teaches kids about the dangers that the Internet might pose and makes them aware of how they can avoid them.

Empirical Evaluations

There have been two large-scale evaluations of the Take A Bite Out Of Crime media campaign. The first evaluation of the program occurred in a 3-year period (1979–1981) after the initial introduction of the publicity campaign. The second evaluation was undertaken in 1992, 12 years after the first Take A Bite Out Of Crime television advertisement aired.

First Evaluation: O'Keefe and Mendelsohn

In the first evaluation of the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign, researchers used survey methodologies to determine the general response to the campaign and to assess the state of respondents' crime prevention efforts after being exposed to the public service announcements. To assess the overall exposure of the campaign, the researchers conducted a survey of a national probability sample of 1,200 adults. Of this group, 63% of respondents said they were "very sure" they had seen the Take A Bite Out Of Crime public service announcements, and 29% indicated they were "fairly sure" they had. In terms of which medium proved the most successful in reaching the target audience, it was determined that television was the most prolific. Overall, 78% of respondents identified television as the source of exposure to the announcements, followed by billboards at 14%, newspapers at 8%, radio at 6%, and magazines at 5%. Additionally, 88% of those who had seen the advertisements were able to recall some specific crime prevention message beyond simply the logo or the McGruff character. The researchers were also able to determine that the media campaign had reached a demographically diverse audience.

A three-city survey of 426 adults was used to examine the second goal of the study, which was to determine the campaign's impact on attitudes and crime prevention awareness and efforts. Of these respondents, 22% reported having learned something from the advertisements, and 46% said they had been reminded of something they had forgotten. More

than half of the group reported feeling more responsible for crime prevention and concerned about crime; however, 22% indicated that they were more fearful having seen the advertisements. In addition, almost one fourth of those who had been exposed to the campaign messages reported taking crime prevention measures as a result. However, only 2% of respondents who had been exposed to the advertisements requested or sought out more information about crime prevention. Respondents were also asked about perceptions of crime in their neighborhoods, and it was determined that the campaign had no effect on these attitudes.

In sum, this early study investigating the effectiveness and response to the Take A Bite Out Of Crime initiative indicated that the public's awareness of the campaign, the McGruff character, and the crime prevention messages of the ads had generally been successful and well received. In addition, a sizable portion of study respondents indicated having taken some additional crime prevention efforts as a result of exposure to the public service announcements.

Second Evaluation: O'Keefe, Rosenbaum, Lavrakas, Reid, and Botta

The second evaluation of the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign was undertaken in 1992 and published in 1996. The research strategy included national-level sample surveys of U.S. citizens, crime prevention practitioners, media managers, and law enforcement. The national multistage cluster sample resulted in a sample size of 1,500 adult citizens in addition to the other study participants (e.g., law enforcement officials). The surveys were administered by telephone. In addition to the surveys, the researchers conducted extensive content analyses of campaign materials to identify common campaign themes and messages.

The campaign evaluation researchers had four primary goals in assessing the Take A Bite Out Of Crime media campaign. The first goal was to determine whether the campaign was an effective method for preventing crime among its target audience. Second, the evaluators were concerned about the success of the media elements of the campaign (in terms of audience exposure, interest, and reaction). Third, the researchers were interested in identifying ways to improve the program or design

successful programs in the future. The final goal was to assess the cost-effectiveness of the campaign for crime prevention.

In terms of campaign exposure, the researchers concluded that 85% of surveyed adults indicated they had seen the McGruff public service announcements. Most respondents indicated that they had seen the ads on television, and 86% reported that they had paid "high attention" to select advertisements. Most respondents familiar with the announcements were able to name something specific they liked about them. The groups most familiar with the announcements were younger adults with children at home, those attentive to the media, interested in crime prevention, in need of crime prevention information, aware of neighborhood problems, and likely to take preventive action. Black adults were slightly more aware of the advertisements than White adults, and middle-income respondents were slightly more familiar than other income groups.

Regarding campaign effectiveness, it was reported that nearly one in three respondents indicated that they had learned something from the advertisements. One in five participants indicated that they had taken specific action based on the campaign messages, and 54% became more concerned about crime. Respondents indicated that the public service announcements were effective in increasing a feeling of personal responsibility for crime prevention (47%), their crime prevention awareness (70%), their awareness of drug abuse prevention (90%), children's awareness of crime prevention (90%), and children's awareness of drug prevention (88%); 36% of respondents indicated that they were more confident in protecting themselves. Greater effectiveness was reported among women, the less educated, lower income, Blacks, and parents with children at home.

In sum, most study participants (including the public, media, and law enforcement) indicated that they had recognized McGruff and the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign messages as important symbols of crime prevention and awareness education. The trend seems to be that the campaign gained in both popularity and overall impact over the years in between evaluations. The findings also indicate that, more generally, media campaigns can be fruitful tools for influencing crime prevention behaviors of the public.

Publicity and Media Campaigns as a Crime Control Tactic

In general, publicity and media campaigns have essentially two utilitarian values in terms of crime prevention—to increase the visibility or presence of certain crime prevention initiatives (such as the implementation of a new Neighborhood Watch program or a crackdown on drug dealing in a particular part of the city) or to raise the public's awareness of crime (e.g., through education). The distinction between these goals or outcomes is which group is the target of the publicity—offenders, victims, or the general public. In the case of the Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign, the target is the general public and those most at risk of victimization, and the message is conveyed through formal channels such as radio and television. This is in contrast to a more informal publicity campaign that, for example, may rely on word of mouth between offenders (perhaps that the police are watching an area).

The empirical evidence surrounding the success of publicity as a crime control tactic is in the early stages of development, and the research that has been conducted has not been entirely conclusive, but a few general points can be made regarding the issue. First, it seems that media campaigns can have a positive effect on crime prevention. Specifically, such publicity can shape perceptions of fear, educate the public about crime prevention precautions, and encourage the adoption of crime prevention measures. Second, some evidence suggests that publicity efforts that target offenders often result in anticipatory benefits or crime prevention benefits that occur prior to the implementation of a crime prevention initiative or program. For instance, word that closed-circuit television has been installed in an area may result in fewer area crimes, even before the cameras have been put in place. Finally, such media and publicity tactics do not seem to have much success at reaching those most vulnerable to crime but those who are less vulnerable to victimization or who are already interested in crime prevention.

Conclusion

The Take A Bite Out Of Crime public service campaign began more than 30 years ago and,

along with the NCPC, has since become an important partner with law enforcement and schools in educating the public about crime prevention. Many of the campaign's programs and initiatives are specially designed to cater to specific audiences, such as children in elementary schools or other high-risk groups (e.g., elderly persons who are often the targets of identity theft schemes). The most identifiable element of the public service advertisements is McGruff the Crime Dog, whose signature slogan, "Take a bite out of crime," provided the name for the crime prevention campaign. There have been two important evaluations of the campaign, which generally concluded that the messages have successfully reached those who are either most interested in crime prevention or are the least at risk of victimization.

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See also Citizen Patrols; Crime Newsletters; Crime Stoppers; Cybercrime, Prevention of; Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Neighborhood Watch Programs; Project Safe Neighborhoods; Public Opinion and Crime Prevention, United States

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Web Sites

National Crime Prevention Council: <http://www.ncpc.org>

TEEN DATING VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Teen dating violence (TDV) is more common than many people might assume because intimate partner violence is usually understood as involving adults; therefore, rarely are young people considered. It is difficult to get a clear picture of the issue because different studies and surveys ask different questions and, thus, often get different answers. This entry examines the definitions of TDV, including physical, psychological, and emotional abuse and sexual violence. Statistical findings are assessed, and the causes and responses to this form of violence are considered.

Definitions

Research on violence within teen relationships is limited, but increasingly a definition emerges of a continuum of controlling and abusive behavior within a romantic relationship, ranging from physical and sexual violence to verbal and emotional abuse and including financial control and peer group "disrespect." Conventional definitions of intimate partner violence are insufficient in understanding the different harms, impacts, and consequences of dating violence. TDV can happen to girls and boys from all types of homes and from families of all cultures, income levels, and educational backgrounds. Dating violence may be a single event or repeated episodes of violence and can have impacts later in the life course and in reproductive health. TDV may be similar to the cycle of violence witnessed in battered woman syndrome, where the severity of the abuse escalates over time and where control, denial, and blame are features of the relationship, making intervention problematic.

Extent

Estimates suggest that 15% to 42% of all high-school students in America have had at least one violent experience within the context of a date. Forty percent of girls ages 14 to 17 years report knowing someone their age who has been hit or beaten by a boyfriend. Females ages 16 to 24 years are three times more vulnerable to intimate partner violence than any other age group. Estimates of sexual violence vary from 3% to 23% for female high-school students and 2% to 4% for male students. Vulnerabilities are noticeable in 14- to 16-year-old girls receiving child protection services, more than half of whom in a survey in the late 1990s reported sexual and physical violence at the hands of a dating partner. Adolescents who experience both sexual and physical TDV remain at higher risk from violence when they become adults than those who experience no dating violence. Additionally, men who engaged in adolescent sexual violence are more likely to sexually assault than those without a history of sexual assault.

The existence, persistence, and seriousness of violent behavior in adolescence are together an indicator of violence in later life, and the association between adult domestic violence and TDV must not be underestimated. The roots of adolescent violence may lie in early childhood through learning how to relate to others by witnessing violence within the family. Although not all TDV is a consequence of witnessing domestic violence, it may be that “learning to use violence” and “putting up with violence” are socialized gender norms within society.

Response and Prevention

Programs that seek to prevent and respond to TDV are necessary because of the serious and pervasive consequences of TDV. More than 80% of parents either believe TDV is not an issue (or do not know whether it is an issue), and most parents do not speak with their children about TDV. It is important that schools respond to complaints of TDV. Most existing programs can be divided into two interrelated categories: those that act immediately to provide services and those aimed at increasing awareness and producing attitudinal change.

Frontline workers in health care, social services, criminal justice, and education need to know how to recognize the signs of TDV to help decrease the level of violence and mobilize efficiently the resources necessary to ensure that services are appropriate for young people. An understanding of early risk factors (such as anti-social behavior, involvement with drugs, early sexual involvement, and exposure to violence) and warning signs (such as teens apologizing for the boyfriend or girlfriend's behavior, unexplained bruises, avoiding eye contact, and unexplained crying) equip service providers. Many adolescents may be reluctant to approach services such as domestic violence shelters, sexual assault nurse examiners (SANEs), sexual assault response teams (SARTs), and rape crisis centers that may seem to be aimed at adults. What is certain is that more research is needed to determine how SANE-SART programs can be made more appropriate for adolescents if criminal justice reporting and prosecution is to be successful for TDV.

The development of community and school-based TDV prevention programs can complement criminal justice and health services. Raising awareness on issues such as domestic violence and rape is vital if the problems of interpersonal violence are to be solved. Frontline workers, therefore, also have a role in future-facing prevention programs. Community and school-based programs typically tend to last from 1 session to more than 20 sessions. Talking with young people about appropriate behavior in relationships, how to express difficult emotions, and how to resolve conflicts nonviolently are features of many programs. Programs such as the “Fourth R” and “Safe Dates” use theater and school activities to provide young people with information on how to prevent TDV, how to respond if violence occurs, and how to seek help and support. The “Expect Respect” program involves parents in seminars, and the “Love is Respect” program shows the value of peer support by highlighting how friends can help.

Research on intimate partner violence has tended to ignore the younger end of the age spectrum, perhaps partly in denial of the intense relationships that are often formed at young ages. If these relationships are to be loving, rewarding, and fulfilling to those involved, it is imperative that

TDV prevention programs are established effectively with access available to all.

Helen Jones

See also Battered Woman Syndrome; Cycle of Violence, Theory of; Dating Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Women's Shelters/Help Lines

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Web Sites

- The Fourth R: Relationship Based Violence Prevention: <http://youthrelationships.org>
- Love Is Respect: <http://loveisrespect.org>
- National Coalition Against Domestic Violence: <http://www.ncadv.org>
- National Domestic Violence Hotline (NDVH): <http://www.ndvh.org>
- National Youth Violence Prevention Resource Center: <http://www.safeyouth.org>
- Safe Dates: http://www.pubinfo.vcu.edu/vabp/program_details.asp?id=97

TERRORISM/TERRORIST ATTACK

Terrorism is crime with a political motive. It may be committed by lone individuals or by groups, whether well or poorly organized. Terrorist attacks may be directed at specific individuals, such as political, military, or corporate officials, or others who stand for a hated enterprise, such as abortion doctors, or they may attack indiscriminately people in crowded areas. In the latter case, the overwhelming motive of terrorist attacks is to inflict as much damage or injury as possible.

Terrorism as Ideology

It is a common misconception that the motivation of terrorists is what sets them apart from others who use extreme violence. Although in a general sense the idea that Islamic extremists, far right militias, or Marxist guerillas inflict violence in the service of their "higher" cause, these broad motivations may be better perceived as (1) justifications (rather than explanations) for what they do and (2) expressions of their belief that violence is the most effective means of achieving their distant goal, which is usually toppling a government or forcing an opponent to stop what it is doing (e.g., get the United States to leave Iraq or get researchers to stop using animals for experimentation). Most terrorist groups disintegrate within 12 months of their inception, indicating that the level of violence needed to change a regime is difficult to maintain.

Terrorism as Crime

A useful way to understand terrorism is to think of it as crime. In fact, the words *crime* and *terrorism* encompass a diverse range of events. Consider the possible range of acts that are subsumed under the heading of crime: murder, rape, theft of many kinds (e.g., embezzlement, shoplifting, pickpocketing, employee theft, credit card fraud, consumer fraud, identity theft, bank robbery, mugging, burglary, and car theft), extortion, kidnapping, drug dealing, smuggling, human trafficking, prostitution, child abuse, and many more. The range of terrorist attacks not only includes all these crimes

but also counterfeiting (of passports, identity papers, and currency), money laundering, suicide bombing, assassinations, roadside bombs, and arson. The supposed differences between terrorism and crime are that terrorism is more planned, of a larger scale, committed by groups, and the actors are more determined as they pursue a higher cause. However, bank robbery requires considerable planning, much crime is done in groups, frauds such as the Enron scandal have numerous victims, both offender and terrorist must be determined to complete a mission successfully, and many terrorists do not pursue a “higher cause” but do it for excitement, prestige, and money for support of themselves and their families.

Terrorism as a “Rational Choice”

Whatever the general motivation (whether frustration, hatred, greed, religious and ideological extremism, or materialistic and other rewards), to carry out a criminal or terrorist act, the *immediate* motive is to complete the operation successfully. To do so clearly requires planning and the corresponding series of decisions that are needed to implement any plan. The overall motivation may be irrational and the perception of reality may be distorted, but choices must be made within the environment as perceived by the terrorist. The field of situational crime prevention—well supported by extensive research—provides a way to identify the kinds of decisions terrorists make by focusing on the opportunities open to them. Applied to terrorism, four components of opportunity can be identified: targets, weapons, tools, and facilitating conditions.

Terrorism as Opportunity

Targets

Thieves do not steal everything. They steal only those products or services that are attractive to them, products that are CRAVED: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable. In theory, thieves could steal anything. In practice, they must make choices. Terrorists are constrained by the same principle. In theory, they could attack anywhere, any time. In practice, they

must choose their targets carefully. The attractive characteristics of targets to terrorists may be summarized as EVIL DONE:

Exposed	The Twin Towers were sitting ducks
Vital	Electricity grids and transportation systems are vital to all communities
Iconic	Of symbolic value to the enemy (e.g., Statue of Liberty)
Legitimate	Terrorists’ sympathizers cheered when the Twin Towers collapsed
Destructible	Twin Towers were thought to be indestructible by a truck bomb
Occupied	Kill as many people as possible
Near	Within reach of terrorist group, close to home
Easy	Murrah building in Oklahoma City was an easy target for a car bomb placed within 8 feet of its perimeter

Weapons

As with targets, terrorists favor certain weapons over others. Most terrorist attacks are conducted using small arms and bombs. Attacks with weapons of so-called mass destruction (biological or nuclear) have been few and, where conducted, of limited effect. The characteristics of weapons that make them appealing to terrorists are MURDEROUS (see top of next page).

There will almost always be a trade-off between the target of choice and the weapon. If a target is particularly desirable, there may be a search for an appropriate weapon. For example, the first attack on the U.S. World Trade Center used a truck bomb parked under one of the towers. Although it did much damage, it failed to destroy the target, which true to its reputation, was considered indestructible. The second attack used a new weapon, passenger jets as missiles,

Multipurpose	A high-powered rifle has a specific use, whereas explosives have a much wider application.
Undetectable	Semtex, a plastic explosive, is small, lightweight, and largely undetectable, ideal for penetrating layers of security.
Removable	The weapons of terrorism must be portable, so they must be relatively light and reasonably small.
Destructive	Explosive devices have a greater kill rate than guns targeted at specific individuals.
Enjoyable	Terrorists are clearly attracted to their weapons, as are many ordinary people.
Reliable	If terrorists have used a weapon, or one like it, many times before, they are likely to favor that weapon over another.
Obtainable	How easy is it to get the weapon? Can it be bought or stolen easily? Or can it even be manufactured in-house?
Uncomplicated	All weapons require practice and training. A weapon that demands considerable skill, such as a free-flight armor-piercing missile, will rarely be used.
Safe	The use of bombs as weapons is inherently more dangerous than the use of guns, especially when made in-house.

which was successful. The planning required to use this new weapon was extensive and took years to accomplish.

Tools

Without the tools of everyday life, it is much harder for terrorists to reach a target or use their weapons. For many common attacks, such as car or truck bombings, drive-by shootings, and targeted assassinations, terrorists are likely to need most of the following:

- Cell phones or other means of communication
- Cars or trucks to transport themselves and weapons
- Cash or (false) credit cards; false documents—for example, drivers' licenses, passports or visas, and vehicle registration documents
- Maps, plans, addresses, photographs, and other information about the target

Doing terrorism is demanding of the tools of everyday life. These tools are certainly widely available, but their visibility is also considerable. Using cash instead of a credit card to rent a car, for example, draws unwanted attention to the offender.

Using a credit card exposes one's identity—unless it is stolen.

Facilitating Conditions

Targets, weapons, and tools exist within physical, economic, and social environments. At particular points in time or in particular regions or places, conditions may develop that facilitate the terrorist's ability to exploit these opportunities. These conditions make it ESEER for terrorists:

Easy	When local bureaucrats are susceptible to corruption
Safe	When ID requirements for monetary transactions are inadequate
Excusable	When family members have been killed by local anti-terrorist action
Enticing	When local culture/religion endorses heroic acts of violence
Rewarding	When support for new immigrants is available from local charities

Other more general facilitating conditions include the worldwide marketing of small arms whether legal or illegal, porous borders between countries making movement of terrorist operatives easier, and the proliferation of nuclear technology and materials creating opportunities for terrorists to obtain weapons of mass destruction.

Preventing Terrorist Attacks

Reducing Opportunities

The foregoing suggests that the obvious response is to reduce the opportunities for terrorists, making it harder for them to plan and carry out their attacks. There are four basic approaches to reducing opportunities for terrorism: (1) increase the effort involved, (2) increase the risks of failure, (3) reduce the rewards of terrorism, and (4) remove provocations and excuses. Examples of the kinds of responses that might be employed within this framework are as follows:

1. Increase the effort
 - Prioritize targets for protection; build walls and barriers.
 - Restrict sale of weapons or locks and immobilizers to make weapons difficult to use.
 - Hold contractors liable for stolen explosives.
 - Reduce the supply of large value bank notes; high tech passports, visas, and driving licenses; national ID cards; and parts marking on all tools, and make cell phones and other tools unusable without ID to unlock.
2. Increase the risks
 - Strengthen surveillance through closed-circuit television (CCTV), citizen vigilance, and hot lines.
 - Use radio-frequency identifications (RFIDs) to track weapons and to increase Internet surveillance of terrorist groups.
 - Tighten identity authentication procedures, and tighten border controls.
3. Reduce the rewards
 - Bomb-proof buildings, wear Kevlar vests, and employ swift cleanup of attack site.

- Use publicity to portray hypocrisy and cruelty of terrorist acts.
4. Reduce provocations and excuses
 - Build unobtrusive public buildings at home and abroad.
 - Avoid use of controversial weapons such as phosphorous bombs.
 - Maintain positive relations with local immigrant groups.
 - Avoid maltreatment of prisoners, and establish clear rules for interrogation.

Of course, these general responses would have to be adapted to the specific kinds of terrorist attacks that may be anticipated.

Anticipating Terrorist Attacks

The first concern is whether the attack is likely to be from a foreign-based attacker (foreign terrorism) or from within, usually called domestic terrorism, and whether there are targets that are close to known bases of terrorist operations. If the latter, then the attacks are likely to be frequent (assuming local facilitating conditions). If distant, they are likely to be rare but spectacular.

The role of intelligence here is important, but it is useful only if used in the service of finding out how terrorists carry out their attacks, their planning, the tools and weapons they prefer, and the local facilitating conditions that they exploit. This does not mean making lists of other suspected terrorists to construct an impressive but always speculative diagram of a terrorist network. Rather it means learning to “think terrorist” in order to anticipate their innovative capacities, whether they will turn a seemingly inoffensive tool into a mighty bomb, as they did with airliners in 9/11. The 9/11 Commission called this approach “thinking outside the box.”

Risk Assessment

An important part of anticipating a terrorist attack is to assess systematically the targets that are at risk. This is achieved by evaluating the *vulnerability* of each target (the chances that it will be selected by a terrorist) and the *expected*

loss (damage and injury for the short and long term) should it be attacked. EVIL DONE is a way to classify target characteristics according to both vulnerability and expected loss. Although all eight characteristics of EVIL DONE assess vulnerability, four—Vital, Iconic, Destructible, and Occupied—also provide assessments of expected loss.

Mitigation of Terrorism

Planning for prevention logically leads to planning for mitigation. Risk assessment forces us to think about how an attack might unfold, which logically leads to what kind and how much injury and damage may result. It follows that disaster management teams should be closely involved in the prevention planning described above, as well as in the standard recovery and cleanup that is the central role of disaster management.

Partnerships and Dual Benefits

Businesses are often the direct or indirect victims of terrorist attacks, and they often have the special expertise needed to assess risk and how to mitigate it in relation to their own enterprise. Informed counterterrorism policy, therefore, encourages businesses, policing organizations, and others involved in security to see that increasing security against terrorist opportunity can often have dual benefits. For example, restricting access into high-risk buildings not only restricts access to terrorists but also to thieves.

Government Policy

It is an important role of government at the local level to bring together businesses, local police, as well as fire and emergency management teams to coordinate their planning and their responses should an attack occur. In open societies with complex layers of government that are intertwined with private enterprise, a coherent national terrorism policy is essential for prevention. These layers of government should be encouraged to think about vulnerabilities in their particular spheres of responsibility. For example, a municipality must ensure that the local schools,

reservoirs, malls, and entertainment venues have developed contingency plans. In this way, responsibility *cascades* down from central government to involve every government level below.

Graeme R. Newman and Ronald V. Clarke

See also Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design; Human Trafficking; Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access (VIVA); Situational Crime Prevention

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THEFT

See Larceny/Theft

THIRD-PARTY LAWSUITS

Third-party lawsuits allow injured persons to sue “third parties,” entities who are not directly responsible for the injuries sustained by the individual. Although these lawsuits can involve any type of third party, state and federal courts have seen increasing numbers of third-party lawsuits involving three issues. The first involves insurance companies that do not pay (or underpay) for damages caused by the insured. The second involves

lawsuits that are filed when a worker is injured on the job. The third involves victims of crime who file lawsuits against those who they feel are indirectly responsible for their victimization. All of these are discussed below.

Regarding insurance companies, many people have filed lawsuits against insurance companies for inadequate compensation for injuries. For example, if a person is injured in a car accident and the other driver is responsible, the injured party may file a lawsuit against the responsible party's insurance company if that company is slow to pay for damages or has provided inadequate compensation. In this example, the insurance company was not directly responsible for the injuries sustained in the car accident, but it could nonetheless be involved in a third-party lawsuit for its negligence in failing to provide adequate compensation.

Regarding those who are injured on the job, a factory worker may be injured when the safety feature on a piece of equipment fails to work properly. In this situation, the worker may file a worker's compensation claim against the employer to receive damages for the injury. In addition, the worker may sue the manufacturer of the equipment because it failed to work properly. Suing the manufacturer would be an example of a third-party lawsuit.

Regarding crime victims, a victim may sue any number of third parties for indirect involvement in a crime. For instance, a victim of an assault in an apartment building may not only bring charges against the perpetrator in criminal court, but he or she may also sue the landlord of the building for failure to provide adequate safety measures. Suing the landlord would be an example of a third-party lawsuit. Other entities such as schools, hospitals, and merchants have been parties in third-party lawsuits for providing inadequate security.

A current issue regarding crime victims and third-party lawsuits involves suing gun manufacturers and sellers for crimes committed with guns. This is a hot-button topic, as numerous states and the federal government have attempted to pass legislation to prohibit such lawsuits. It is argued that gun manufacturers should not be held responsible for the use of a gun during a crime since guns can be obtained legally, even if they are used for

illegal purposes. In effect, gun manufacturers have no control over how guns are used. Opponents of such legislation argue that holding gun manufacturers responsible is akin to holding manufacturers of defective equipment responsible: If the equipment harms another, then the manufacturer should be held responsible.

When filing third-party lawsuits, the burden is on the plaintiff (the individual filing the lawsuit) to prove actual negligence on the part of the respondent. In the example of the assault above, the plaintiff (the crime victim) must show that the landlord knew of lax safety features (e.g., broken locks on doors or disabled security cameras) and chose not to remedy them. In this instance, the landlord was negligent and, therefore, could be sued by the crime victim.

Supporters of third-party lawsuits argue that they empower victims, in that they know that some sort of avenue exists to help remedy the effects of their victimization. This is especially true if the actual offender in the case is never caught, is acquitted, or receives some sort of token punishment. Supporters also contend that these lawsuits send messages to other potential third parties. By drawing attention to those who are indirectly involved in crimes, third-party lawsuits can help improve safety and protect the lives of potential victims.

Critics of third-party lawsuits contend that these lawsuits do nothing but line the pockets of attorneys who are litigating the cases. Critics argue that, since these lawsuits can be expensive for third parties, attorneys are the true victors in these cases, beneficiaries of these "deep pocket" lawsuits. Additionally, the ability to file third-party lawsuits may result in frivolous claims that have no standing, which can encompass a large amount of a court's time and resources. Finally, when third parties like insurance companies are sued, the costs of the lawsuit are passed on to consumers, who must pay higher premiums to compensate for the financial losses of the company.

Marian R. Williams

See also Civil Litigation; Punitive and Compensatory Damages

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THIRD-PARTY POLICING

Third-party policing encompasses a variety of pressures applied against nominally respectable citizens to enhance informal social controls. In its broadest forms, third-party policing invokes civil processes and other sanctions against place managers to compel participation in police-directed anti-crime initiatives. Originally described as “policing *through* third parties [emphasis added],” it is inherently coercive, becoming the policing *of* third parties when persuasion fails to achieve desired goals. Those who are subject to third-party policing tactics are only the *proximate* targets of police action. The *ultimate* targets remain the criminal element.

The most common form is the coordinated application of civil codes and regulatory laws that ordinarily lie outside the police mandate. Those targeted by third-party policing have broken no criminal laws, but they contribute to the spread of criminogenic conditions by being derelict in other responsibilities. Under police direction, civil sanctions are used as leverage to change specific conditions identified as criminogenic. Against claims of “no responsibility” or “limited liability” based in the canons of private enterprise, third-party policing asserts that owners and managers have a burden of social responsibility to their neighbors.

Most community crime prevention initiatives first assemble a coalition of neighborhood residents, breaking down anonymity and establishing a basis for trust and collective action. Major goals are to establish a sense of community and to initiate surveillance to advance territoriality. Sustained efforts require mobilization of resources beyond the capacity of the residents themselves: the assistance of stakeholders who own businesses and

property in the area but do not live there; enhanced services from public sector agencies; increased or nonroutine attention to problem establishments by regulatory agencies; and resources from private foundations and other sources. Their participation enhances community efficacy and the neighborhood’s social capital.

Creating coalitions requires three main tools: information, persuasion, and coercion. Mobilizing residents is limited to providing information and persuasion. Those tactics are also the first resort in attempts to enlist nonresident stakeholders and guardians, many of whom respond positively when presented with evidence of need and a clear course of action. Coercion is employed only when persuasion fails, and it is generally limited to targets whose actions or inaction contribute directly to unsavory conditions in the neighborhood.

Landlords, bar owners and managers, and other guardians hold a limited power over some part of the offending population’s lives. It is not as drastic as the application of criminal sanctions, but it is more immediate and consistent; thus, it is thought to be more effective.

Police requests for assistance reflect the role a property plays in community problems. The generic term for such places was “attractive nuisance,” but the problems that a mismanaged property creates often are far more serious. Bars may serve as gathering places for drug dealers, purveyors of stolen property, prostitution rings, and other criminal elements. Liquor stores and bars with lax service rules sell to minors, to the already inebriated, and to those whose subsequent uncivil conduct ranges from disorderly behavior to vandalism to assaults.

Landlords who fail to establish rules of conduct for their tenants have no means of controlling noise, boisterous behavior, and other activities that disturb the neighborhood. They may uncritically accept drug dealers as tenants, ignoring collateral incivilities that come with high-volume drug sales on the premises or nearby. Owners of vacant buildings (or apartments) may fail to secure them against intrusion and conversion to illegal use (shooting galleries, illicit squats, and prostitution). Decrepit buildings and unkempt properties give the impression of decay, inviting incivility.

Police requests for changes in managerial practices or for upgrading physical premises frequently are met with resistance. Inevitably the changes incur a financial burden against the owner's bottom line. Outright refusal, foot-dragging (including lies), sham alterations, and counteroffensives using political allies are common forms of resistance.

Third-party sanctions can be relatively benign, such as the inconvenience of unannounced health and other code inspections. Although financial burdens result, they are generally light. When inspections are conducted outside the normal routine of advance notice and superficial measures to ensure license renewal, the real message is that police requests are not to be ignored.

In the middle range, sanctions can entail civil abatement measures, a more formal and stringent application of the civil laws. These tend to be more expensive and entail the threat of more drastic measures unless full compliance is forthcoming. The Oakland (California) SMART program directed at drug-dealing locations is a prime example of a coordinated civil abatement effort. Many other tools of civil abatement exist; however, liquor-selling establishments are subject to state licensure and local permits, either of which may be suspended or revoked. In many municipalities, rental properties require local licensing, which serves as another venue for bringing pressure on recalcitrant landlords.

For extreme problems, businesses may be closed and properties may be seized and forfeited. The most serious penalties are generally related to drug trafficking, for which asset forfeiture is prescribed by law. Because of the level of proof and efforts involved, this option often is reserved for the most dramatic offenders.

When necessary, third-party policing also invokes political pressure against underperforming public agencies. Because such efforts upset the normal balance of civility and deference to routine operations, they require extensive documentation and illustration of the need for different approaches. The process is easiest in areas where transparency is established and most difficult in those jurisdictions where personal loyalties transcend the public process.

The phrase *third-party policing* implies that these measures are police tactics, and in most

instances, the police have been the catalysts to bring focus to civil authority on criminal or criminogenic problems. Other models are possible, however; community activists have forced changes in the business practices of licensed liquor establishments and have sued owners of drug locations to force closures. With or without police leadership, the principle is the same: Civil law and regulations are important tools for controlling crime.

Michael E. Buerger

See also Civil Abatement; Incivilities/Social Disorder

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THREAT ASSESSMENT

After Tatiana Tarasoff was killed by a jilted suitor who disclosed his intentions in treatment prior to killing her, the California Supreme Court concluded that the psychologist and supervising psychiatrist should have warned her of the pending danger and were compelled to protect her. They were found liable for not doing so (*Tarasoff v. Regents of University of California*, 1976). This legal decision profoundly affected the practice of mental health professionals, requiring that treatment providers gain skills to assess and predict potential violence posed by patients. A clarion call for better assessment tools to evaluate violence risk was sounded after this decision. A potential danger taking many forms (e.g., child sexual abuse, intimate partner violence, and workplace violence), today's violence risk assessment is typically accomplished by both actuarial and clinical methods, a combined approach.

Criminal Recidivism and Violence

Persons who reside in correctional facilities or inpatient psychiatric hospitals (forensic or civil)

are often assessed with the valid and reliable HCR-20, a tool designed for predicting criminal recidivism and violence. The evaluatees typically have mental illnesses and/or personality disorders with histories of violence. The evaluator investigates the parameters of risk posed by an individual who is being considered for release. The HCR-20 calls for systematic assessment of various factors or areas of inquiry. Ten of the areas are historical in nature (*H*); that is, they are facts about the evaluatee's life, biographic data from personal history, and other "static" factors that cannot be changed. They include the following: a history of violence; age when first violent; stability of interpersonal relationships; employment history; substance use history; mental illness history; presence of psychopathy (e.g., arrogance, shallow emotions, lacking empathy, little remorse for wrongdoings, thrill seeking, and lacking feasible future plans); history of early maladjustment (e.g., diagnosis of conduct disorder); diagnosis of personality disorder (e.g., antisocial or borderline); and prior supervision failure (e.g., probation or parole violations). Five areas of inquiry are more focused, "fluid," and amenable to change, pertaining to the evaluatee's present clinical functioning (*C*): insight the evaluatee has about his or her mental condition; the evaluatee's attitudes about violence; expression of mental illness symptoms (e.g., hallucinations or delusions); evidence of impulsivity; and response to treatment. The last five areas of inquiry are future oriented and concern likely adjustment after release, labeled "risk management items" (*R*). They include assessment of the evaluatee's plans after release (e.g., relapse prevention); "destabilizers" the evaluatee will confront after release (e.g., returning to a drug-infested neighborhood or a querulous home); nature of social support after release; whether the evaluatee agrees with the remediation plans; and how likely is adherence to such recommendations.

Twenty areas of focus across *Historical*, *Clinical*, and *Risk management* domains (HCR-20) are rated on a three-point Likert scale (0 for absent, 1 for maybe present, and 2 for definitely present). A total score can be generated after completing the HCR-20, and it can be compared with data gathered across multiple settings (e.g., correctional, forensic psychiatric, and civil psychiatric). Many violence risk evaluators use the HCR-20 as a

model or heuristic, a guide to focus their inquiry, ensuring no critical area correlated with violence risk is neglected.

Sex Offenders

When the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Specht v. Patterson* (1967) that courts can enhance sentences for specific crimes if the guilty party is deemed a "sexual offender," and in *Kansas v. Hendricks* (1997) that defendants deemed to be "sexually violent predators" could be detained indefinitely, well beyond the years specified for incarceration, these cases spawned development of valid and reliable assessment tools specific to sex offenders. Phalometric measures (e.g., penile plethysmograph) were shown to be a strong predictor of sexual criminal recidivism. Yet, specific factors were also shown to correlate with sex crime risk, including juvenile antisociality, criminal and sex offense history, young age, psychopathy or personality disorder, alcohol abuse, extrafamilial victims, and reports of having been abused as a child or of having lived apart from one's parents as a child. This knowledge led to the development and use of assessment tools like the Static-99 and the Sex Offender Risk Assessment Guide (SORAG), which was employed with adult sex offenders pending release from incarceration or structured treatment settings. Some areas of focus include the nature of both sexual and nonsexual convicted offenses; specific characteristics of their victim(s); history of conditional release violations (e.g., probation, parole, and no-contact orders); their age at the time of the sex crime; diagnosis of personality disorder; a diagnosis of schizophrenia (interestingly, which is negatively correlated with risk); and presence of psychopathy. Total scores on the Static-99 and SORAG yield a probability of recidivism that can be compared against norms collected on released sex offenders.

Special Applications and Further Considerations

Many instruments have been designed to gauge risk across multiple domains (e.g., domestic violence, workplace violence, and school violence). It should be cautioned that there is no set and determinative profile for who will or will not become

violent. When assessing individuals who fit patterns of known violent perpetrators, remember that if the specific violence base rate is low (e.g., school violence), then one will inevitably identify many persons as being at risk for violence when, in fact, they are not a risk (false positives). Considering the negative stigma of such a label and perhaps even deprivation of one's civil liberty (e.g., losing a job, removal from school, and civil commitment to a hospital), this field of assessment has shifted its emphasis from violence prediction to risk management. The focus on preventing violence by identifying specific areas of risk and bringing resources to bear to reduce that potential for violence is clearly perceived as the best of evidence-based practices.

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See also Family Violence; Psychological and Behavioral Consequences of Victimization; School Violence; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression; Workplace Violence, United States; Workplace Violence and Bullying, Interventions for

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TOURIST CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION

Tourism and crime has many dimensions. Although some crimes are committed by tourists, that is, when those on vacation commit crimes or when criminals focus on tourist destinations to commit crimes, of more general interest, some crimes are committed against tourists. It sometimes happens that the perpetrators are other tourists, but more frequently, crimes against tourists are committed by predatory residents of the locale visited. This definition does not include fraud inflicted on tourists by airlines, travel agents, and merchants at destination businesses.

Crimes Committed by Tourists

Crimes committed by tourists include conventional crimes such as pickpocketing, burglary of hotel rooms, or even professional burglary committed by touring professional criminals, illegal sex tourism (e.g., when European and North American males become sexual predators on children in Third World countries), and drug tourism (when foreign nationals visit certain countries or areas where drug laws and enforcement are lax to use illegal drugs). Sometimes crimes of violence, usually involving alcohol, are committed by tourists in destination countries, cities, or on cruise lines. An example would be drunken fighting and indecent public behavior by American students on high-school trips at Caribbean and Mexican resorts. Other crimes might include environmental crimes such as damaging national parks and environmentally sensitive areas.

Crimes Against Tourists

Tourist criminal victimization is considered to be crime against tourists by local inhabitants at the destination site or resort. Its amelioration would involve local law enforcement efforts and engaging the tourist industry to prevent and deal with the results of crimes committed by predatory local criminals. Tourists are particularly attractive targets as they dress distinctively and are easy to spot by potential predators. Additionally they often stop while walking on the street or in rented vehicles to consult maps and tour books, making them both visible and vulnerable to the mobile criminal. Areas near airport auto rental sites and highway rest stops are hot spots for predators on the lookout for vulnerable tourists in automobiles. In addition, tourists are particularly profitable targets because they often carry expensive hardware such as cameras, expensive watches, and jewelry on their persons, and they often carry large amounts of cash and marketable items like passports. An important consideration for the criminal is that tourists as victims typically react in a way that hinders law enforcement. For example, instead of calling police after a pickpocket incident, they often return to their lodgings to look for the missing items, thus losing critical response time and increasing the criminal's chance of successful escape. Tourists

frequently do not speak the language of the tourist country, and they do not understand local police practices and legal procedures. Additionally, sometimes tourists were involved in illegal activity when they were victimized, such as drug use or transactions with prostitutes and are hesitant to involve the police. Criminals are also well aware that tourists are unlikely to return from their home countries for trials, particularly when the amount of money or monetary value of the item is small. When they arrive in the host country, tourists are often exhausted from jet lag and travel—and the fact of a crime victimization, and of concomitant loss of identity documents, credit cards, and possessions renders them helpless. They cannot rent cars, obtain food, get a hotel room, or even return home as they have no proof of identity. If they have been the victim of sexual offense or routine violent crime, they are frequently in a state of almost complete demoralization. The simple theft of a camera from a beach blanket can spoil an entire vacation: A notable crime of violence can scar a life and create ruinous publicity in the tourist's home country.

Florida: When Crimes Against Tourists Damage Tourism

The state of Florida's tourist industry was seriously affected in the early 1990s by a series of crimes against European tourists that was highly reported in international media. Florida had a peculiar crime category in its crime reporting system, "crime against visitors," which although useful in getting police to focus on crimes against tourists, also allowed media, government, and academia access to examine and assess the situation easily. After the initial panic was over, Florida quietly discontinued this crime category, thus hampering efforts to assess the success of ameliorative programs. Of major concern was the practice of young criminals haunting airport areas and tourist rest stops looking for tourists to victimize. Targeting rental cars by means of decals on the windshield or special plates, these offenders created a reign of terror killing nine tourists from 1992 to 1993. Noting media response and a small but perceptible fall in tourism, police and the industry responded with heightened patrols of rest stops and airport-to-resort corridors as well as with special signage, and they created brochures and Web sites with

crime and crime-reporting information for foreign visitors. Police also created special multilingual victim response teams to deal with international crime victims as well as special teams to target predatory resort criminals. Hotels and resort employees were also given tips about how to recognize suspicious individuals, how to prevent crime against tourists, and how to help tourist victims. The tourist industry reacted in concrete ways: Obvious decals and identifying plates on rental cars were prohibited and removed. In addition, juvenile criminals were targeted and prosecutors made special efforts at obtaining convictions against those who were accused of committing crimes against tourists. "Fly back" programs were created to bring crime victims to court from their distant homes. The state claimed a purported 60% tourist robbery reduction in Greater Miami since these programs began in 1994.

Frederick Hawley

See also Burglary; Carjacking; Child Pornography and Sexual Exploitation; Product Design: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, and Disposable (CRAVED), and Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access (VIVA); Terrorism/Terrorist Attack; Victim Assistance Programs, United States

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TREATING RAPISTS/SEX OFFENDERS

Since the late 1990s, the release of sex offenders to the community has generated a great deal of

controversy. In many states, the correctional response to sex offenders has been primarily punitive in nature with legislation focusing on punishment, monitoring, and restrictions. Nevertheless, numerous correctional departments across the United States and the Canadian correctional system have established prison-based therapeutic programs to address the treatment and rehabilitation of sex offenders. Current correctional treatment has been primarily developed for child molesters and is of a relapse prevention perspective; however, rapists and child molesters exhibit differences in psychological, social, and behavioral factors, such as psychopathy and recidivism. As such, treatment for child molesters is likely to be ineffective with rapists. Correctional treatment should be modified to target multiple and different problems for rapists and child molesters.

Sex Offender Treatment

Current treatment strategies for sex offenders are primarily based on a cognitive-behavioral treatment (CBT) framework with a particular focus on relapse prevention (RP). The primary goal of CBT is development of the mental skills necessary for individuals to control their own behaviors. CBT with correctional populations has been conceptualized as cognitive restructuring, cognitive or coping-skills development, and life skills training. The focus of treatment is on restructuring the cognitive distortions and dysfunctional thought processes of the offender that lead to inappropriate, deviant, and illegal behavior.

CBT for sex offenders targets the cognitive distortions (commonly referred to as “thinking errors”) surrounding deviant sexual fantasies and patterns of arousal that contribute to sex offending. Offenders learn to recognize the cognitive distortion process, and they identify specific distortions in which they engage, such as minimization, justification, rationalization, and externalization, to mitigate culpability. Specific treatment aims include aiding the offender in identifying the continuous conflict cycle that leads up to offending behavior and that may bring about future sexual deviance. Offender awareness of these thought processes is critical to developing motivation and desire to change. Treatment strategies focus on substituting maladaptive and deviant sexual thoughts with healthy sexual attitudes and beliefs. In addition to

group discussion, role-playing is a critical component of sex offender treatment. Role-playing helps offenders develop prosocial coping skills and techniques to deal with the stressors that contribute to the sex offending cycle. Additionally, the offender is challenged to accept responsibility for his crime and to empathize with his victim(s). The RP component helps the offender identify the situations (“triggers”) that place him at risk for sex offending and teaches strategies to cope with these high-risk situations and gain control of his antisocial behavior. In short, CBT programs provide the sex offender with the opportunity to gain self-awareness, change deficient thought processes, and acquire the necessary tools to help him eschew deviant sexual behavior.

The evidence on the efficacy of sex offender treatment programs remains equivocal. Although meta-analyses suggest a moderate treatment effect on sex offender recidivism, almost all qualify their findings by noting the lack of scientific rigor in existing studies. Furthermore, in the only randomized trial of treatment for sex offenders to date, the authors found that inpatient relapse prevention treatment for sex offenders produced no significant effect on recidivism.

One possible reason for these differential effects is that most correctional programs include a mixed group of sex offenders in treatment; however, research indicates that sex offenders constitute a heterogeneous group. More specifically, rapists and child molesters exhibit some clear psychological, interpersonal, and behavioral differences. Rapists, on average, tend to be more antisocial and aggressive and can be more accurately classified as violent offenders rather than as sex offenders. Child molesters are generally nonviolent, their sexual deviancy is often considered pathological and entrenched, and their criminal behavior is driven by their sexual preoccupations. Unfortunately, empirical findings related to such distinctions have rarely translated into modifications to sex offender treatment programs that address the differential needs of subgroups of sex offenders.

Differences in Social, Psychological, and Behavioral Manifestations of Rapists and Child Molesters

The literature points to significant disparities between rapists and child molesters on a constellation

of interpersonal, affective, psychological, behavioral, and attitudinal attributes, including antisocial orientation and attitudes, juvenile delinquency, juvenile and adult antisocial behavior, criminal associates, criminal career, nonsexual violent offending, age of onset of criminal offending, fixation with children and/or deviant sex-related behavior (e.g., paraphilias), psychopathy, cognitive distortions, aggression levels, antisocial personality disorder, alcohol abuse/dependence, depression and anxiety, borderline disorder, treatment completion, treatment success, level of denial, blame attribution, hostility, social alienation, self-centeredness, impulsivity, inhibition of aggression, aversion to violence, feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, and heterosexual skills. Child molesters are distinguishable from rapists and other non-sex offenders on the basis of their attitudes and beliefs about sex with children. Studies examining cognitive distortions indicate that child molesters have thoughts and fantasies related to children specifically and that they view children (relative to adults) as significantly more sexually attractive. Child molesters are also more likely to perceive children in sexual terms, view sexual contact with children as being socially acceptable, and tend to minimize the harm they cause to children. In contrast, deviant sexual interests in rapists are more ambiguous and inconsistent than for child molesters.

The cognitive distortions commonly identified in rapists are distinguished from those of child molesters as “broader” in focus and related to aggressive behavior generally. For example, rapists display greater hostility toward women (e.g., view women as untrustworthy, exhibit distrust and/or disrespect for women, and blame the victim for their violent behavior) than child molesters and are more likely to view women as sex objects. Overall, there are differences in sex-related beliefs where child molesters display cognitive distortions involving sexual activity with children, whereas rapists seem indiscriminate from the general prison population and, more precisely, nonsexual violent offenders in their thought processes.

For rapists, sexual aggression does not result from specific deviant sexual attitudes, but it is part of an overall negative and antisocial lifestyle. This is manifested in the offense motivation of sex offenders. Classification systems and taxonomies suggest that offense motivation varies between

child molesters and rapists. Child molesters seem to be motivated by the sexual aspects of the offense, whereas rapists are more often motivated by violence and anger. The motivation behind the sex offending of rapists may be related to a strong aggressive nature and a need for power and control, which could be satisfied through a sexually violent assault. Molestation of children has historically been viewed as a mental health problem rather than as part of a criminal lifestyle, as evidenced by the existence of a pedophilia disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder*, fourth edition. The clinical perspective and attendant research raise the plausibility that the sexual aggression of rapists is not pathological but one manifestation of their generally impulsive antisocial tendencies and behaviors. From this standpoint, those who sexually assault adult women are generally violent men who happen to commit a crime of sexual violence.

Much of the diversity between rapists and child molesters seems to relate to clinical features of psychopathy. Psychopathy is viewed as a serious personality disorder that manifests itself early in life and, in most cases, persists throughout the life span. Psychopathy is associated with a constellation of affective, interpersonal, and behavioral attributes and is significantly related to recidivism. Characteristics that distinguish psychopathic personalities include grandiose, manipulative, unable to form strong emotional bonds with others, lacking in empathy, guilt, or remorse, irresponsible, and impulsive behavior. Rapists have higher rates of recidivism than child molesters and are much more likely to be classified psychopathic than child molesters. Furthermore, rapists have a higher degree of aggression and more chronic, antisocial lifestyles than child molesters. In sum, rapists exhibit a considerably higher prevalence of psychopathy than child molesters.

Evidence-Based Practice Sex Offender Treatment

In developing more effective sex offender treatment, it is important to examine variables that differentiate sex offenders who primarily violate against children from primary rapists. We cannot presume that what works for one will work for all,

provide less than adequate or irrelevant programming, and then hold the offender solely accountable for his failures. Rapists and child molesters have widely varying treatment needs; yet, sex offender programming has been developed principally to meet the needs of child molesters (e.g., in most sex offender treatment programs the focus is on sexual deviance particularly related to paraphilias and sexual preoccupation with children). Many sex offender programs are not adequately equipped to treat and manage offenders with high levels of aggression such as those displayed by rapists. Sex offender treatment programs are generally a one-size-fits-all intervention for a hodgepodge of sex offenders. Failure to develop correctional rehabilitation programs for rapists, a group of offenders with considerably high rates of recidivism and violent offending, poses a great risk to public safety.

The dual focus of current CBT programs for sex offenders is on sexual deviance and cognitive distortions related to sexual thinking patterns. However, research indicates fundamentally distinct personality and behavioral traits between rapists and child molesters in these and other areas. The differences between rapists and child molesters and the lack of distinctiveness when rapists are compared with the wider population of serious criminal offenders have implications both for research and treatment. Addressing the differing levels of need and responsivity of sexual offenders is critical when planning strategies for their management and treatment. A more practical and effective approach would be to tailor separate treatment programs to the specific needs of rapists, such as issues related to treatment engagement and completion as well as psychopathy.

If one primary treatment objective is, at the core, to change the thoughts, behaviors, and predispositions that lead offenders to violate society's sexual norms and expectations and that increase their likelihood of recidivism, it is necessary to understand whether the thoughts of rapists are similar to those of child molesters. Correctional programs should aim to treat the motivational issues of rapists and cognitive distortion issues related to overt aggression and hostility toward women. Rapists may benefit more from programs for violent offenders or for criminal offenders in general. More broadly, non-sex-offender rehabilitation programs that focus on general cognitive

needs, such as attitudes supportive of antisocial behavior, the influence of criminal associates, substance abuse, developing a noncriminal identity, and a wider range of social skills, may increase the responsivity to treatment among rapists.

Conclusion

Differences in psychological characteristics and recidivism between groups warrant accounting for this distinction in designing appropriate treatment programming. Sex offender treatment programs primarily have been developed to meet the perceived needs of child molesters. This is problematic considering evidence-based practices dictate that treatment targets should be based on needs and responsivity and the literature reveals substantial differences in the criminogenic needs and response styles of rapists and child molesters. Sex offender treatment programs currently in operation place a strong emphasis on changing sex-related deviant attitudes, not antisocial attitudes in general. This focus on sexual deviance and preventing sex reoffending seems more adequate for child molesters, but it largely excludes developing awareness and skill sets in other areas that are predictive of general recidivism. This calls for alternative interventions for rapists specifically, and that treatment may need to be of different content, intensity, and/or duration for primary rapists when compared with offenders who primarily sexually violate children.

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See also Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy; Offender-Based Programs; Offending and Victimization; Rape; Sexual Victimization; Treating Violent Offenders

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TREATING VIOLENT OFFENDERS

Because most offenders will return to society, one of the objectives of sentencing is offender treatment. While incarcerated, or in a community release program, treatment is often an integral goal of corrections. Violent offenders are those convicted of such offenses as robbery, sexual assault, and murder. Many of these offenders are recidivists, with a history of violence. Several of them have drug abuse issues as well. Thus, treating these offenders requires a comprehensive approach incorporating a variety of strategies. Cognitive behavior approaches along with medical interventions are often used in treating violent offenders.

It is reported that more than 600,000 offenders are released from state and federal prison annually. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), in 2006, approximately 60% of state prison inmates were there for violent crimes. Violent offenders are distinguished from other offenders by the psychological and physical injuries they cause, their motivation for violence (hatred, etc.), the methods of their offenses (use of weapons, physical force, etc.), and their acceptance for treatment or change. They also differ as to their histories of criminal behavior and their mental status. Many violent offenders have a criminal history and have undergone prior treatment programs either in prison or in a community release program. Unless on death row, sentenced to life imprisonment without the possibility of parole (assuming no pardon), or dying in prison, violent

offenders will eventually return to society. However, according to the BJS, more than 50% of those released from prison will be rearrested within 3 years after release. Thus, it becomes incumbent that those who are to be released undergo some form of treatment to reduce recidivism rates. But before we treat them, there is a need to understand what we are treating. And we need to understand the offender (background, etc.) to fully grasp his or her reasons for violence.

Understanding the Violent Offender

There is no shortage of theories explaining the sources or causes of violent behavior. Most theories addressing violence are grouped into theories such as biological, psychological, sociological, economic, and so forth. Unsanctioned violent criminal behavior is the result of several personal and social factors, including mental illness, childhood abuse and neglect, brain injuries, personality disorders, environmental toxins, drug abuse, and so forth. Others take the approach that antisocial behavior results from a series of evolutionary stages.

People become violent through a process called violentization, which involves four stages: brutalization and subjugation, belligerency, violent coaching, and criminal activity. First, this person is a victim of violence and feels powerless to avoid it. Then the victim is taught how and when to become violent and to profit from it. Then he or she acts on that knowledge. In other words, experiencing or witnessing repeated violence, particularly at a young age, often leads to violent acts in the future. It is a form of learning that has been addressed in the crime literature for many years. It is often said that yesterday's victim becomes the future offender.

Untangling the web of violent patterns and treating the violent offender requires an understanding of how he or she became violent in the first place. Is it the result of uncontrolled anger, hatred toward a particular group (hate crimes), feelings of social inadequacy or rejection caused by mental illness or learning disabilities, a lack of proper socialization, or a combination of several factors? Whatever the reasons for violence, the question remains as to what can be done to reduce recidivism rates and to help the violent offender readjust to society and reduce the victimization of others.

Treatment Approaches

Several treatment approaches are available for the violent offender. The approaches include psychological interventions, such as cognitive-behavioral therapy, medical interventions, or a combination of both. Not all offenders respond to the same treatment, nor do offenders require the same treatment strategies. A convicted sex offender may require different treatment than a drug offender.

Some offenders respond well to traditional group therapy, whereas others respond well to individual or one-on-one approaches. Others may not wish to participate in any treatment and just prefer to do their time. In any event, treatment for violent offenders must consider the offense, the offender's personality, age, mental state, and lifestyle characteristics. One size does not fit everyone. For some offenders, there is no treatment other than continued confinement because of the seriousness and repetitive nature of their crimes, or their disdain for treatment (e.g., mass murderers and serial killers).

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy

Several types of psychological/ behavioral interventions are used in treating violent offenders. However, for the purposes of this discussion, one particular intervention proven successful for violent offenders is referred to as cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT). This approach focuses on anger and emotions management and on problem solving. It is considered easier to use than traditional counseling, such as one-on-one therapy or group therapy, and correctional staff can be trained to conduct the treatment in a relatively short period of time.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy began in the 1960s to blend the elements of behavioral therapy and cognitive therapy. Behavioral therapy focused on external behaviors, and the cognitive approach focused on internal thoughts and mental processes. The combination of the two seeks to change an offender's irrational or faulty thinking and behaviors. Cognitive-behavioral therapy is also used to treat a range of mental conditions such as depression, anxiety, and bipolar disorders, which are often present in violent criminals. Thus, in working with the offender, there is a need to identify the source of irrational or violent thoughts, refute them, and help the patient to change.

According to Harvey Milkman and Kenneth Wanberg, a variety of cognitive-behavioral programs are used in corrections. One example is referred to as aggression replacement training (ART). This therapy is used in both juvenile and adult correctional settings. The therapy seeks to provide offenders with prosocial skills to use in antisocial situations as well as with skills to manage anger impulses that lead to aggressive and violent actions. The model includes social skills training, anger control training, and moral reasoning.

An abundance of research indicates the positive effects of cognitive-behavioral approaches with offenders leading to a reduction of recidivism. In a meta-analysis of 69 studies comprising CBT programs in corrections, it was found that recidivism was reduced by about 30% for treated offenders.

Cognitive-behavioral interventions are the most common form of treatment used with sex offenders. Aviva Moster offers evidence suggesting that treatment using CBT decreases subsequent sex offender recidivism. In summary, cognitive approaches seek to determine the source of violent thinking patterns and deviant rationalizations and to address ways in which to divert or modify those negative patterns.

Medical Interventions

The use of drugs for violent offenders is not uncommon, particularly for sex offenders. The use of drugs such as anti-libidinal medication and selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) are commonly used along with CBT for sex offenders. Most states require convicted sex offenders to participate in treatment while in prison or on probation. According to some reports, there are 1,549 sex offender treatment programs in the United States. Most of them are community based (80%) with about 40% treating adults, and the rest target adolescents and children with sexual behavior problems.

One commonly used drug is cyproterone acetate, a steroid analogue first used in West Germany in 1961. The drug acts to reduce serum levels of testosterone. The main uses of this drug are the reduction of sexual drive. Another anti-libido drug used in the United States is called medroxyprogesterone acetate. This drug works by inducing testosterone in the liver, which enhances the metabolic

clearance of testosterone, reducing testosterone levels. These drugs are often used with other treatment approaches such as psychotherapy.

W. J. Meyer and others report a study of 40 men who were pedophiles and treated with medroxyprogesterone. They received a weekly dosage of 400 mg for periods ranging from 6 months to 12 years; the men also received group and individual psychotherapy. A control group of men who refused drug treatment but received psychotherapy were followed during the same period. The study revealed that 18% of those taking the drug reoffended (35% after it was discontinued), compared with 55% of those in the control group who did not take the drug.

As to the effectiveness of treatment for sex offenders and other violent offenders, more comprehensive programs as well as the length of time in treatment are important factors in treatment effectiveness. Treatment failure is associated with higher recidivism rates; however, violent offenders, including sex offenders, who successfully complete a treatment program reoffend less often than those who do not. Some sex offenders are more likely to recidivate than others. Studies that have tracked sex offenders over longer follow-up periods have found that pedophiles who molest boys and rapists of adult women were the types of offenders most likely to recidivate at rates of 52% and 39%, respectively. Repeat offenders are more likely to reoffend than first-time offenders.

Another medical approach in treating sex offenders is castration. A few states, including California and Florida, permit convicted sex offenders to be injected with Depo Provera, a birth control drug approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Often called *chemical castration*, Depo Provera does not render any permanent physical change to the body; rather, it is meant to quell the sex drive of male sex offenders by lowering their testosterone levels. The treatment is believed to be most effective on sex offenders who possess uncontrollable biological urges. The more radical approach of castration is voluntary surgical castration. For example, Texas permits surgical castration of offenders. By May 2005, three men had undergone the voluntary procedure. Candidates must be at least 21 years of age, have had at least two sex offense convictions, and have undergone at least 18 months of sex offender treatment,

including Depo Provera injections, to understand how their bodies might react with less testosterone. However, the effectiveness of castration has mixed results and definitely raises ethical questions on the extent of treatment.

Factors Necessary for Effective Treatment

For treatment to be effective for the violent offender, it must be tailored to the needs of the offender. Effective treatment must encompass a proper diagnosis, recognition of offenders as individuals, an understanding of problems versus symptoms, multimethod measurements of treatment progress, and quality treatment duration and intensity. A dedicated treatment staff is also necessary. Treatment for the sake of treatment is not the answer. Regardless of the treatment type, there will always be the risk of recidivism, especially for high-risk or repeat offenders. Quality comprehensive treatment programs can reduce recidivism rates. For many offenders, this may include cognitive-behavioral approaches as well as medical interventions. But for some offenders, the only effective response may be long-term incarceration (with or without treatment). Lengthy prison sentences serve as an aging out process for some. This is one of the arguments behind so-called three-strikes laws. Long-term incarceration, especially after conviction of a third violent crime, may result in a long-term prison sentence. After release, these offenders are too old or too weak to engage in violent crime.

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See also Multisystemic Therapy; Substance Abuse, Treatment of; Treating Rapists/Sex Offenders

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U

UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING (UCR) PROGRAM

The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, one of the oldest and most stable attempts to provide crime statistics for the United States, is essentially two distinct programs. It has been changing from a summary statistics program to an incident-based system since about 1980. In the older, summary statistics aspect of the program, police agencies voluntarily classify, code, and count specific offenses that come to their attention and submit monthly totals to the UCR Section of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on forms designed by the Section. In the incident-based effort, police officers use UCR guidelines and instructions to file reports of criminal events using computers with software designed to select and process information on each incident reported. In this new approach, 53 specific data elements for each incident are automatically extracted and submitted to the UCR Section where they are stored and then converted to counts comparable with those submitted under the summary statistics approach.

This development of statistics for publication in *Crime in the United States* using summarized counts of offenses sent by agencies continuing the traditional effort *with* information sent by agencies that adopted the incident-based system ties the two approaches together and justifies calling the older approach the traditional or “old” UCR Program and the newer approach the “new” UCR

Program. A 1980 plan called for the incident-based approach to replace the traditional approach, but at some point during the transition, the UCR Section decided to call the newer approach the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The NIBRS name notwithstanding, the new effort is a basic part of the UCR Program.

Traditional Approach

The traditional UCR Program is more than 80 years old. It was designed by a committee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) from 1927 to 1929 and run by the Association in 1930 when the U.S. Congress authorized the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice (now the FBI) to administer the program. The plan, according to the IACP, was to develop a set of uniform descriptions of a small set of crimes and ask local police departments to submit counts of these offenses to the national program.

A basic part of the traditional effort as it operates today is the tabulation of offenses known to the police. These counts were originally limited to seven offenses on the premise that totaling them would provide an indication of the level of crime in a specific place. This “Crime Index” was later broken into a property crime measure, created by totaling burglaries, larcenies, and motor vehicle thefts, and a violent crime measure created by totaling reports of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. In 1979, arson was added to the set, but it has not been as consistently reported as the original seven offenses.

A 1957 redesign of the UCR Program included a change in the procedure for counting larcenies so that only the theft of things worth \$50 or more were included in the crime index. At the same time, the program started using current population estimates to compute crime rates for the places for which police agencies were responsible rather than the most recent decennial census counts. However, a hierarchy rule was retained under which only a single offense is counted when more than one type of offense occurs during the same criminal event. The traditional aspect of the program continues to use current population estimates and the hierarchy rule, but since 1973, there has not been a minimum property value for a larceny to be counted.

Traditional UCR Program reports of offenses known to the police are essentially victimization measures because one offense is counted for each victim of murder, rape, and aggravated assault. However, the offense known aspect of the program does not provide information about victims. Nor do reports of offenses known to the police provide an indication of the number of offenders involved or information on the characteristics of offenders. In this traditional UCR Program approach, offender information is collected as arrest counts on a separate set of forms designed to provide the number of arrests made by the age, race, and sex of those arrested. The design of the form limits information on race and age to the number of juveniles and adults arrested by race, but arrests by sex show the sex of those arrested by age. The traditional UCR Program approach to arrest information has changed slightly over time. Before 1952, arrest counts were based on the requests of police agencies for fingerprint identification of people arrested and fingerprinted, but after 1951, agencies were asked to submit annual summaries of persons arrested for 40 different offenses. The forms for arrests of juveniles have three additional offenses. Arrest counts changed again in 1973 when agencies were asked to submit monthly arrest reports rather than annual counts.

The basic strength of the traditional UCR Program effort is its national scope and its provision of national and local crime counts and rates. Basic limitations of the old approach are its focus on eight offenses, its use of a hierarchy rule, and its inability to report multiple offenses and multiple offenders. A minor limitation is the reliance on

arrest information to describe offender characteristics. In the incident-based program, offender information is provided by victims and witnesses even if no arrest is made.

New Approach

NIBRS, the new incident-based reporting approach, brought major changes to victim and offender counts. In the new approach, there is no hierarchy rule because the system permits police agencies to report multiple offenses, multiple victims, and multiple offenders in each incident. Reports are submitted on 22 different offenses, with 24 subcategories among them. There are ten major property crimes, five major violent crimes, and five crimes against society. "Crimes against society" is the term used in NIBRS to refer to offenses such as drug use, weapons law violations, gambling, prostitution, and pornography. Although arrest counts for these offenses are available in the old UCR Program effort, none of these counts are available as offenses known to the police in the traditional UCR Program approach.

NIBRS eliminates the need for local agencies to classify and summarize crimes coming to their attention every month. Instead, specially designed software collects information being keyed into computers as police officers report on the incidents to which they have been assigned. The primary purpose of the computer-generated reports is to create permanent records and to help in the operation of the department, but in the process, computer programs collect and organize the incident information in a uniform format that is ready for transmission to a state UCR Program. From there the information is sent to the national UCR Program. In some cases, the information may be sent directly to the national UCR Program.

In this new approach, eight different kinds of larceny are counted, from picking pockets to motor vehicle theft. Four subcategories of sexual assault are counted: rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling. In addition to simple and aggravated assault, the assault category includes intimidation. In addition to the 22 "Group A" offenses, NIBRS collects data on 11 "Group B" offenses if an arrest is made for one of them. The Group B records provide arrest information, including the age, race,

sex, and residence of those arrested, for offenses such as writing bad checks, disorderly conduct, runaway, drunkenness, and trespassing, but Group B segments cannot be linked to Group A incidents, so no victim information is available.

The first guidelines for a new UCR Program were published in 1980 as a blueprint for a new UCR Program. The document did not have a noticeable, immediate impact on the UCR Program, but by 1995, a large enough set of agencies were participating in the NIBRS effort to warrant release of some incident-based data. Nevertheless, the primary use of the NIBRS data is its conversion to the older UCR Program format and its inclusion in *Crime in the United States*. A volume with this name was published in roughly the same format every year since 1960. It contained counts and rates of offenses known to the police for the country as a whole, for states, for metropolitan statistical areas, and for places with populations of 10,000 or more. Clearance rates, national arrest statistics, and statistics on law enforcement personnel were regular parts of these annual volumes. After 2005, the UCR Section stopped publishing the print version of *Crime in the United States* and now presents the annual report on the FBI Web site.

However, much of the additional information collected in the new UCR Program effort is lost when the NIBRS reports are converted to a traditional UCR Program format. However, the additional information has been used for special reports such as "Bank Robberies in the United States," and the UCR Section provides the NIBRS information to criminologists and others for independent analysis. For examples of some uses of NIBRS data in this way, see the special 1999 issue of the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* edited by Michael Maxfield and Michael Maltz and the special 2007 issue of *Justice Research and Policy* edited by Donald Faggiani. More importantly, the UCR Section has archived NIBRS data going back to 1995 at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) of the University of Michigan. A brief look at some of the 2006 NIBRS information collected and archived at ICPSR reveals some of the strengths and weaknesses of the NIBRS approach.

Of about 17,000 police agencies voluntarily providing crime counts to the UCR Program in 2006, only 28% of them sent data in NIBRS format. This

is a basic limitation of the program. These NIBRS agencies provide law enforcement services for 25% to 30% of the U.S. population, but the extent to which the numbers they submit are representative of crime in the United States is unknown. However, a 2007 study comparing the descriptive statistics on Black and White unemployment, female-headed households, per capita income, and public assistance payments for a set of NIBRS cities *with* the descriptive statistics for the remaining non-NIBRS cities found that the mean values for these variables were very close. Except for the variables "population size" and "region," one might think the NIBRS cities were an accidental random sample of all cities with police departments, populations more than 25,000, and at least 1,000 Black residents.

From 1995 to 2006, there was a steady increase in the number of states and agencies shifting to the new approach, and during this period, there was a general expectation that this percentage would continue to increase until the UCR Program had been completely converted from a summary statistics program to an incident-based program. The pace, however, has been very slow, and it now seems that the reluctance of many large city departments to submit NIBRS data may mean that the UCR Program will continue its dual operation indefinitely. Thousands of small and mid-sized departments will probably continue to use NIBRS, whereas most really large cities will probably continue to use their own incident-based systems to send summary counts to the UCR Program.

One objection to the new approach may be uncertainty about the impact of the new UCR Program on local crime rates. Some mayors and police chiefs may think the conversion to NIBRS would create an appearance of rising crime rates. Advocates of the new approach concur that it would, but they assert that in most cases, it would probably be a one-time increase of about 8%. Other large city chiefs may think that releasing data in NIBRS format provides too much information about their department's operation to people outside the agency. Whatever the reason, there has been consistent resistance to participation for more than a decade.

Even with this limitation, one advantage of the new UCR Program is the amount of information on victims and offenders that is available for independent analysis. In 2006, 4,841 agencies provided information on 4.9 million incidents with

5.4 million offenses. For these offenses, participating agencies submitted information on 5.4 million victims and 5.6 million offenders. Because 11% of the offenses reported were crimes against society, where victim information is inapplicable, and because sometimes the victims were businesses or other organizations, victim characteristics were reported for only 4.2 million individual victims. Because many crimes are unobserved, offender characteristics were reported for only 3.9 million individual offenders. Nevertheless, the size of these figures attest to the utility of the new UCR Program, and the results of several studies of NIBRS data suggest that a complete conversion could improve our understanding of crime in the United States.

Another development that some researchers believe could have great impact on attempts to measure crime is a fairly simple extension of the NIBRS program. It entails requiring the inclusion of street addresses in the NIBRS records, so the NIBRS records could be used to create computerized maps showing the local geographical distribution of specific offenses, offenders, and victims. According to proponents, this convergence of an improved UCR Program effort with computerized mapping technology would not produce a new crime measure, but it would provide an informative and useful way to organize and view the information.

Some researchers and crime prevention professionals believe that other computer technology could expand and improve the UCR Program through the statistical use of computerized criminal history files. Neither the new nor the old UCR Program efforts links a current criminal charge brought against an individual to that person's prior arrests and prosecutions. However, increased use of automatic fingerprint techniques and automated records of arrests and prosecution will make it possible to examine patterns of prior contact with the system of justice. Such a program could provide measures of the type and frequency of earlier charges brought against suspects at different points in their lives. It could provide indications of the existence or absence of patterns of involvement in specific types of crime. It could also indicate the extent to which offenders specialize or engage in a variety of types of crime and permit extensive indications of the extent to which individuals persist or desist in criminal activities over the life course. Opponents cite privacy issues as concerns, but advocates argue that it is not be an insurmountable

problem to conceal the identity of those in the file. The Bureau of the Census creates public use files without providing identifying information, and the incident numbers of archived NIBRS incidents are replaced with random characters in a way that retains the incident number as a unique identifier without providing a link to any specific incident.

Despite the apparent advantages of the new UCR Program and the possible advantages of newer technologies, the history of programs designed to measure crime in the past suggests that new approaches to this effort will likely encounter resistance of some kind. Although thousands of police departments in small and medium-sized cities have abandoned the summary statistics approach to crime reporting in favor of the new incident-based approach, the new approach has not been universally accepted. If the 80-year history of the UCR Program is an indication of how long it takes to develop reasonably dependable crime statistics, the dual character of the UCR Program will continue for decades.

Roland Chilton

See also International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS); Methodological Issues in Counting Victims; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)

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V

VANDALISM

Vandalism is the willful or malicious destruction, injury, disfigurement, or defacement of any public or private property, real or personal, without the consent of the owner or person who has custody or control. It includes the cutting, tearing, breaking, marking, painting, drawing, or any other means of destruction against property. Vandalism is a general term that may not actually appear in many state statutes. Instead, statutes may employ terms such as criminal mischief or malicious mischief. Generally, the attempt to commit vandalism is considered a crime, as is supplying the materials that may be used in the actual crime (e.g., aerosol cans for graffiti). The charge of vandalism may be either a misdemeanor or a felony, depending on the dollar amount of the damage inflicted.

Incidence and Trends

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 291,575 persons were arrested for vandalism in the United States in 2007. Household surveys show that annually nearly 5 million American households experienced at least one incident of vandalism. Official statistics reveal that vandalism arrests declined sharply in the mid-1990s through 2001, when the number of arrests began to climb. However, fewer persons were arrested for vandalism in 2007 than a decade ago.

Offenders and Targets

The typical offender arrested for vandalism is a White male older than 18 years of age. Contrary to public opinion, most arrests for vandalism are committed by adults. Only one third of all vandalism arrests involve persons younger than 18 years of age. Males are more likely to be arrested for the offense, representing more than 80% of all vandalism arrests. More than 75% of arrests involve Whites; less than one quarter of vandalism arrests involve Blacks or other races.

Patterns of Vandalism

Most vandalism occurs in the late evening hours. Particularly vulnerable are those businesses or properties that have little or no surveillance. Vandalism during after-school hours is also common, particularly for youths. The most frequent targets of vandalism are those located in public spaces, without surveillance personnel or devices, or those on private properties that are open to public view. Less-guarded properties, where no one has direct responsibility for the area, or those properties that are *perceived* as less guarded by potential vandals, are also frequent targets of vandalism or graffiti. As any urban resident knows, vandalism is common on trains, buses, bus shelters or stations, traffic signs, sides of freeways, park benches, billboards, vacant buildings, schools, or other large, plain, light-colored surfaces. Vandalism is becoming common even in graveyards, public libraries, and art museums. Because of the sensitivity and expense associated with these targets, many jurisdictions have

passed new laws providing increased penalties for acts specifically targeting these properties.

Vandalism includes graffiti, trash dumping, light smashing, removing/bending signage or ornamentation, breaking windows, or other defacing of property. Suburban areas are not immune, although the type of vandalism often differs. Suburbanites may have their lawns salted, trees or bushes whacked down, their door locks filled with glue, tires slashed, cars “keyed,” and their property spray painted with graffiti. Of course, graffiti is a pervasive type of vandalism experienced by not only homeowners but also retailers and commercial property owners. Graffiti vandals use a variety of instruments to tag or mark property that include spray paint, broad-tipped felt markers, or shoe polish bottles.

Motivations for Vandalism

The motivation for vandalism is often difficult to understand. To the public, vandalism is viewed as nothing more than mean-spirited acts committed by young sociopaths with too much time on their hands. Those who have studied vandalism and vandals, however, reveal to us a variety of inducements to property destruction. Stanley Cohen has identified at least six specific motivations for vandalism, as follows:

- *Acquisitive*: property destruction to acquire money or property, for example, breaking open newspaper stands or vending machines
- *Tactical*: as a means to another end, such as breaking a window to be arrested and get a bed in prison
- *Ideological*: carried out to promote an explicit ideological cause or to deliver a message, for example, chalking slogans on walls
- *Vindictive*: damage to property to obtain revenge, for example, breaking school windows to settle a grudge against the principal or teacher
- *Play*: damage that occurs because it is part of a game, such as determining who can break the most windows on a house
- *Malicious*: an expression of rage or frustration, often directed at symbolic middle-class property

Preventing and Controlling Vandalism

As well imagined, a raft of indicatives and programs has been designed to eradicate or at least

control vandalism. Significant resources have been devoted to public education. It is hoped that through education, potential vandals, who are assumed to commit these acts without thinking of the damage done or legal consequences of apprehension, might alternatively use a legal outlet to express their anger, alienation, or boredom. Also employed have been programs that involve the wider community, building neighborhood pride and giving residents more reason to watch and protect their communities. More effective are strategies that incorporate property designs that inhibit vandalism, which are often referred to as “target hardening.” Stepped-up law enforcement and increased criminal penalties have also been used, apparently successfully in some cities. During the 1990s, New York City mayor declared “war” on vandalism, making it a centerpiece of his campaign to crack down on those “quality of life” offenses believed to be at the root of major crime problems. In fact, New York crime statistics did show a significant decrease in crime during the decade.

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See also Arson/Firesetting; National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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VICARIOUS VICTIMIZATION

Vicarious victimization is a phenomenon through which people experience trauma invoked by the victimization of another person or persons. It can occur in the context of awareness of almost any traumatic event, from criminal victimization to acts of terrorism or war. From a psychological perspective, a person who suffers from vicarious

victimization experiences the emotional reactions of victims or survivors, and those reactions can be greater if the person has experienced first-hand victimization in the past. In the case of caregivers who have experienced a history of direct victimization, psychologists refer to vicarious victimization as *countertransference*. In a more general sense, vicarious victimization can occur more subtly as a heightened state of fear and anxiety. This emotional state is most often associated with exposure to media coverage of criminal events, efforts to invoke fear and anxiety on the part of profiteers, or having more personal exposure to someone else's victimization, as in the case of family members, friends, and even members of the community in which a trauma occurs.

The existence of this psychological reaction was first discovered and studied by therapists working with Holocaust survivors and their children, who also identified many psychological themes common to vicarious victimization. These themes include bystander's guilt, rage, dread and horror, grief and mourning, viewing the victim as a liberator, privileged voyeurism, defensive reactions, viewing survivors as heroes, a sense of bonding with the victim, shame, and other related emotions. Additionally, these therapists discovered that it is not uncommon for people experiencing vicarious victimization to suffer symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, and a decrease in quality of life that is difficult to differentiate from the experience of persons who were directly victimized. People who respond to the needs of victims, such as law enforcement officers, emergency medical personnel, and mental health professionals, are at far greater risk for vicarious victimization than the general population.

Vicarious victimization is more likely to occur when certain contributing factors are present. First, when a recent traumatic experience has occurred in the life of the person coming in contact with or becoming aware of instances of direct victimization, the negative vicarious reaction is more powerful. This temporal aspect greatly heightens the reaction in a person suffering through vicarious victimization because their own experience is fresher. Second, the more similar that previous trauma is to the current trauma a person is witnessing, the more intense the vicarious response. Third, physical and/or emotional fatigue enhances

the likelihood that one will experience vicarious victimization. Finally, the similarities between those experiencing direct victimization and those experiencing vicarious victimization amplify both the reaction and the likelihood of a reaction because of the ease with which the vicarious victim can relate to the suffering and experience of the person directly victimized.

A more generalized form of vicarious victimization can be experienced through witnessing traumatic situations firsthand or through media reporting. Not surprisingly, the closer the connection to a victim, the stronger the vicarious reaction tends to be. As such, family members and closer intimates of direct victims are more likely to suffer more intense symptoms of vicarious victimization than strangers, and actually witnessing the trauma firsthand similarly intensifies the psychological reaction. Vicarious victimization can even be triggered through witnessing the secondary victimization that can occur when the criminal justice system response to a criminal victimization brings dissatisfaction. This type of vicarious victimization often results in feelings of frustration, helplessness, and anger.

The tendency of the media to "fear monger" for ratings exacerbates a more generalized type of vicarious victimization in the public. The constant barrage of crime stories strike a responsive chord in audiences and are often explicitly designed to express themes that are frightening, such as the idea that anyone might be randomly attacked in a brutal manner. Bad news sells better than good news, and more heinous crimes are bigger attention grabbers. As such, stories with shocking, perverse, or bizarre features are likely to receive more media attention. Although there is a benefit in the media drawing attention to the plight of victims, it also increases the vicarious victimization of the public, which negatively impacts the quality of life of those affected. Some mental health professionals have even found some empirical support for the idea that this pervasive exposure to violent criminal acts is partly responsible for the epidemic of depression and anxiety-related disorders currently observed in the United States.

Another source of vicarious victimization in the media comes from businesses intent on selling security products and services to vulnerable and frightened customers. In this instance, vicarious victimization is used as a marketing ploy to buttress

sales of products such as alarm systems and personal protection devices. The more these companies can create a sense of insecurity and fear in potential customers, the more successful they will be. Many acts of terrorism are explicitly undertaken to create vicarious victims as part of the damage they inflict. The September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon are an illuminating example of the widespread psychological impact of vicarious victimization that can result from terrorism. Panic and feelings of powerlessness, rage, and fear in the wake of the attacks were commonplace, as the seemingly senseless and shocking event claimed innumerable vicarious victims along with those actually injured and killed. The so-called D.C. snipers had a similarly disproportionate psychological impact in creating an atmosphere ripe for widespread vicarious victimization.

Most of the research on more direct forms of vicarious victimization has focused on family members surviving homicide victims and intimate partners of sexual assault victims. Ann Burgess coined the term *homicide trauma syndrome* for the specific type of vicarious victimization that occurs in losing a loved one to homicide, and a plethora of research has since supported her findings that survivors experienced fear, anger, and vengeance that differed markedly from normal bereavement patterns. Many of these individuals meet the diagnostic criteria for PTSD. Interestingly, extensive contact with the criminal justice system has consistently emerged as an impediment to the normal grieving processes in those who experience vicarious victimization.

In the case of intimate partners of sexual assault victims, the impact of the victimization on the relationship and the psychological functioning of the intimate partners have received the most academic attention. Studies show that vicarious victims of sexual assault tend to experience feelings of powerlessness, vulnerability, anger, guilt, and a lowered sense of self-esteem and self-worth. Diagnoses of PTSD are also common in vicarious victims of sexual assault, and these diagnoses are correlated strongly with the direct victims' experience of PTSD. Furthermore, the vicarious victimization of the partner likely interferes with the recovery of the primary victim, as the feelings of the partner make it difficult to provide the emotional support that plays a role in alleviating the victim's emotional distress.

Health care professionals are increasingly addressing the needs of those who experience vicarious victimization and have called for caregivers to deal with this additional type of trauma in themselves, as well as the public they serve. In recent years, awareness of vicarious victimization has increased, which results in more supportive reactions to traumatic events, such as offering counseling in the wake of school shootings, terrorist attacks, and other types of victimization that are likely to result in vicarious responses.

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See also Fear of Crime; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Secondary Victims of Homicide

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VICTIM ASSISTANCE BY FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Faith-based crime victim assistance programs did not come into existence until 1982 when President Reagan's Task Force on Victims of Crime released its Final Report, which encouraged faith-based

organizations to begin supporting victims of crime and victimizers. In 1998, the publication of *New Directions From the Field: Victim's Rights and Services for the 21st Century* revised the original document and suggested that whenever possible, faith-based organizations should provide assistance to victims and victimizers. It was recognized that communities of faith have offered and can continue to offer support to crime victims and that often, victims of crime will seek out support and guidance from religious leaders in the aftermath of crime. The report also offered nine recommendations that would bring faith-based organizations and crime victim service agencies together.

The recommendations were developed with the aim of the faith-based community recognizing that the victim and the victimizer are in need of aid, comfort, and spiritual ministry, and faith-based congregations and organization should provide assistance to victims and victimizers whenever possible. The recommendations consist of the following: Educational institutions that teach clergy and theological seminarians should include counseling courses that teach pastoral staff skills to counsel people who have been victims and victimizers. Continuing education should be provided for all individuals from clergy, police, hospital workers, and others who work within the faith communities and with victims to ensure that they are aware of how they can work together to help victims. All religious institutions should work together with community assistance agencies and organizations to offer joint services and to ensure that victims are aware of all services that are available to them. The education of clergy, victim assistance providers, criminal justice officials, and victim assistance administrators should consist of in-depth instruction regarding the role they can play in assisting victims. Clergy should be required to report any suspicions of child abuse. Protecting children should be a principal role of the clergy, and reporting any suspicions of abuse should override any confidential communications. Policies and procedures should be developed to report any clergy misconduct and should be referred to law enforcement agencies. Religious and spiritual leaders should openly discuss issues of victimization and crime and educate their congregations regarding the pressing issues in their communities. Although these recommendations recognized the role faith-based

organizations should play in assisting the community, in 2001, President George W. Bush established the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives to strengthen the role of faith-based organizations in assisting their communities with various social problems. President Bush's program was established with the goal that faith-based programs should be allowed to compete for public dollars to provide public services to their communities on equal footing. The program does not offer funding for faith-based programs but offers technical support by helping faith-based organizations in applying for federal funding from the seven cabinet departments—the United States Departments of Justice, Agriculture, Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and Education, as well as the Agency for International Development—or funding opportunities from state-based programs.

Examples of Programs

Since 2001, the Office for Victims of Crimes through the Office of Justice Programs has funded many faith-based organizations in developing victim advocacy programs. One such program is the Interdenominational Ministers Fellowship Peniel Initiative that operates in Nashville, Tennessee. This program is a collaboration between service providers and faith-based organizations that work together to assist victims of crime who live in areas deemed high crime. The program is designed to make crime victims aware of the variety of services available, establish a link between faith-based organizations and victim assistance programs, and educate victim services providers of the spiritual needs of crime victims. The program operates with a staff of three individuals who plan and execute activities that help to develop the coalition between faith-based organizations and service providers to ensure that the target communities will have the care needed when facing a crime.

The STAND! Against Domestic Violence program out of Richmond, California, was developed to address the relationship between the faith-based community and victim services in the diverse community of Richmond, California. The goal of the program is to provide faith-sensitive crime victim services to victims of crime. STAND has developed strong partnerships with community service providers from various

organizations. The focus of this program is to work with agencies that focus on the underserved Latino and Asian populations and the leaders of various faith-based organizations.

Tundra Women's Coalition (TWC) located in Bethel, Alaska, provides services to victims of crimes through various programs such as emergency shelter, child advocacy, legal advocacy, and transitional housing. It also provides support, training, and technical assistance to faith-based organizations, spiritual leaders, and traditional healers to enhance their ability to provide counseling to crime victims. TWC has also conducted conferences to bring together people from the various faith and community support services to provide tools on how the two groups can work together to provide services to victims of crime.

Communities Against Senior Exploitation (CASE) located in Denver, Colorado, is an elder fraud prevention program in which prosecutors and law enforcement officials partner with faith-based communities to provide the elderly with educational information regarding fraud prevention, crime detection and reporting, and victim support. Working with faith-based organizations allows police and prosecutors the ability to reach large numbers of elderly in an environment that promotes hope and empowerment.

Kiesha Warren-Gordon

See also Domestic Violence; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States

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 Department of Justice (DOJ): <http://www.usdoj.gov>
 Maryland Crime Victims' Resource Center, Inc: <http://www.mdcrimevictims.org>

Office for Victims of Crime (OVC): <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov>

White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/government/fbci/conferences.html>

VICTIM ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, INTERNATIONAL

The emergence of victims' rights as an important issue internationally made the materialization of victim-service programs imminent in many regions of the world. During the last 3 to 4 decades, a global proliferation of services has occurred. This entry explores the history of these organizations, examines the different types of international victim services programs, and offers an explanation for the need for international victim services.

Since the earliest recordings of legal procedures, victims of crimes have had opportunities to address the wrongs inflicted on them. Formal and informal processes have existed in various parts of the world that have allowed victims the right to redress wrongs and provide remedies for the settlement of claims. These processes have always been available in a sporadic manner and have been accessible to some and not others, depending on regions, demographics, geography, governments, and structures of communities. In other words, some had more access to victim remedies than others. When retributivism became the dominant theory for punishment in the 1700s in Europe, the rights of the victim began to dissipate.

It was in the 20th century that the importance of and need for a formal institution for addressing international victim rights became evident. After the atrocities of World War I and especially World War II, the international community found it necessary to create legal documents that would bind countries to protect their residents. In turn, international entities, such as the International Criminal Court, were created to address the human rights of global citizens. International documents, like the *United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, the *United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights*

Law, and the *Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, were formulated for the purpose of establishing statutes that would set up formal structures that were meant to provide assistance to victims of crimes in various manners, as well as define the legal pursuit of individual responsibility and accountability for criminal acts.

Although informal, grassroots victim services have existed and continue to exist in vast regions of the world; formal international victim programs did not truly originate until recently. Some international organizations and national entities have created their own bodies of victim programs to assist victims in different jurisdictions and after varying types of crimes. A few of the organizations that were created include the International Criminal Court, the Victim Trust Fund, the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights, and the Fundamental Freedoms. These organizations handle different aspects of needs that arose from the fundamental finding that public and private entities could be engaged in mass victimizations that required the attention of international organizations to address victim needs. These and other such organizations handle monetary compensation for victim losses during and after a crime, legal redress for victims, and health care assistance for physical, emotional, and mental trauma and guidance for reintegration into society for victims of severe violence.

The different needs that develop as a result of international crimes make the types of offered services vary extensively. Because it is difficult to cover all types of crimes, international conventions have set up funding for independent organizations around the world to provide the necessary care and assistance needed in particular areas. For example, assistance programs are established for mine victims in Burundi, Angola, and Sudan. In other areas of the world, assistance programs are needed for victims of attempted genocide and their families as well as victims of rape camps, death camps, torture, violence against women, human trafficking, and other such internationally recognized crimes. Programs for victims are funded by the larger organizations, like the United Nations, to help their sometimes region-specific victims.

Some international research studies have brought to light the availability of victim assistance around the world and the need for such assistance. The

International Crime Victimization Survey, for example, points out that most of the victim assistance received goes to victims of contact crimes, such as assaults, sexual incidences, and robbery. Of those victims who did not receive victim assistance, more than 40% would have liked such assistance. Overall, the supply of victim services falls short of the demand, especially in developing countries.

As a result of the varying types of crimes and locations of these crimes, there is no uniform source for victim services in the world, which means that most international, national, local, and community agencies work within their own sets of principles, statutes, missions, and goals. Similarly, there is no comprehensive list of victim services around the world as there are hundreds of thousands of such services, both formal and informal (grassroots). The plurality of services and jurisdictions makes it impossible to compile information on all the services available today for global victims of crimes.

Although there are some problems with establishing jurisdiction over some crimes and there are disputes about international law and victim compensation, international victim assistance is needed across the globe. As a result of the improvements in communications, transportation, technology, and weapons, the reach of criminal behavior has made it imperative to provide a transnational body of victim assistance that can help survivors of crimes. Funding from international, regional, and national organizations has made possible an outreach network of victim assistance programs around the world that assist victims in different capacities. Both formal and informal programs continue to flourish today in an attempt to solidify the net of assistance that is needed for the growing number of international victims.

Mónica Méndez

See also Crime Victims Fund; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Compensation; Victims' Rights Legislation, International; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victim Support Groups; War Crimes

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VICTIM ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, UNITED STATES

Victim assistance programs are organizations that assist crime victims in understanding their rights and navigating their experiences within the criminal justice system. This entry gives an overview of services provided by victim assistance programs, provides the need for and historical involvement of victim assistance programs, and ends with a brief comment about the importance of victim assistance programs.

Background

Because crimes in the United States are viewed as crimes against the state instead of crimes against individual victims, the criminal justice system is structured such that the victim's role is peripheral. Police, prosecutors, and judges focus on solving the crime and apprehending and punishing the offenders. Traditionally, laws and criminal justice processes have been set up to protect the rights of the accused. Victims have only been viewed as part of the process because they are witnesses. In the past, victims and their families were not informed about crime investigations, prosecutorial decisions, court hearings and trials, case outcomes, and the release of individuals who had committed crimes against them. In addition, victims traditionally were not included in any decisions about prosecuting the accused and/or punishments for those found guilty of crimes.

Research indicated that often victims, with little to no knowledge about their cases, were sometimes traumatized as much, if not more, by the criminal justice process than they were by the original crimes against them. Survivors and their

families often experienced feelings of powerlessness. Many survivors of crime have been frustrated by their lack of rights especially in comparison with the seemingly better treatment provided by the criminal justice system to offenders whose rights are protected by constitutional law.

Services

Victim assistance programs were instituted to provide a better experience for crime victims and witnesses than they had traditionally experienced in the criminal justice system. Although independent victim assistance programs exist, most victim assistance programs are government organizations run through the local or state district attorney's office. In addition, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has its own Office for Victim Assistance, which helps victims of federal crimes.

Victim assistance programs work mostly with victims of violent crimes to inform them of their rights and keep them updated about the status of the criminal case in which they were victimized. Victim assistance programs help give the victim a voice. Victims may be given a say or asked their opinions regarding the case in some jurisdictions, especially when the programs are part of the district attorney's office. At the very least, some of the powerlessness experienced by victims is reduced by having someone in the system who is their advocate and who keeps them informed of the criminal case. It is usually also the responsibility of victim assistance workers to inform victims about compensation programs and counseling that may be available to them. Finally, victim assistance workers may attend trials and other court proceedings with victims and/or their families, explaining the proceedings and providing emotional support.

History

In 1972, Carol Vittert established the first victim assistance program in the United States. After witnessing an assault in St. Louis, Missouri, Vittert took the victim home and helped her. Vittert, realizing victims of crime needed support, established Aid for Victims of Crime, Inc. The police would provide Vittert with a list of victims whom she and her friends would visit and offer support. The first government victim assistance programs were established

in 1974 in district attorneys' offices in Milwaukee and Brooklyn with funds from a federal agency called the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which was established to study and fund crime prevention efforts.

Growing out of a national victims' rights movement and increasing concern for victims' rights, groups such as the National Organization for Victim Assistance, Parents of Murdered Children, and Mothers Against Drunk Driving were established during the 1970s. These organizations worked to ensure that the criminal justice system would pay attention to victims during criminal proceedings. In 1982, President Ronald Reagan appointed the Task Force on Victims of Crime. The Task Force made 68 recommendations leading to passage of the Victims of Crime Act, which provided funding for victim assistance programs.

Importance

While victims of crimes, especially violent crimes, still experience feelings of frustration and powerlessness in the criminal justice process, victim assistance programs have made the experience of navigating the criminal justice system, and especially court proceedings, less daunting and mysterious than they were in the past. Victim assistance programs provide survivors and their families with valuable information and support and they help make sure that, when legally viable, victims have a say in prosecutorial decisions and court proceedings.

Kim Davies

See also Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims' Rights Legislation, International; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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VICTIM BLAMING

Victim blaming refers to the perception that victims are culpable or responsible for their own fates. Attributions of responsibility typically focus on an action or behavior of the victim that increases the risk of victimization. Victim blaming is a general term that incorporates various levels of responsibility shared by and blame attributed to victims. Although the term is applicable to victims of various events, which include accidents and natural disasters, it is especially relevant in light of the criminal justice system's increased focus on the plight of victims in recent decades. This entry briefly introduces victim blaming research as it relates to crime victims and discusses two theoretical approaches to blaming. The entry concludes with a discussion of the consequences of victim blaming for the criminal justice system.

Degrees of Blaming

Attribution of blame to victims of crime is an idea as old as victimology. Benjamin Mendelsohn, who is considered the father of victimology, recognized that victims could be perceived as completely innocent, partially blamed, or fully blamed for their experiences. Blaming may occur in instances in which there is clear indication of victim provocation; for example, the victim provoked a fight that results in their injury. Criminal victimization, in these instances, is characterized as reciprocal if both parties engage in criminal behavior. Although

the level of blame may vary across parties, both parties are perceived as somewhat responsible. Blaming may also occur in situations in which there is unintentional precipitation by the victim through carelessness, helplessness, negligence, or poor judgment. Many individuals may be responsible for perpetuating perceptions of victims as responsible for their fates, including members of the criminal justice system, members of society, or criminal offenders. Whether victims should be blamed at all, however, is rather controversial.

Victim Blaming and Sexual Assault

The theory of victim activity as influential in criminal victimization has been addressed in research on homicide and property crime; however, attribution of blame to sexual assault victims has been the subject of most victim blaming research. Some victims of sexual assault are perceived as more culpable than others. The characteristics that may influence blaming in cases of sexual assault include revelations of past sexual conduct by the victims, such as any experiences with prior sexual assault. Victims perceived as dressing or acting seductively or provocatively may also be viewed as more blameworthy in instances of sexual assault.

The use of drugs or alcohol by victims prior to sexual assault incidents also increases victim culpability. Victims who fail to resist their attacker during sexual assault are also perceived as facilitating their attack. Although there are variations on the theory of victim blaming and the victim's role in precipitating crime, two perspectives are discussed here as a framework for understanding the function of victim blaming. They are the just world perspective and defensive attribution.

Just World and Defensive Attribution

Psychologist Melvin J. Lerner postulated a "just world" theory of victim blame, contending that people want to believe that others' fates (both good and bad) are the result of their own actions, and that people deserve these fates. Lerner's research supports his contention that perceptions of a just world are threatened when others receive harm unjustly and that people attempt to compensate and generalize about why undeserved harm

befalls undeserving people. When belief in a just world is threatened, people will use tactics to rationalize the victim's fate; they will demean even an innocent victim rather than accept that the world may not be just. The rationale for this belief is simple as it has implications for the fate of others: If we live in an unjust world, then we can all succumb to fates that we do not deserve, no matter our good nature. Research on the just world hypothesis generally reveals its importance in explanations of general victim attribution, even though its salience in attributing blame to crime victims has only recently been explored. Although the theory is useful in explaining why victim blaming may occur, research addressing how it may affect victim blaming in criminal incidents other than rape is limited.

Kelly Shaver proposed the premise of defensive attribution: People adjust their tendency to blame depending on whether they perceive themselves to be at risk of suffering the same fate. The tendency to blame will be greatest in situations where a victim is dissimilar to us than for victims who are similar to us. There is some support for this theory, as males generally blame female victims of sexual assault more than females do.

The current knowledge about perceptions of rape victim culpability indicates that victim characteristics can influence blaming attitudes. Just world and attribution theories of blaming suggest that blaming may serve as a self-protective mechanism or may result from the inability to identify with victims. Knowledge about victim-blaming attitudes is relatively recent and the consequences of these attitudes for victims of crime are not well understood. The topic merits more attention, specifically regarding the connections between blaming and outcomes for victims, influences on reporting, and treatment of victims by the criminal justice system.

Carrie L. Cook

See also Double Victimization; Early Victimization Theories; Public Perceptions of Victims; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Rape Myths; Victim Precipitation

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VICTIM COMPENSATION

Criminological research generally focuses on the nature of crime; the enforcement of criminal laws; detection, conviction, and sanctions; and community reaction to criminal actions. Historically, crime victims have been given insufficient support as integral, albeit unwilling, participants in the occurrence of criminal events. Aside from giving factual statements and testifying in criminal cases, crime victims often fail to receive the help they need after the trauma of violence or property crimes.

Nature of Victim Compensation

Crime victims face many problems after they are exposed to violent criminal incidents. Victims are subject to financial stress, physical injuries, and emotional trauma. Dealing with and recovering from injuries that result from physical harm or emotional trauma are extremely difficult. Victims often require help in paying the costs of medical care and counseling, or replacing lost income because of personal disability or the death of a family member.

The role of crime victims within the criminal justice system has been extremely limited. Before the implementation of prescribed federal guidelines in the 1990s, it was uncertain whether victims would receive sufficient support from federal, state, or local agencies. Each state or municipal agency formulated its own standards on victim support. However, this practice has changed dramatically since the early 1960s.

Crime victim compensation is the oldest form of organized victim assistance in the United States.

The first compensation program was created by California in 1965, with nine states operating similar programs by 1972. Most of the money for these programs comes from offenders, as a majority of states fund victim compensation programs entirely through fees and fines charged against those individuals convicted of criminal activity. In fact, federal grants to agencies that administer victim compensation programs provide close to 25% of the money for payments to victims. These funds are also derived from offender fines and assessments.

Victim compensation programs differ from restitution programs. Although funds for both programs are derived from offender fines and assessments, victim restitution programs focus on the direct payment of funds by the offender to the victim of the criminal activity. Thus, a judge can order particular sums sent to the victim through a criminal justice agency or directly to the victim. In some cases, a judge orders that the offender must render symbolic restitution through a series of \$1 checks sent weekly for a stipulated period of time.

Such compensation is exempt from the crime victim programs operated by federal, state, or local criminal justice agencies. Crime compensation programs can support victims for a significant category of miscellaneous needs. The monies are paid from a general fund established through federal grant funds, collected fees, and assessment payments from offenders on probation or parole. Contemporary compensation programs are paying out close to \$265 million annually to more than 115,000 persons.

Eligibility for Compensation Programs

A variety of victims are eligible for compensation funds. The categories include victims of rape, assault, child sexual abuse, drunk driving, domestic abuse, and homicide. Such crimes impose an undue hardship on victims through physical, emotional, or physical harm. According to the National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards, close to a third of the recipients who receive compensation are children. Most of those children are victims of sexual abuse.

Compensation programs cover a wide variety of expenses and losses related to criminal injury and homicide. In addition to offering assistance with medical care, mental health treatment, funerals,

and lost wages, many programs include crime scene cleanup, travel costs to receive treatment, moving expenses, and the cost of housekeeping and child care.

Compensation programs are largely supported by federal grants. To receive 25% or more of their annual funding from federal sources, programs must cover medical expenses, mental health counseling, and lost wages for victims, in addition to funeral expenses and loss support for families of homicide victims. Drunk driving and domestic abuse must be considered as compensable crimes. Domestic violence victims cannot be disqualified on the basis of being related to or living with the offender.

In addition, programs must agree to consider for eligibility all U.S. citizens who are victims of crimes within their states, regardless of residency. Each state also must offer benefits to its residents who find themselves victimized in states without compensation programs. Programs must also insure their own residents who are victims of terrorism in foreign countries. In addition, programs must cover crimes that fall under federal jurisdiction within the state. Crimes occurring on Indian reservations, National Park lands, or military bases would fall under this category.

States generally request and analyze police reports to confirm that a crime took place and to determine whether the victim was involved in any illegal or participatory activity when victimized. The source of this information is derived from service providers like hospitals, doctors, counselors, and funeral homes, in addition to employers if work loss is claimed.

Eligibility Requirements

Victim compensation programs are based on federally prescribed requirements. The victim must meet five conditions to obtain benefits. First, the victim must report the crime promptly to law enforcement. The norm is generally 72 hours, but most states have "good cause" exceptions applied to children, incapacitated victims, and other special circumstances.

Second, victims must cooperate with police and prosecutors in the investigation and prosecution of the case. The imposition of this clause is necessary to encourage conscientious reporting to criminal justice authorities. Victims are often reticent in coming forward unless there is an incentive. Economic support

is one such significant justification for reporting their victimization status to the criminal justice system.

Third, victims must submit a timely application to the compensation program. The time limit is generally 1 year from the date of the crime. There is discretion to waive these requirements in specific circumstances. Victims must also provide other information as requested by the program.

Fourth, the victim must have a cost or loss not covered by insurance or some other readily available supporting source. Expenses recovered from other programs or sources cannot be covered by a victim compensation program. For example, compensation obtained from insurance companies or another public benefit program like the Veterans Administration and Medicaid would exempt a claimant for victim compensation benefits.

Fifth, the victim must be innocent of criminal activity or significant misconduct that caused or contributed to the victim's injury or death. This means that victim-precipitated criminal offenses can not be compensated through a state fund.

In addition, the apprehension and/or conviction of a perpetrator is not a prerequisite to receiving compensation. Compensation programs focus primarily on the victim rather than the criminal justice process of litigating the relevant criminal case. Police reports are relied on to make the primary determination.

Finally, the eligibility of a victim's dependents or other secondary victims is dependent on the eligibility of the victim who suffered the injury or death. Federal agency directions cite an example where homicide victims who engage in criminal activity render the family ineligible for any benefits.

Compensable Costs

Five categories of compensable costs are covered in all states. First, medical expenses are considered for victim support. Any uncompensated hospital bills or fees for medical supplies, physicians, or other medical-related services are included in this category. Victims are often insured and must rely on state compensation agencies for support.

Second, victim costs associated with mental health counseling are also included as a compensable cost. Mental health counseling would include fees tendered to psychiatrists, psychologists, or counselors who help victims work through the trauma associated with the criminal event.

Third, victims can be compensated for lost wages associated with an inability to work because of a crime-related injury. Many victims incur physical disabilities that hinder their ability to perform manual labor or work adequately at administrative and related office positions.

Fourth, dependents of homicide victims are also considered victims for the purpose of compensation. Lost support for dependents of homicide victims is allowable when the victim was a major wage earner or contributor to the household income. Individuals covered include spouses, children, and extended family members who live in the same household.

Fifth, support is provided for funeral expenses. This category is important given that the average funeral can cost more than \$5,000. Social security has a limited death benefit of approximately \$255. Family members clearly require assistance in meeting these substantial bills.

In terms of compensation paid, fees to hospitals, doctors, and therapists comprise more than half of the amounts paid. Lost wage and support payments are the next largest category. A number of other costs are also covered. They include the following seven categories.

First, moving or relocation expenses are covered by state compensation agencies. The stipulation is that victims must be in imminent physical danger, or the move must prove medically necessary because of severe emotional trauma from an assailant. Second, transportation to medical providers is included but limited to occasions when the provider is located in a place distant from the victim's residence. Other special circumstances may also apply under this category. Third, replacement services for work the victim cannot perform because of crime-related injury are also considered. Compensation is primarily directed to child care and housekeeping.

Fourth, expenses incurred in crime-scene cleanup, or the cost of securing a home or restoring it to its precrime condition, is included within the category of victim compensation. Cleaning, renovation, and other necessary repairs are incorporated in the provision of these funds. Fifth, rehabilitation is also covered through compensation agencies. Such costs may include physical therapy and/or job therapy. Uncovered medical bills in this category are covered when victims either lack insurance or sufficient insurance where the costs prove a financial hardship. Sixth, agencies cover prescribed modifications to homes or vehicles in

the case of paralyzed victims. Individuals who require modification of kitchen counters, installation of ramps, or other equipment are supported through the state system. Finally, fees for attorneys who help victims apply for compensation are also covered. However, such fees are paid in limited amounts and sometimes for appeals.

Personal property stolen, lost, or damaged during the crime is not covered. Only medically necessary equipment (in the case of eyeglasses or hearing aids) will be compensated. According to federal guidelines, only three states (Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Tennessee) currently pay for pain and suffering.

There are also maximums and limits to compensation payments. Maximum benefits paid from state programs generally range from \$10,000 to \$25,000. Several states have higher maximums. Many states have lower limits on specific compensable expenses like funerals and mental health counseling.

Collateral Resources

Federal guidelines prescribe that compensation programs are "payers of last resort." This means that any other source of payment to the victim must be assessed before the programs will authorize payment. Victims must first apply medical or health insurance, employee benefit programs, social security, and Medicaid.

In the case of restitution, compensation programs usually pay in advance rather than force victims to wait to receive restitution payments. In the event that the victim recovers any money from the offender or any other party liable for the victim's expenses, the compensation program must be paid back for that portion of expenses which the program has covered. The only exception is when the victim's total out-of-pocket losses exceed the amount both paid by the program and recovered from another source.

Lloyd Klein

See also Restitution; Third-Party Lawsuits

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Web Sites

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 National Association of Victims of Crime Assistance Administrators: <http://www.navaa.org>
 National Center for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ncvc.org>
 National Organization for Victim Assistance: <http://www.trynova.org>

VICTIM IMPACT STATEMENTS

As the victims' rights movement gained momentum in the 1970s, attention has focused on the passive role of victims in adversarial criminal justice systems. Historically, victims have had no standing in the trial of the violator. They were relegated, at best, to the role of a witness. This caused victims to experience alienation and frustration with the criminal justice system. To address this concern and to integrate victims in proceedings, victim impact statements (VIS) at the sentencing stage have been conceived. The practice of introducing victim impact statements in the sentencing phase of criminal cases is relatively new, but it has already become widely implemented in countries with adversarial legal systems. The specific practices surrounding victim impact statements vary by jurisdiction. Although there is widespread support for the therapeutic usefulness of these statements, and some evidence indicates that they are useful for court actors, their practice is not without controversy. Concerns have developed particularly surrounding whether victim impact statements violate offender rights and their place in adversarial systems.

Definition

Victim impact statements, or victim personal statements as they are referred to in the United Kingdom, are composed by individuals who have been personally harmed by a criminal offense. Individuals who submit such statements may have

suffered direct victimization, or they may have been indirectly impacted by a crime, such as through the death of a loved one. These statements are submitted to the court for consideration at the time of sentencing.

Victim impact statements focus on describing the harm suffered by the individual. The VIS may include details of the physical, emotional, psychological, social, or financial detriments resulting from the criminal offense. In some jurisdictions, these statements may also include the victim's opinion about the appropriate sentence for the offender (victim statement of opinion, but the latter is not practiced in countries outside the United States nor within all jurisdictions in the United States.

History

The first victim impact statement was created in Fresno, California, in 1976. Controversy has surrounded victim impact statements since their inception, particularly in the context of capital penalty. Two Supreme Court cases—*Booth v. Maryland* (1987) and *South Carolina v. Gathers* (1989)—had initially ruled the consideration of victim details in the sentencing of capital cases as unconstitutional. The subsequent case of *Payne v. Tennessee* (1991) represented a reversal of the Court's original stance, and all 50 states now make some use of victim impact statements, as do other countries including Australia, Canada, England and Wales, and Scotland. The adoption of VIS has been part of a broader shift toward an increase in victim participation in court proceedings. Victim rights bills passed in some jurisdictions require courts to allow or consider victim impact statements at sentencing.

Processes

Victim impact statements are collected through varied processes. In some jurisdictions, victims may submit their statements to the court directly, whereas in others they may be mediated through a probation office, the prosecution, or other agency. Controversy exists regarding whether police should educate victims regarding VIS at the time that a crime is first reported. Although this advice would allow victims to keep track of the various costs

more easily that originate as a result of the offense, it may also result in greater disappointment if the offender is not caught and the costs borne by the victim cannot be recouped. Victim impact statements are commonly submitted to the court in writing or presented orally (the right of allocution). In some jurisdictions, the statements may be submitted by videotape.

Benefits

Proponents of victim impact statements suggest that VISs can benefit victims as well as the justice system. They largely focus on the potential expressive value that VISs offer to victims rather than any instrumental role it may have. There is also some evidence that court actors are appreciative of the informational content provided by victims who submit impact statements. Although evidence is mixed regarding whether victim impact statements actually affect sentencing outcomes, proponents hold that this should allay critics' concerns that allowing such statements will lead to harsher sentences for offenders.

Therapeutic Potential for Victims

The use of victim impact statements has been supported first and foremost on the basis of the potential therapeutic effect of allowing victims to voice their experiences and have their harms acknowledged as part of the legal process. This school of thought holds that the opportunity for victims to express what they have suffered, particularly in a court of law, can be beneficial regardless of whether the VIS has an actual influence on the outcome of the sentencing process. When courts refer to victims' impact statements in sentencing remarks and validate victims' harm, victims can experience a sense of recognition by the courts for their suffering, and their satisfaction with justice is increased.

Informational Value to Courts

To the extent that judges or juries endorse the principle that the severity of punishment should match the harm caused by the crime, victim impact statements can provide important information to these decision makers. Some information contained in the VIS may overlap with details already available to the court through other means, such as

police reports or presentence investigation reports. At the same time, VISs provide the victim with an opportunity to make the court aware of any negative effects that may not have been addressed through such other means. Judges have reported that the VISs sometimes provide them with new insight into the severity of a crime. It is not inevitable that exposure to a victim impact statement will cause a judge to view a crime as more severe than previously believed; in some cases, such statements have led judges to recognize the harm caused by the crime as less severe than initially presumed. The additional information about the harm provided by VIS helps in increasing sentence commensurability.

Restorative Justice Values

The restorative justice approach has historically been viewed as largely incompatible with adversarial legal systems. Because restorative justice proceedings require that offenders accept responsibility for their actions, most serious offenses cannot be processed through restorative justice proceedings. The adoption of victim impact statements has been welcomed as one mechanism for integrating restorative justice principles into the adversarial system. The VIS provides opportunity for bringing the victim into the justice process and providing an opportunity for offenders to be exposed to the harm that they have caused to their victims.

Controversies

Critics of victim impact statements highlight several actual or potential problems related to allowing the presentation of VIS at the time of sentencing. These concerns range from the belief that such programs would not be used to an extent that would justify their availability, to the effects of victims providing the statements on their welfare, to the fear that victim impact statements may constitute a violation of offenders' due process rights.

Underutilization

Not all victims who are provided an opportunity to submit a victim impact statement will do so. Some may not find the crime serious enough to warrant the compilation of a statement. Others may be fearful of retaliation by the offender.

Evidence suggests that some victims may be unaware of their option to make a statement or may not understand the purpose of doing so. Some also argue that victims are not interested in providing input into sentencing and are interested only in receiving information about the case or being consulted about the sentence. As such, some hold that there is not enough evidence of a demand for victim impact statements to justify their use. In addition, uneven utilization of victim impact statements may lead to disparate sentencing practices between those cases in which statements are presented and those in which they are not.

Victims' Raised Expectations

Some critics are concerned that the availability of victim impact statements may actually reduce victims' satisfaction with the justice process. This argument holds that whereas victims may experience some therapeutic relief through the communication of the harms that they have experienced, these therapeutic benefits are negated, or even overshadowed, by the disappointment or frustration that victims may feel if they do not perceive that their statement had been taken seriously, or if they do not believe that their statement had a practical impact on the outcome of the sentencing process.

Concerns About Offender Rights

The constitutionality of allowing victim impact statements to be presented during sentencing has been challenged on the grounds of the Eighth Amendment. In the 1987 case of *Booth v. Maryland*, the Supreme Court ruled the use of victim impact statements to be unconstitutional in capital cases. The reasoning behind the Court's decision was that the content of such statements is irrelevant in determining the details of the crime and the background of the defendant, and thus it may create an unfair bias against the defendant by introducing extraneous factors to the sentencing process. The *Booth v. Maryland* ruling was upheld in 1989, when the Supreme Court determined in *South Carolina v. Gathers* that it was unconstitutional to discuss victim characteristics at the time of sentencing in capital cases.

In the 1991 case of *Payne v. Tennessee*, the Court reversed its stance on victim impact statements,

holding that such information did not pose a risk to the constitutional rights of the defendant. Still, the concern about offender rights has not disappeared. Although research has largely demonstrated that victim impact statements have a minimal impact, if any, on sentencing severity, there remains a sense that allowing victims to present in court may unfairly bias the judge against the offender or otherwise violate offenders' fundamental rights.

Impact on Sentencing

One argument against VIS has been that their practice would lead to an increase in sentence harshness. However, no firm research has documented such a trend. Research on aggregate sentence data has largely shown that the introduction of VIS has little, if any, punitive impact on sentencing outcomes. Impact may be discerned in a small number of cases, and it has been as likely to be in the direction of harsher as more lenient sentences. Critics highlight the catch-22 of this situation, however: If victim impact statements do lead to harsher sentences, then they may pose a danger to offenders' rights; if they have little to no impact on sentencing, then they may contribute to victims' disappointment with the justice process. The weak evidence of practical outcomes has led some to question whether an investment of resources to support the availability of victim impact statements is worthwhile. Those who consider the VIS as having merely an expressive function disagree, arguing that the therapeutic function of the VIS is paramount.

Future Research

The opportunity for victims to submit impact statements at the time of sentencing has been noted as one of the most important accomplishments of the victims' rights movement. Many positive outcomes to allowing such statements have been identified, the most prominent being the potential therapeutic effect for the victims. Still, the idea of including victims' input into sentencing is not without controversy, and the implementation of victim impact statements has not been consistent or uniform. Although research has largely indicated that such statements have minimal impact on sentencing outcomes, opponents have lingering concerns about the value added by such statements

and that allowing such statements may interfere with offenders' rights. Subsequent research is needed to provide more definite answers.

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See also Restorative Justice; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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victimization. However, a variety of paradigm shifts, scientific advances, and social and political forces since the 1960s and 1970s provided a foundation from which theories of victimization emerged.

For instance, in the latter half of the 20th century, a shift occurred among many scholars toward viewing “crime” as more than just the behavior of an offender. Instead, crime became increasingly viewed as a “system,” involving not only an offender but also a target or victim, as well as a time/place context that supports or facilitates the victimization of the target by the offender.

Alongside this new paradigm, new sources of information about crime emerged, addressing limitations of data compiled from police reports (reported annually in the form of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program). Specifically, the early 1970s marked the emergence of the National Crime Survey (now called the National Crime Victimization Survey), which allows large amounts of information on crime events from the vantage point of victims to be collected and analyzed annually. This national effort set the stage for many subsequent victimization surveys in local communities and/or on special samples (i.e., high school students, college students, women, etc.). These various victimization surveys, in comparison with official police data, allowed researchers to estimate more accurately the incidence and prevalence of crime in society because they measured crime events, whether or not they were reported to police.

Finally, beginning in the 1960s, a sociopolitical movement intended to provide more attention to victims and their rights within the criminal justice system. In response to this movement, more support services began to be provided to victims, and avenues were provided for allowing enhanced involvement on the part of victims in the process of justice (i.e., through victim impact statements).

The confluence of these various sociopolitical and scientific shifts was ideal for the emergence of various theoretical perspectives on victimization. These etiological perspectives focused on a wide range of causal influences, which ranged from routine daily activities and lifestyles, to interpersonal interactional dynamics, to broad-based social inequality. Major theories that emphasize these various influences are described in greater detail throughout the remainder of this entry.

VICTIMIZATION, THEORIES OF

The fields of criminology and criminal justice have focused, historically, on understanding criminal offending in comparison with criminal

Lifestyle-Exposure Theory

In 1978, Michael J. Hindelang, Michael R. Gottfredson, and James Garofalo published their book, *Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization*. This work delineated the sociodemographic correlates of victimization based on an analysis of victimization survey data. They noted that particular subgroups of the U.S. population experienced greater risk of victimization relative to other groups. Specifically, men, younger adults, and African Americans were at an increased risk in comparison with women, older Americans, and Whites, for instance. To account for such trends in victimization risk, Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo suggested that victimization risk was a function of lifestyle. In particular, men, younger adults, and African Americans tended to have lifestyles—including patterns associated with work, school, chores, leisure, etc.—that exposed them to victimization opportunities. The specific features of lifestyles presumed to create more exposure to crime were said to include time in public (especially at night), time away from family or household members, and proximity to and/or association with high-offending groups. In short, these features of lifestyle shaped the opportunity for individuals to become crime victims.

Routine Activity Theory

While Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo were publishing *Victims of Personal Crime*, Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson were working on similar research, resulting in the 1979 publication in the *American Sociological Review* of their seminal article, “Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach.” Cohen and Felson examined temporal changes in U.S. crime rates from 1947 to 1974. They focused in particular on predatory crimes, which were defined as illegal acts that involved the direct damaging or taking of the person or property of another (p. 589). They highlighted the dramatic increase in predatory crime during that time period, with the most glaring portion of the overall increase occurring during the decade of the 1960s. Cohen and Felson then offered a “routine activity” explanation for this increase.

As a starting point for their theory, Cohen and Felson defined the following three necessary ingredients for crime: (1) a motivated offender, (2) a suitable target, and (3) absence of capable guardianship. For a predatory crime to occur, according to Cohen and Felson, a willing, motivated offender must come into contact with a victim or target that can be overtaken in a time/space context (i.e., a time and a place) that does not provide an adequate level of protection in the form of persons or things that could intervene between offender and victim. The convergence in time and space of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and absence of capable guardianship was said to present an *opportunity* for crime.

Cohen and Felson suggested that the first ingredient for crime—a motivated offender—was a “given.” Rather than understanding crime as a function of variation in offender motivation, Cohen and Felson indicated that we could better understand crime in terms of variation in the other two ingredients for crime. In particular, they suggested that crime had increased so sharply between 1960 and 1970 because of the corresponding, profound changes in societal levels of suitable targets and capable guardianship. In short, Cohen and Felson posited that, between 1960 and 1970, Americans and their households became more suitable and less capably guarded targets. They also suggested that it was the changing routine, daily activities of U.S. residents that created increased opportunity in the form of increased target suitability and diminished guardianship. Particularly opportunistic activities, according to Cohen and Felson, were nonhousehold activities.

Major shifts in the labor force participation of women occurring between 1960 and 1970 were thought to underlie much of the increase in levels of nonhousehold activities. Women’s markedly increasing participation in the labor force had substantial implications for the public exposure of women and the lack of guardianship provided to American households during the daytime. For instance, Cohen and Felson presented data showing that, in 1960, about 30% of households were unoccupied by someone 14 years or older between the hours of 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. By 1971, that figure exceeded 40%. As a result, more and more households lacked capable guardianship, thus providing increased opportunity for a crime such as burglary.

At the same time, women were spending more time outside the house, commuting to and from work, resulting in increased exposure to “street” predatory crime, including robbery.

Beyond work-related activities, Cohen and Felson theorized that routine leisure activities were also changing in the United States between 1960 and 1970 among both men and women. With an increasing percentage of U.S. households consisting of two working adults, more disposable income is available to be spent on leisure pursuits outside the home (i.e., attending sporting events, movies, restaurants, or vacation destinations) and on the purchase of household durable goods (i.e., televisions, stereos, cars, bicycles). This proliferation of public leisure activities and household items (especially valuable but lightweight items) also increased opportunities for crime. From the routine activities theoretical perspective provided by Cohen and Felson, these leisure and consumption patterns simply made it more likely that motivated offenders would encounter suitable targets in time/place contexts that lacked adequate guardianship.

Cohen and Felson tested their theory by examining whether a “household activity ratio” was related to the changing rates of predatory crime in the United States. They measured the household activity ratio as the proportion of U.S. households that were either “non-husband-wife” households or households that could be classified as “married, husband-present, with a female labor-force participant” (1979, p. 600). They hypothesized that increases in such households would be associated with increases in U.S. predatory crime rates under the assumption that such household structures served to approximate routine activities that would increase exposure to motivated offenders, increase target suitability, and decrease guardianship. They found impressive support for this hypothesis across five different predatory crimes.

Routine Activities and Individual Victimization

Following Cohen and Felson’s landmark study, later work extended routine activity theory’s application beyond changing national rates of crime. Subsequent work often applied the theory to variation in individual risk of victimization instead. Leading theorists (e.g., Cohen, Kluegel, and Land) suggested, in particular, that the likelihood that an

individual would experience victimization was a function of that person’s exposure to motivated offenders, proximity to high-crime areas, target attractiveness/suitability, and absence of capable guardianship. From this perspective, individuals whose lifestyle and routine activities make them more visible and accessible to others (possible motivated offenders) are at increased risk for victimization. Similarly, individuals whose lifestyle and activities put them in close physical distance to “risky” areas (i.e., areas where a large proportion of offenders reside or where a large number of targets exist) are at increased risk. Individuals who possess valuable, visible, accessible, and moveable goods are at greater risk for property victimization. In terms of more violent offenses, where victim–offender confrontation is part of the criminal event, individuals who have characteristics that make them physically or socially vulnerable (i.e., small physical size, limited strength, low socioeconomic status, and intoxication) are considered to have heightened victimization risk. Finally, individuals who engage in safety precautions designed to provide protection or defense—including actions such as installation of extra locks, use of security systems/cameras, or participation in neighborhood watch—are presumed to be at reduced overall victimization risk.

Empirical evidence regarding the ability of routine activity theory to explain individual variation in victimization has been impressive. Several decades of research have shown that individual-level indicators of exposure, proximity, target suitability, and guardianship are positively related, as predicted, to a variety of types of individual victimization including, as just a few examples, both property crime and violent “street crimes” (i.e., burglary, theft, physical assault, robbery, and sexual violence), school crime, crime on college campuses, workplace violence, computer fraud, and white-collar crime.

Offending Lifestyle and Individual Victimization

As an offshoot of routine activity theory’s application to understanding individual victimization risk, there has been a special focus on the theoretical role of criminal offending behavior on individual victimization risk. A long-standing recognition among researchers indicates that a substantial overlap exists between victim and offender populations. In other words, many offenders are also

crime victims. Despite recognition of this correlation, research to date has not clearly revealed whether the relationship is causal. There are, in fact, competing theoretical ideas about how offending and victimization might be related. The most popular perspective on the offending-victimization linkage is consistent with routine activity theory. That is, a criminal lifestyle provides opportunity for victimization. A criminal offender is, after all, likely exposed to other offenders and/or often in close proximity to high-crime locations because of his or her own offending activities. Furthermore, a criminal offender often provides target suitability. For instance, a successful drug dealer has a plentiful stock of a valuable commodity as well as a good deal of cash. Both drugs and cash make attractive targets. Other types of offenders are suitable targets because of their vulnerability. For example, a drug user is more easily duped when under the influence of his or her addiction. Additionally, offenders might be viewed as suitable targets in that their offending behavior is provocative, which elicits strong reactions from others to the point of victimization of said offender. Finally, an offender can be thought to have less capable guardianship than nonoffenders in the sense that an offender is less likely to call on law enforcement for protection in fear that his or her own criminal activities are discovered.

Despite theoretical and empirical support for the idea that offending might increase victimization, the causal linkage is far from proven. The idea that the relationship works in reverse is supported both theoretically and empirically—with victimization increasing offending. This sort of relationship is justified on the grounds that victimization is a traumatic event, causing negative reactions—including escape and offending in some who experience it. Another explanation is that victimization causes a withdrawal from prosocial ties and activities, thereby increasing exposure to and involvement with marginalized others, including offenders. Although there is limited empirical support for this idea, somewhat contradictory evidence suggests that victimization leads to a less risky as opposed to a more risky lifestyle.

In short, much debate surrounds whether offending causes victimization or, conversely, whether victimization affects offending and, if the

latter, whether victimization increases or decreases offending. Given this theoretical ambiguity, some have suggested that offending and victimization are reciprocally rather than unidirectionally related. This proposed bidirectionality is understudied as of yet. However, one seminal piece of research in this regard is the work of Janet Lauritsen, Robert Sampson, and John Laub. In their 1991 article published in *Criminology*, Lauritsen, Sampson, and Laub analyzed the first five waves of the National Youth Survey and found that delinquent lifestyle significantly increased victimization, but victimization also significantly increased delinquent lifestyle. Nearly two decades later, this study remains fundamentally important as it represents one of the few studies that addresses reciprocity between offending and victimization.

Low Self-Control and Individual Victimization

Another offshoot of routine activity theory's application to understanding individual victimization risk is theory emphasizing the role of self-control on the part of crime victims. Christopher Schreck, in particular, has been at the forefront of developing a theoretical understanding of how an individual's self-control contributes to victimization risk. His explanation dovetails nicely with routine activity theory, as it relies on the idea that variations in self-control coincide with variations in criminal opportunity. For instance, Schreck suggests that individuals with low self-control are risk takers, thus leading to greater exposure to dangerous people and places. In addition, individuals with low self-control are more likely deemed suitable targets by peers because of their impulsive—sometimes to the point of being noxious—behavior. In short, low self-control can serve to antagonize motivated offenders. Finally, lower self-control suggests limited planning and foresight, implying that capable guardianship might be more often lacking among individuals with such a trait.

Routine Activities and Victimization in Contexts and at Places

Although routine activity theory has been predominantly applied to understanding victimization risk across individuals, other applications focus on

understanding how victimization risk varies across spatial units. After all, researchers know that crime is spatially clustered rather than being distributed randomly across geographic spaces. The spatial units that have been considered vary in size from larger “macrolevel” units such as neighborhoods or even metropolitan areas (i.e., standard metropolitan statistical areas) to smaller “microlevel” units such as street segments or specific addresses. For instance, a large body of community-level research has found that rates of victimization are much higher in some neighborhoods than others. Considering smaller spatial units, research also reveals patterning at the level of street block and/or face block. Widely cited research by Lawrence Sherman, Patrick Gartin, and Michael Buerger in 1989 reported crime clustering at an even smaller level of analysis—“the place level.” They studied calls for police service in Minneapolis during a 1-year period; this resulted in analysis of 323,979 incidents. These calls for service could have come from any of the 115,000 places, which are defined as addresses or intersections within the city. Rather than crime reports being spread across all 115,000 places, however, it was markedly concentrated. In fact, most places did not experience any calls, whereas a small fraction of places accounted for the bulk of the total calls. More specifically, Sherman et al.’s analysis showed that 50% of all of the calls occurred at just 3% of the possible places.

As a whole, then, research shows various types of crime concentrations, forming everything from “hot areas” to “hot spots.” The underlying premise of a “routine activity theory of context/place” is that such hot areas and hot spots emerge because various social contexts or places can be viewed as having characteristics related to opportunity, just as can individuals. For instance, some neighborhoods are in closer proximity to areas of high-offender concentration in comparison with other neighborhoods. Additionally, some neighborhoods are more accessible to offenders than are other neighborhoods. Some places contain a greater supply of attractive targets than do other places. Other places provide a poorer overall level of security or potential for surveillance/guardianship than do others. Such areas and places offer more opportunity for crime. Hence, the rates of victimization within these areas and places are likely to be higher.

Place Management

Consistent with the idea that some contexts support victimization more so than do others, “place management” has become a particularly relevant theoretical concept. Put simply, the way specific places (i.e., bars, schools, convenience stores, and apartments) are managed can affect crime and victimization opportunities at the place. The rate of bar brawls, for instance, can be related to such things such as the layout of the bar in relation to a dance floor (so as to minimize crowding), drink prices, bar policy on serving to intoxicated customers, and training offered to service and security staff. Victimization, in short, can be controlled through place-specific, management-related policy and practice.

Offender Searches and Crime/Victimization Patterns

The crime and victimization patterns noted in the above research on neighborhoods, streets, and specific places comport well with the theoretical work of criminologists Paul and Patricia Brantingham. The Brantinghams suggest that offenders have routine activity patterns just the same as victims do, and their “search for crime” is likely to coincide with their daily patterns of movement. As such, offenders are likely to choose attractive targets at their places of routine activity, which include areas near their residence, major businesses/workplaces, large shopping or entertainment areas, and large schools or universities. Such nodes of activity, then, are at higher risk of becoming hot spots of crime because they have a higher likelihood of bringing motivated offenders into contact with suitable targets throughout the course of everyday routine activities. These nodes are “crime generators,” in a sense, because of the opportunities presented. The intended function of the node is not crime; yet opportunity for crime is so plentiful in comparison with other places just in terms of exposure between motivated offenders and suitable targets alone that they can be said to generate crime.

Major routes (streets, walkways, etc.) that connect various nodes also provide substantial opportunity for victimization. Again, as motivated offenders travel about their daily activities, from point A to point B to point C, major thoroughfares

(what Brantingham and Brantingham refer to as “paths”) serve as places where offenders can come into contact with an abundance of suitable targets. In sum, chances are that motivated offenders will encounter targets for victimization that meet their liking at major nodes and along major paths; these chances are much greater than at places that are “off the beaten path.” Noncentral or isolated places are less likely to be encountered by both victims and offenders, thus reducing the likelihood that they will become hot spots of crime and victimization. Some central nodes and pathways will be so opportunistic, according to the work Brantingham and Brantingham, that they will actually become “crime attractors”—places that offenders actually go to specifically for crime purposes.

Beyond major nodes and pathways, another type of place that is particularly opportunistic is referred to as “edge space.” According to Brantingham and Brantingham, edge spaces are boundaries, in essence, which can take a variety of forms. Edges form the transition from one space to another. As such, there are sometimes multiple users of edge spaces; those who use each space often converge and “cross over” at the edges. Because of that, ambiguity can develop in terms of who is in charge of the space—who really owns the space.

As an example, think of the few streets that serve as the edge of a residential neighborhood that is adjacent to a commercial entertainment district. Such a neighborhood, especially near the perimeter, experiences outsiders coming onto its streets regularly. These outsiders often seek parking in the neighborhood or they cut through the neighborhood after entering or exiting the commercial district. Based on this adjacency, residents along the neighborhood’s edges may suffer higher rates of victimization in the form of auto theft and vandalism as well as suffering from “victimless” crimes such as public intoxication and noise violations. The drunk and disorderly behavior that is part of the late-night entertainment venues in the commercial district spills over from the commercial property itself to the adjoining area. At the edge of the neighborhood—in contrast to the core/interior—the people and property are more exposed to motivated offenders, and a higher concentration of suitable targets is found. Also, because of the sheer volume of traffic, residents are overwhelmed when it comes to providing guardianship. In short, edges

are transitional zones between two more clearly distinct physical spaces that have particularly high rates of victimization because of a greater likelihood of a convergence of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and absence of capable guardianship that is created by adjacency.

Multilevel Opportunity

An overview of the discussion to this point reveals that victimization opportunity has been theorized to exist at multiple levels of analysis. For instance, Cohen and Felson’s original statement on routine activity theory was a macro-level one, focusing on opportunity as provided by national-level activity patterns over time. Other researchers since the late 1970s have underscored the importance of opportunity at various levels of aggregation, including cities and neighborhoods. Other work has emphasized microlevel variation, including how specific places and people differ in terms of opportunity. Taking all these theoretical perspectives together, then, it is clear that “victim opportunity” can exist in multiple realms. Multilevel opportunity theory has been developed to address this idea. From a multilevel perspective, a complete understanding of individual victimization risk needs to consider the opportunities presented not only by the individual’s lifestyle/routine activities but also the opportunities presented by the environmental contexts in which the individual is embedded, including the specific places, neighborhoods, cities, and so on, within which the individual moves about his or her daily activities.

In addition to recognizing that opportunities for crime can come from multiple realms, multilevel opportunity theory suggests that opportunity factors interact across realms such that “individual risk factors for victimization” do not, in fact, pose the same risk regardless of context. From this perspective, an overall risk of victimization involves a complex interplay between individual risk factors in combination with risk in the multiple environments in which the individual is embedded.

Structural-Choice Theory

Related to the multilevel opportunity perspective outlined above, Terance Miethe and Robert Meier proposed a multilevel “structural-choice theory” of victimization in their 1994 book titled

Crime and Its Social Context: Toward an Integrated Theory of Offenders, Victims and Situations. On the one hand, like the multilevel opportunity perspective, the structural-choice perspective views crime and victimization as a result of factors at multiple levels of analysis. However, according to Miethe and Meier, criminal opportunities are largely provided by individual-level characteristics of victims (i.e., their individual-level exposure, target suitability, and guardianship practices). On the other hand, environmental conditions provide *motivation* for the offender. For instance, neighborhoods with poor socioeconomic conditions, high rates of residential mobility, and ethnic heterogeneity create “socially disorganized” climates conducive to producing criminality among their inhabitants. According to Miethe and Meier, crime is a function of both the criminality-producing structural factors in the environment and the indicators of vulnerability among individual citizens, which makes them more or less likely to be chosen as targets/victims.

Victim Precipitation Theory

Another line of thought in trying to understand victimization is the idea that victims may precipitate or provoke their own victimization. The classic criminological statement on this perspective was provided by Marvin Wolfgang in 1958. Wolfgang’s analysis of homicide in Philadelphia found that a substantial percentage of murders analyzed (approximately 25%) resulted from a victim–offender interaction that actually began with aggressive actions on the part of the eventual homicide victim. Wolfgang implied, therefore, that many victims are not merely innocent victims but sometimes suffer violence that is precipitated by their own violent or threatening actions. The victim’s actions are presumed to provide criminal motivation for the offender.

The Situated Transaction

Wolfgang’s research and its theoretical implications regarding victim precipitation generated a tremendous amount of controversy. There was a tendency for the theory to be viewed as one that blames victims and mitigates the actions of perpetrators. Regardless of its political unpopularity,

there was and still remains substantial empirical evidence that victimization and offending behavior are correlated and that many criminal events involve retaliatory violence. To address these facts, yet skirt the problem of blaming the victim for motivating the offender, more recent theoretical approaches have moved away from a narrow victim-precipitation perspective toward a broader, fuller analysis of the dynamic between victim and offender and the unfolding of the criminal event. David Luckenbill, for instance, coined the term *situated transaction* to explain victimization. His idea was that violent victimization—in particular, homicides and physical assaults—emerged from a pattern of interaction (a transaction) between victim and offender that typically starts with an insult of some sort and eventually escalates to a violent outburst. However, the insult rarely immediately precipitates offender violence. Instead, a “back-and-forth” occurs between victim and offender whereby insults are followed by counterinsults as efforts to “save face.” Eventually, this dynamic, which revolves around the protection of honor, may lead to actual violent victimization. From this perspective, however, either the victim or offender in the eventual violent outcome can pull out of the exchange or respond in nonviolent ways.

Conflict/Critical/Feminist Theory

A final theory of victimization to be discussed here—conflict/critical theory, including feminist theory—explains victimization as a result of power differentials between victims and offenders. This perspective is most commonly applied to victimization in which obvious power differences are found between the offender and victim, including sexual assault, child abuse, family violence, and intimate partner violence. Even though there are various brands of conflict theory, the overarching theme is that an offender’s victimization of another is an expression of domination and control. Such expressions of domination and control are presumed to stem from broad structural inequalities—based on age and gender, for instance—and corresponding patriarchal societal values emphasizing dominant males and subordinate yet manipulative (especially sexually) females. Thus, crimes like sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and stalking are viewed as expressions of traditional gender role

socialization and methods of maintaining the status quo regarding power and control in interpersonal relationships and society more broadly (see, e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1975).

The conflict perspective is not only helpful in understanding why some victimization may occur, but also it is useful in understanding differential responses to victimization. Sexual assault and domestic physical assaults, for instance, are crimes that have been notoriously underreported by victims to police. Conflict perspectives suggest that this underreporting largely stems from biased and inappropriate treatment of victims of such crimes by agents within the criminal justice system, from police and prosecutors to juries and judges. Research has, indeed, documented degrading and belittling of rape victims by some police officers. Additionally, the reluctance of courts to prosecute and convict rapists has also been noted. Conflict theorists argue that, when social control is enacted on rapists (i.e., in the form of arrest, prosecution, and conviction), it seems to be biased in favor of upholding the status quo in terms of race, class, and gender and sexuality norms. For instance, Gary LaFree's extensive research on this issue revealed that the criminal justice system seems more likely to punish offenders who victimize those who are perceived as "traditional, upstanding" women (i.e., White, married, and at home during the assault) while being far more lenient on offenders victimizing women of color and women violating traditional gender norms (i.e., those who are unmarried, hitchhike, have a sexual history, etc.). In short, traditional women were viewed as more credible victims by those in the legal system. Lisa Frohmann's research on prosecutorial decision-making in sexual assault cases provides another example of well-known research supportive of this idea. Her study revealed that many cases were purged from the system because of the prosecutor's perception that the victim was not credible and/or did not present a story that was likely to result in a high rate of conviction. The factors included in that judgment included victim demeanor, place of residence, and victim's initial willingness to have contact with the offender. In sum, some evidence suggests that criminal justice agents construct a definition of a "plausible, typical, winnable" rape case and that social construction seems to be intertwined with power. According

to conflict theory, victims are powerless relative to offenders; yet some victims have greater standing in the eyes of the legal system. Individual victims who uphold the power structure in terms of race, class, and traditional notions of gender are far more likely to experience justice.

Toward a Comprehensive Understanding of Victimization

Theories of victimization are varied. They include those that focus on victimization as a function of opportunity (at various levels of analysis), those that focus on victimization as a function of social interactional dynamics between victim and offender, and those that focus on victimization as a function of deep social division in terms of power and control. All such varied perspectives have received empirical support in the research literature. As such, victimization is clearly a complex phenomenon, which results from a multitude of broad social and microsituational influences. Although these theories tend to be viewed as "competing" and studied in isolation, there is little doubt that all have merit and assist in providing a comprehensive understanding of victimization.

Pamela Wilcox

See also Correlates of Victimization; Critical Victimology; Early Victimization Theories; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of; Lifestyle Theory; Rape, Theories of; Repeat Victimization, Theories of; Routine Activities Theory

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VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

For a long time, researchers have been interested in understanding the extent, nature, and consequences of property and personal victimization. Until the 1970s, however, official police records were the only large-scale source of data available to investigate questions about victimization. Although clearly useful sources of data, these records are also characterized by several well-documented limitations. And these limitations make questionable some findings derived from them. For example, using police records, it is unclear whether the extent of violence has really changed over time or whether only the amount of violence coming to the attention of the police has changed over time. In fact, using police records, one cannot learn anything about property or personal victimization that

did not come to the attention of the police. Furthermore, using police records, one could not be certain that changes in crime rates demonstrated by official statistics were not just changes in police practices and policies. Even if police records were perfect and all crime was reported to the police, these data do not enable an examination of many aspects of victimization. For example, one could not learn about injuries sustained by the victim of these crimes, about reasons people chose to contact the police, or whether medical attention was obtained by the victim.

In an effort to address this large gap in our understanding of victimization, the United States embarked on a bold endeavor beginning in the 1960s that ultimately led to the first omnibus victimization survey to gather property and personal crime victimization data from a nationally representative sample. Dubbed the National Crime Survey (NCS) and later renamed the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), these data are responsible for much of our extant knowledge about violent and property victimization. For example, using data from the NCS, it is possible to ascertain actual risk of victimization by victim characteristics, details on the victim and offender relationship, the proportion of violence that involves an armed offender, how victims respond to violent victimization, and the percentage of victimization that comes to the attention of the police. Given the innovative methodological protocols used to produce reliable estimates of victimization found in the survey, it is no surprise that the NCS served as a model for additional victimization surveys in the United States (e.g., the Illinois Victimization Survey, the Anchorage Victimization Survey, the National Violence Against Women Survey), in other countries (e.g., the British Crime Surveys, the Scottish Crime Survey), and even an international survey (i.e., the International Crime Victimization Survey).

The purpose of this entry is to present basic information about victimization surveys. The entry is divided into several sections. The first answers a basic question: Why are victimization surveys important? The second section discusses the basic characteristics of victimization surveys. In other words, what do victimization surveys look like? The third section addresses changes implemented over time in victimization surveys to address

changes in methodology and society. And finally, the last sections provide examples of domestic and international victimization surveys publicly available today, including newer surveys.

Why Are Victimization Surveys Important?

Before the advent of victimization surveys, researchers and policy makers had only data from official police records and collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the form of the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program system and the Supplementary Homicide Report. Although these data have many valuable qualities, they are imperfect sources for understanding the true nature and extent of victimization in the United States. For instance, with only official data, there can be no assessment of the “dark figure of crime.” That is, using official data, one could never learn how much, or the nature of, violent and property victimization that is never reported to the police. A second limitation of using official records to estimate or understand victimization is that the data collected reflects in part law enforcement activity and not the actual extent of crime. For example, police may institute a new initiative to crack down on a particular type of crime. With this emphasis, more of this particular crime may show up in the crime reports. However, this does not indicate an increase in that type of crime, only an increase in attention given to that crime. A third limitation of using official statistics to learn about victimization is that they can be, and on occasion have been, manipulated and misrepresented for a variety of reasons. For instance, in recent years, some cities were found to be failing to document sexual crimes properly making it seem as though these types of crime were greatly declining and relatively rare. And finally, a limitation of official statistics on crime and victimization is that they tend to lack detailed information about the criminal incidents, including details about the characteristics of the victims, offenders, and incidents. Although information on topics such as victim and offender relationship, weapon presence, and offender race is available for homicides, this detailed information is not available on a national basis for nonfatal victimizations. The implementation of the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) is slowly changing that

by including many details on nonfatal violence. Unfortunately, however, the coverage of NIBRS continues to be poor. Nonetheless, even if NIBRS had perfect national coverage, many aspects of victimization could not be addressed using police records. One would still have no information on victimization characteristics such as injuries sustained, bystander presence, resistance by the victim, medical treatment sought, whether the victimization was reported to the police and reasons for reporting or failing to report the violence to the police.

When studying subjects, multiple independent measures are desirable. The same rule applies to the study of violence and crime. Initially, with only one measure of victimization available—official police records—many significant policy-relevant questions cannot be investigated. With a second source of data—victimization surveys—information from police records can be complemented to provide a greater understanding of victimization. With victimization surveys, researchers can learn what official records can never convey, such as victim responses and detailed incident characteristics. And with police records, researchers can learn what victimization surveys can never convey. For instance, with the UCR, researchers can study offenses and police departments by state and city; they can investigate violence against persons under age 12; and they can study those not living in a household (i.e., homeless and institutionalized). Victimization surveys and official records are needed because together, used in a complementary fashion, the two overlapping but different measures provide greater coverage of the nation, victims, and victimization to enhance our understanding of victimization.

A Victimization Survey Is Created

With only official records, basic information required to develop policies designed to reduce victimization was lacking. Much more detailed information on both personal and property victimization was sorely required to measure the nature, extent, and consequences of victimization. How these new data—data focusing on victimization—would be gathered had to be developed from scratch. To develop this new methodology, the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and

the Administration of Justice called for the formation of the first national survey of crime victimization in 1967. It was decided that by going directly to victims of crime, researchers could gather valuable information about crimes reported and not reported to police, collect relevant details concerning the victimization, and be certain that the data were not influenced by changes in law enforcement policies or be manipulated by the unscrupulous.

After completing several pilot victimization studies in a variety of cities, it was concluded that self-report victimization surveys were a reasonable method of identifying and describing criminal victimizations reported and not reported to the police. Based on the feasibility of a victimization survey and on extensive methodological studies, the NCS was created and first implemented in 1972. The NCS had four primary goals. First, it was to provide an independent calibration for the UCR. Second, the NCS was to provide an ongoing measure of victim risk. Third, the NCS would be used as an indicator of the crime problem independent from those generated by police activity. And finally, the NCS would serve as an indicator of society's definitions of crime. Even though these were the primary purposes of the survey, the new victimization survey would also serve several other important purposes. First, it would shift the focus of the criminal justice system to the victim and away from the offender. Second, it would provide an index of changes in police reporting. Third, data gleaned from the NCS would provide a basis for the study of granting of compensation to crime victims. Fourth, it would gather information ascertaining the involvement by the victim in a crime. And finally, it was designed to measure public confidence in police efficiency. When launched, the NCS was composed of four interrelated victimization surveys: a national household sample referred to as the Crime Panel, a Central City household sample, a national sample of commercial establishments, and a Central City sample of commercial establishments. Only the national Crime Panel survey survived beyond 1976.

What Does a Victimization Survey Look Like?

Because the NCS was designed in part to serve as a benchmark for UCR collected by the FBI, the NCS

measured many of the same crimes. In the NCS, data were collected on violent crimes including rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. In addition, data on purse snatching and pocket picking—considered nonviolent personal crimes—were gathered. Finally, data on property crimes including burglary, motor vehicle theft and property theft were obtained. Information on threatened, attempted or completed crimes is collected in the NCS.

As the first ongoing national survey of crime, the NCS broke new ground, and as a result, the basic methodology utilized is novel. The data are gathered by the Census Bureau at a sample of housing units and group quarters in the United States and the District of Columbia drawn from the Decennial Census. In each selected sample housing unit, all persons age 12 or older are interviewed about personal victimization experiences in the previous 6 months. In addition, one person in each household—the household respondent—provides information on property crimes experienced by the household (i.e., burglary, motor vehicle theft, and property crime). A second feature of victimization survey methodology is that the interviews are conducted continuously throughout the year in a rotating panel design. That is, the sample of households is divided into six rotation groups. Within each of the six rotation groups, six panels are designated. A different panel is interviewed once every 6 months covering seven interviews. A new rotation group of households enters the sample every 6 months, replacing a group as it is phased out after being in the sample.

A feature developed specifically for victimization surveys concerns the survey instruments. In general, victimization surveys like the NCS and the NCVS use a two-part instrument. The first part, the Basic Screen Questionnaire, is used to determine—or screen for—any crimes that were committed against the household or against an individual household member during the 6-month reference period. There is a screener for personal crimes, which every eligible household member receives. Crimes against a person include rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, and purse snatching/pocket picking. In addition, one person in the household who is designated the household respondent is given an enhanced crime screener that includes questions about personal crimes they

may have experienced, as well as property crimes that were committed against the household. Household crimes include motor vehicle theft, burglary, and property theft. An example of one of the personal crime screener questions follows:

41a. (Other than any incidents already mentioned,) has anyone attacked or threatened you in any of these ways (Exclude telephone threats)–

- (a) With any weapon, for instance, a gun or knife–
- (b) With anything like a baseball bat, frying pan, scissors, or stick–
- (c) By something thrown, such as a rock or bottle–
- (d) Include any grabbing, punching, or choking–
- (e) Any rape, attempted rape or other type of sexual attack–
- (f) Any face to face threats–

OR

- (g) Any attack or threat or use of force by anyone at all? Please mention it even if you are not certain it was a crime.

41b. Did any incidents of this type happen to you?

41c. How many times?

For every crime revealed by the screener instrument, a second instrument is administered. This second instrument, the Crime Incident Report, is used to gather detailed information about victimizations reported in the screener. One Crime Incident Report is completed for each and every incident reported in response to the screener questions. For example, if a respondent said that he was robbed once and was beaten up twice, then three Crime Incident Reports—one for the robbery, a second for the initial assault, and a third for the second assault—are completed. The details collected on the Crime Incident Report are important because of the way crimes are classified in victimization surveys like the NCS. Crimes are classified not based on what the victim states (i.e., my house was robbed!), and they are not classified based on the field representative's impressions. Instead,

incidents are classified as a crime and are categorized as a particular type of crime based on the details gathered in the incident report. For instance, if a victim discusses an incident in which no sexual assault occurred (therefore no sexual assault or rape), a weapon was brandished by the offender (aggravated assault characteristic), and the victim was seriously injured (aggravated assault characteristic), then the incident would be classified as an aggravated assault. Or for example, one may speak of an incident where an offender attacked a victim (no weapon used, thus a simple assault), knocking them to the ground causing bruises and a chipped tooth (minor injuries). Because this incident did not involve a sexual assault, weapons, or a serious injury, it would be coded as a simple assault. In victimization surveys, incident details are incredibly important. Without these details, a crime cannot be properly classified.

In some instances, the respondent cannot provide the details of each incident. For example, an individual may have been repeatedly assaulted by her spouse (e.g., about 45 times) during the preceding 6-month reference period. Or a student may have been beaten up and harassed by the school bully daily during the 6-month reference period. Victimization survey methodology requires an incident report be filled for every one of these events. It is often the case in repeat victimization situations that the respondent cannot provide the details of each and every incident. For circumstances like this, a “series victimization protocol” is used. In cases in which several incidents of a similar nature have occurred, in which the respondent cannot provide details of each, the details of only the most recent incident in the series of incidents are recorded in the incident report as a “series victimization.”

Victimization Surveys: Works in Progress

Since the inception of the first NCS, the survey has been a work in progress. It has been modified many times to reduce costs as surveying costs have increased, as well as to improve quality based on extensive methodological research designed to improve the survey. One way that costs in conducting surveys have been reduced over time is by reducing the number of in-person interviews and

increasing the percentage of interviews conducted by telephone. Originally in the NCS, initial contacts for each of the seven interviews were conducted in person. The number of in-person interviews has decreased steadily over time to the current state of the NCVS, where only the first interview contact is made in person. This does not mean that all household members are interviewed in person the first time. It means only that the first interview of the household respondent is required to be conducted in person. From this point on, it is the respondent who selects whether future interviews are conducted in person or over the phone. Additional cost savings introduced to the survey over time included several sample size reductions. In the NCS, originally about 72,000 households were drawn in sample. Over time, the sample size has been cut several times resulting in the current sample size of about 42,000 households. The cost savings incurred in this massive reduction in sample has led to a situation in which the survey simply cannot be cut any more. With a significantly smaller sample in conjunction with the drop in crime since the mid-1990s, the survey now struggles to measure relatively rare crimes such as rape and robbery with much precision.

Many methodological changes have been implemented over time to improve the quality of the victimization data gathered. As the survey aged, many questions were added to and other questions were changed in the survey instruments. These new and revised questions reflect the survey being responsive to the changes in the needs of policy makers, as well providing information on topics of interest to the general public. As a result, the incident report expanded from 4 pages to more than 18 pages. With these new questions, as well as the enhancements to existing questions, the survey gathers information about the characteristics and consequences of violence, such as self-protective actions by victims, gang violence, bystander behavior, use of weapons, details of the location of the violence, reason for reporting as well as reasons for not reporting the violence to the police, and drug/alcohol use by the offender. An additional methodological change to the victimization survey enabled it to take advantage of the advent of computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). CATI was introduced to the NCS sample in 1988, when 5% of the victimization survey sample was

interviewed using this method. Since this time, the percentage of the sample interviewed via CATI has increased steadily.

Although changes to the victimization survey have been ongoing, the largest changes to the survey came in the form of a redesign. Planning for the redesign began in 1979, and the final product was implemented in 1992 using a split sample design. It was at this time that the NCS changed names to the NCVS. The purpose of this major redesign was to improve the survey's ability to measure victimization in general with an emphasis on better measuring difficult-to-measure crimes, such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Improvements came primarily in the form of improvements to the screener instrument. These improvements included extensive screener cue changes that better prompted respondents' memories of victimizations. In addition, changes to the screener minimized the increasing complexity of the instrument. Following the redesign, the NCVS gathered detailed information on an increased number of crimes. The redesigned crime survey increased the scope of crimes specifically included in the screener to include rape and sexual assault, domestic violence, and vandalism. Prior to the redesign, the NCS did not screen for rape but estimated these crimes based on information obtained about these offenses in screens focusing on attacks and attempted attacks. And prior to the redesign, no information was gathered on sexual assault.

Given the improved cues adopted on the screener, the survey counted an increased number of crimes after the redesign. As anticipated, these increases were not uniform across types of crime. Increases in crimes *not* reported to the police were greater than the increases in crimes reported to the police. This change is likely because of the improved cues implemented for certain questions, which caused respondents to recall more of the less serious crimes—those that are also less likely to be reported to law enforcement officials. In the end, the percentage of crimes reported to police based on the redesigned survey is lower than the percentage calculated based on data collected with the previous survey design. This difference is particularly the case for crimes like simple assault, which does not involve the presence of weapons or serious injury.

What Victimization Surveys Are Available Today?

The NCS was the first national victimization survey launched. Attention to this survey prompted many advances in our understanding of victimization survey methodology. Building on the NCS template, numerous victimization surveys at the city (e.g., Anchorage Adult Criminal Victimization Survey, City of Buffalo), state, country, and even international level have since been fielded. Not only do these surveys vary based on geographic areas of interest, but also they differ in terms of methodology and focus. Some victimization surveys gather information about specific types of violence. For instance, Georgia fielded a victimization survey that focused on school violence. The National Violence Against Women Survey in the United States and the Violence Against Women survey in Canada focused on violence against women. The Sexual Victimization of College Women survey was conducted in the United States and focused not just on women but specifically on women in college.

Some victimization surveys focus on violence and property crime in a particular state. Among those states that have fielded a victimization survey are Hawaii, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, Minnesota, Illinois, Maine, and Iowa. Because victimization surveys are expensive to implement, most state surveys have been one-time events, although some exceptions exist. One of the earliest state victimization surveys and one that has been repeatedly fielded is found in Minnesota (1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, and 2005). The overall purpose of the survey is to gather information on victimization experiences as well as information on respondents' perceptions of crime and safety. The sampling frame used in Minnesota is based on driver's licenses and state-issued identification cards. The survey is conducted using the mail and with additional measures aimed to boost response (e.g., postcard reminders); response rates have been relatively high. In the 2002 survey, 42% of the surveys were completed. Similarly, in 1999, a 48% response rate was obtained. Not surprisingly, the nature of the survey has changed over time to reflect changing needs of its constituents. For instance, after the attacks on September 11, 2001, the 2002 survey gathered data on respondents' fear of a terrorist attack.

The state of Utah has also fielded multiple victimization surveys. Unlike Minnesota, however, these surveys have not been conducted on a regular basis (2000, 2002, and 2005). In addition to the overall victimization survey, a separate survey focusing sexual violence was administered to a sample of females aged 18 or older. The Utah surveys use a 12-month reference period and gather information on "lifetime victimization" of its residents. In addition to just crime victimization data, the Utah survey gathers data on attitudes and perceptions of crime designed to measure, among other things, residents' fear of crime. Initially, the 2000 and 2002 surveys were conducted via mail, which resulted in disappointing response rates. In 2005, the survey began to use random-digit dialing, with calls being made until the desired sample size was achieved.

An example of a one-time survey is found in the state of Illinois. In 2002, the state mailed victimization surveys to 7,500 residents based on Illinois state driver's licenses and state identification cards. The survey focused only on those residents 18 or older. After repeated reminders, the states received 1,602 surveys for a response rate of about 28%. Since receiving completed surveys, multiple reports have been completed that suggest, among other things, that Black and Hispanic males are victimized at higher rates than White males, that only 44% of violence is reported to the police, and that reporting to the police is not consistent across personal demographic characteristics.

Some victimization surveys cover entire countries. According to one inventory sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 62 countrywide victimization surveys were conducted as of 2006. Approximately two thirds of these surveys were purely victimization surveys (e.g., Scottish Crime Survey, British Crime Survey, and Northern Ireland), whereas the remainder were victimization components of more general surveys (e.g., Australia and Canada). One of the most widely known country survey is the British Crime Survey (BCS), which collects data on England and Wales.

The BCS gathers victimization data on persons age 16 or older in England and Wales. The survey has been conducted since 1982. Initially, it was fielded with few exceptions on a biennial basis (1982, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2000). Since 2001, the survey has been conducted

continuously. Initially, the purpose of the BCS was to investigate individual risk of victimization, estimate crime, and ascertain people's concern with crime and their perceptions of the police. Currently, the survey is also charged with providing reliable information about crime trends in England and Wales. Like the NCVS, the BCS population includes noninstitutionalized persons. However, unlike the NCVS, the BCS uses a 12-month reference period. This large survey has generated much information of interest to the public as well as policy makers. Among some recent findings include a decrease in victimization risk between 2007 and 2008. In addition, findings show a 22% decrease in firearm victimizations during that 1-year period.

Although some countries gather national victimization data, many other countries participate in the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). To date, this survey includes about 56 countries with samples of between 1,000 and 2,000 households. One person in the selected household is interviewed. The ICVS is best described as a set of victimization surveys constructed to allow for cross-national comparison of victimization. The ICVS was first fielded in 1989. Since then, it has been fielded again in 1992, 1996–1997, and 2000. Like the NCVS, the surveys in the ICVS are conducted using CATI and in-person interviewing. Two reference periods are used in the survey—a 5-year as well as a 1-year reference period. The ICVS gathers data on personal assaults, robbery, personal theft, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and bicycle theft. Like some other victimization surveys, the ICVS also gathers information on more than street crimes. For instance, in 1996 the ICVS included a question on bribe victimization. Countries that participate in the survey use a core set of questions in the interviews to allow cross-national comparison. In addition, they are afforded some flexibility to adjust the instrument to meet their specific needs.

Another example of an international victimization survey is the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS). This comparative survey gathers information on male-perpetrated physical and sexual violence against women and is based on the infrastructure and methodology of the ICVS. The survey is not described as a violence against women survey but instead a personal safety survey. The measures used in the IVAWS build on those from the first national violence against

women survey fielded in Canada in 1993. Data collection began in 2003 using both telephone and in-person surveying in more than 70 countries. In 2005, comparative analyses on the first set of data began.

Newer Surveys

Given extant victimization survey methodology, there are no limits beyond cost to what information about victimization can be collected. Making fielding a victimization survey easier is software provided free of charge called the Crime Victimization Survey (CVS) Software. This software was developed by the Bureau of Justice Statistics—the sponsor of the NCVS—and the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services in the Department of Justice; it is designed to facilitate entities such as police departments to conduct their own victimization surveys. The CVS software duplicates the questions asked in the NCVS. In addition, it includes a section that queries respondents about issues related to community policing. Plus, the survey allows for users to modify their own survey to gather data on issues of local interest. These newer surveys come in many shapes and forms, but all have the underlying goal of better understanding the nature and extent of victimization.

Callie Marie Rennison

See also British Crime Survey (BCS); International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS); International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS); National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS); National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); National Victimization Against College Women Surveys; National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS); Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

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VICTIMLESS CRIMES

Victimless crimes, which are also known as consensual crimes, are generally defined as crimes in which no one is hurt; in other words, there is no direct victim because individuals *choose* to participate. These are *mala prohibita* crimes, that is, they are crimes because the state has said so and not because they are behaviors that are inherently evil. They include the following: gambling, substance abuse (particularly individual substance abuse), prostitution, obscenity and pornography, and the failure to use safety devices (e.g., seat belts and helmets). In some instances, homosexuality and abortion have also been considered victimless crimes.

These crimes occupy a huge amount of criminal justice attention and taxpayer dollars, with more

than 4 million arrests nationwide each year. This leads to more than 350,000 persons serving jail time and an additional 1.5 million persons on probation or parole. For many of these crimes, the victims and the perpetrators are one and the same. In prostitution, for example, it is often argued the victim is the prostitute (either male or female), but when the client (“John”) is robbed, assaulted, or even killed, are they not (also) the victim? And if a person chooses to engage in the sex-for-hire occupation, are they really a victim? It is, in many cases, a tangled web. Either way, the net effect is to cost taxpayers \$50 billion to punish people who have arguably done no harm to anyone except possibly themselves. Why?

One quality that victimless crimes share is that someone finds them morally offensive. Peter McWilliams suggests, however, that crimes are not moral. The question, for him and others with respect to victimless crimes, is “Does it make any sense to put people in jail for doing things to *themselves* that do not harm the person or property of others?”

The question becomes, is it necessary for a direct victim to exist for something to be a crime? Essentially, in these cases, it is about legislating morality, and yet some believe that morality cannot be legislated. Others believe that morality should not be legislated. The reality is that with every law passed, someone or some group’s morality is being legislated.

Many argue that what one does to himself or herself is their business, and in most of these crimes it is someone doing something to themselves, and again, no one should be incarcerated for harming just themselves. Although there may be emotional harm to others (e.g., the husband of an alcoholic) and as bad as that might be, it does not warrant the “offender” being put in jail or prison. A variety of other reasons variety been suggested for why these behaviors should be illegal, including it’s un-American and unconstitutional, such laws violate the separation of church and state, it is expensive, destroys lives, it encourages real crimes, it corrupts law enforcement, and it promotes organized crime. It is certainly true that most cases of law enforcement corruption do tend to involve consensual crime, but should preventing potential police corruption play a role in determining what behaviors should be illegal? Would police corruption be reduced, for example, if prostitution were legal? Drugs?

Pornography? The correct answer probably is, who knows? Many of these crimes are legal in other countries and in some places in the United States.

If one believes that all legislation (i.e., all laws) is morality driven, then creating crime legislation is not only constitutional but also necessary and unavoidable. There is no question that having laws reduces the frequency of the illegal behavior. With respect to victimless crimes, it is often argued that people will commit the crime anyway, so why make it illegal? Although this argument is true, there are also laws against murder, and yet people commit murder, as well as rape, burglary, auto theft, and the like. Should we make everything legal so as to avoid the multitude of costs associated with enforcing the law? The idea of consensual crimes is an emotional issue, which is made all the more so if one considers homosexuality and abortion.

Oftentimes, the arguments for and against rely more on emotion than anything else. In 2009, for example, the city of San Francisco is considering legalizing prostitution. For many, this is a sign of change and hope for women; for others, it is just San Francisco being San Francisco, again emotion more than anything else. With regard to prostitution, the woman may be a victim, but whether she chooses to engage in that activity is not always easy to identify. Similarly, can one choose to be a victim? People like McWilliams would certainly agree that they can; Frank Turek and Norman Geisler would argue that they cannot (or perhaps even should not).

One might think that the argument of consensual crimes turns on one's political ideology with those leaning right being in favor of legalization and those leaning left against legalization. Although that is generally the case, the issue of substance abuse is one example where conservatives and liberals are in favor of legalization. Clearly the lines for and against consensual crimes seem blurred depending on which crime is being discussed.

There are alternatives to criminal justice intervention in victimless crimes. Prostitution, for example, could be legalized, traced, and regulated, which is the situation in Nevada. Many drug-related issues could be moved into the medical realm where treatment would be available. Clearly, this is the case with drug courts where criminal justice and health services are merged in generally good ways.

These alternatives have the obvious benefit of removing a problem from the criminal justice

realm. Prison overcrowding, overburdened courts, and levels of official corruption would all be lessened. However, for those supportive of laws that enforce a moral standard, these alternatives are clearly an official sanction for an objectionable behavior (and what the state should be doing). The short-term interest in saying no has outweighed the long-term potential for significant reductions in the behaviors.

Additionally, alternatives to criminal justice intervention are not free. The medical treatment for drug-related problems is expensive. Costs would have to be paid for by taxes, insurance, and possibly cuts in state budgets to include criminal justice. Prostitution is perhaps easier—legalization can include taxes, licensing fees, and so on. Requirements that prostitutes be frequently tested for sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS may also result in a decrease in the spread of disease and therefore a decrease in associated medical costs.

Whether something should be a crime or not is the purview of a state legislature. As such, it seems reasonable that each state should decide for themselves which consensual crimes should be criminal. Of course, this means that what might be a crime in one state might not be a crime in another. For some, this is a fundamental constitutional issue. For others, we must have federal laws to protect us from ourselves. The arguments on both sides are reasonable as are most of the arguments for and against consensual crimes. What will happen in the future is difficult to predict, although no immediate evidence suggests that any of these crimes will be legalized on a widespread basis. The arguments for and against will no doubt continue.

Jeffrey P. Rush and Lorie Rubenser

See also Sex and Victimization; Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Sexual Victimization; Substance Use and Victimization

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VICTIM–OFFENDER MEDIATION

Victim–offender mediation (VOM) is a restorative justice approach that brings together the victim and offender for a face-to-face meeting in the presence of a mediator. VOMs allow those most directly affected by a crime the opportunity to share their stories and have their voices heard while working toward a mutually agreeable solution or reparations when appropriate. VOM is distinguished from a more traditional settlement-driven approach to conflict whereby certain outcomes, including restitution, are emphasized. As described by Mark Umbreit, VOM is considered a type of humanistic-driven mediation that focuses on creating dialog with an emphasis on healing, accountability, and restoration. VOM programs are currently one of the most widely used restorative justice practices in the United States. The restorative justice paradigm views crime as a violation not only of the law but also of the relationships between members of communities. Although VOM generally involves three groups of individuals, which includes the victim, the offender, and a mediator (usually a trained volunteer), it is not limited to only those individuals. In cases with more than one victim or offender, multiple parties may be involved in the mediation process. Mediations may also include support persons for the victim and/or offender as well as community members.

Prevalence of Programs

VOM programs are one of the most popular restorative justice practices in the United States. Umbreit, Betty Vos, Robert Coates, and Katherine Brown estimate that more than 300 VOM programs exist in the United States, and more than 1,000 programs are in use in other nations. After its inception, VOM was used almost exclusively

with juvenile offenders who had committed relatively minor, nonviolent offenses, in most cases misdemeanors. For example, in the 1970s in Kitchener, Ontario, in one of the first mediations of its kind, youths who went on a vandalism spree were ordered to meet with those individuals and businesses whose property they had damaged. Whereas today VOM is still widely used with nonviolent juveniles as a diversionary option or alternative to other correctional sanctions, these types of mediations are used increasingly with adult offenders as well as individuals who have committed serious and violent offenses. Now, many programs bring together victims and offenders who have experienced violent crime, including homicide, in a face-to-face meeting. These types of mediations offer victims and offenders the opportunity to speak to each other in a way generally not allowed or even discouraged within the criminal justice system. Mediations involving serious violence are almost always initiated by a victim or family member of a deceased victim.

Elements

Victim–offender mediation programs exist under a variety of names. Some of the first programs bringing together victims and offenders were known as victim–offender reconciliation programs. Some programs today still use this title to describe the mediation process. However, not all were comfortable with the faith-based concept of reconciliation, which implied forgiveness between parties. Mediations are now more often referred to as victim–offender dialog, victim–offender conferencing, and of course victim–offender mediation. Although not all VOM programs look alike, most mediations share some core elements. And even though there is much focus on the face-to-face encounter between the victim and offender, VOM programs should be thought of not as a singular event but as a process. Umbreit, Coates, and Vos describe similar elements and phases within the mediation process. First, cases are generally referred to mediation through the courts, probation departments, police, or other community organizations or agencies. Mediations may also be initiated when a crime victim requests a meeting with an offender. Once a case is referred or mediation is requested, a trained mediator is assigned and all potential participants in the

process are contacted. The element of voluntary participation is important in this process. Because the decision to seek mediation is often left to criminal justice officials, it is important that both victim and offender agree to participate voluntarily and are comfortable engaging in the process.

The next stage, preparation, involves prepping the individuals participating in the mediation for the actual face-to-face meeting. During this stage, the mediator talks with both the victim and offender about the mediation process. This session helps to provide a better understanding of the purposes of mediation and answers any questions people have about the meeting. Preparation is an extremely important component of the process. Participants must understand its structure and purpose, and this stage allows both victims and offenders the opportunity to ask questions about how things will go. It is not uncommon for individuals to feel anxious or nervous about the face-to-face meeting, and the preparation stage allows individuals an opportunity to discuss their concerns. This stage can last anywhere from a few hours to a year or more, which often depends on the seriousness of the offense.

During the actual mediation session, the victim and the offender are seated in the same room. In most cases, this is the first chance for those intimately involved to discuss the crime directly. For victims, this may be the first time they are allowed to describe the harm they experienced to the individual who harmed them. For offenders, it is an opportunity to listen and speak directly to the victim. The purpose of the session is not to place blame or determine guilt but to promote dialog between the parties. The session is an opportunity for both the victim and offender to tell their stories in a safe environment. Together, they might come to an agreed-on outcome like restitution payments, depending on the type of crime committed. After the session has ended, the process is not over. Mediations include a follow-up session that allows individuals involved in the session an opportunity to discuss any problems or concerns that remain, as well as their overall feelings about the meeting. This follow-up can be thought of as a general “checking in” of sorts. Mediation staff can assess how restitution or other agreeable solutions are being met. At this time, the principals may be referred to other service providers for additional support.

An Evidence-Based Practice

VOM programs are an empirically grounded practice and thus a significant body of research focuses on these programs. Research has examined why people participate, client satisfaction rates, and common outcomes related to mediations. Victims and offenders often differ in their reasons for participation. As described, some mediations are mandated or provided as an alternative to a more traditional criminal justice process, whereas others are requested by the victim. Victims who choose to participate do so for a variety of reasons and motivations, such as follows: to tell their story, to hold the offender accountable for his or her actions, to seek restitution, or to seek answers to questions. Offenders also express a variety of motivations that may be influenced or mediated by the level of voluntariness they are afforded. Many describe a desire to take responsibility for their actions, to speak directly to victims, to tell their side of the story, to avoid court, to relieve feelings of guilt, or to give something back to the victim or victim’s family.

The reported levels of satisfaction for these types of programs are generally high. A significant portion of those who participate in VOM express high levels of satisfaction with the process and with the outcomes achieved. Furthermore, those who do participate in VOM are more likely to feel satisfied with the criminal justice process when compared with those who do not. Victims report feeling less fearful and less angry after being part of the mediation. Offenders also express positive benefits from their involvement in mediation, and victims and offenders alike describe a sort of humanizing experience, getting to know the other individual as a person. Victims and offenders are often asked about their perceptions of fairness, which includes how they felt about the mediation overall. Most victims and offenders report feelings of fairness. These types of mediations have also been evaluated for their potential to influence recidivism. Studies in this regard show their promise. In a meta-analysis of VOM programs, Umbreit, Coates, and Vos found that mediations are at least as effective, and in some cases more effective, in reducing recidivism when compared with traditional criminal justice options.

A Critical Analysis

Although an abundance of literature speaks to the positive effects of VOM, this process has not been without its critics. Perhaps the most important issue for consideration is the voluntary nature of the process. It is important that neither the victim nor the offender feel coerced to participate and that the mediation itself be fully voluntary to be truly restorative. If a victim feels pressured to participate, then significant potential exists for that person to feel revictimized. Offenders may also feel coerced to participate when they are offered mediation as an alternative to probation or more severe criminal justice sanctions. Special attention must be paid to juveniles who are even more susceptible to coercion by the state, in particular because of the power imbalance between young and old. Furthermore, participation is a highly selective process. Umbreit, Coates, and Vos note that on average, 40% to 60% of victims given the opportunity to participate in mediation do not. Therefore, the individuals who do opt to participate in the process may be unique from those that do not; this area needs more research.

Another important concern focuses on who retains “ownership” of the process and the programs of which they are a part. Many programs operate within traditional criminal justice systems, which raises questions about the truly restorative nature of such mediations. Finally, more research is needed to understand how offenders’ needs are met in these situations. Despite any critiques leveled at it, VOM remains a promising and viable alternative to the traditional criminal justice system where victims and offenders can share their stories.

Christine Englebrecht

See also Family Group Conferencing; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Peacemaking/Sentencing Circles; Peer Mediation; Restorative Justice; Victim Impact Statements

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VICTIMOLOGY

For years, people who were interested in criminology and criminal justice riveted their attention on offenders. Criminologists, on the one hand, tried to determine why people broke the law and examined the nature of those transgressions. Criminal justices, on the other hand, focused more on the ways the authorities reacted to crime and how violators were processed through the system. One might characterize both of these orientations more aptly as “offenderology,” or the study of offenders.

Over time, a new orientation began to unfold. This perspective shifted attention away from the offender and turned instead to the forgotten side of the criminal dyad: the victim. Every crime, by definition, has a criminal and also a victim. Proponents claimed that criminology and criminal justice inadvertently had become too exclusive and overly

myopic. Among other things, academicians had overlooked the victim as a worthy subject to study.

Academic materials and college courses in victimology, or the study of victims, simply did not exist in the mid-1960s. Today, library shelves contain a handsome collection of books dealing with a host of victimological issues. Mainstream journals routinely devote space to the study of victims and several specialty journals have emerged. Many college campuses now have courses that explore victim concerns, and some institutions even offer majors in victim services. Paralleling this academic development is the provision of direct services to victims. Victim advocates provide much needed assistance to help ameliorate the suffering that victims endure. Several states require service providers to complete specific training modules before they can become credentialed as victim advocates. In short, the victims' rights movement has achieved significant strides in a relatively short period of time.

The purpose of this entry is to introduce several key developments in the growth of victimology and victim services. The first portion is devoted to academic matters. There, we will visit the contributions that some of the early pioneers made and explain how the field began to take shape. Although prominent people made thoughtful contributions to the field, only a handful are presented here. The second part visits the victims' justice movement. It shows how grassroots efforts heightened public awareness of various social problems, molded the development of social services, and became an integral part of the landscape.

The Academic Portion

This section examines the contributions of selected academicians that gave rise to a focus on victims. Whereas many people were instrumental in steering this development, only a handful of those key actors can be highlighted here.

Hans von Hentig

One of the earliest forays into the study of crime victims came when the German scholar Hans von Hentig published the book *The Criminal and His Victim* in 1948. Transposing the preoccupation with criminals and the lack of emphasis on victims, von Hentig wondered what made people criminals.

Through this insightful move, von Hentig switched the issue to what made people victims. This simple, but brilliant, move spawned a whole new orientation.

The key ingredient, according to von Hentig's formulation, was the *criminal-victim dyad*. What was the symbiotic relationship between the criminal and his or her prey? von Hentig quickly came to the realization that not all victims were completely innocent of any wrongdoing. Sometimes, they took the role of an *agent provocateur*. In other words, they shared a certain degree of complicity with the offender. By naïvely subscribing to the labels of victim and criminal, it was easy for one to overlook the contribution victims had made to their own plights.

Although von Hentig emphasized the dynamics that underscored the criminal-victim dyad, he soon realized that not all victims were actively involved in their victimization. This awareness propelled von Hentig to develop a typology that focused on individual characteristics. Hence, von Hentig devised a series of categories that described typical victims. Some of his formulations included young persons, women, the elderly, immigrants, people with diminished mental capacities, wanton persons, and so forth. A common trait was that these people, for a variety of reasons, lacked the ability to mount a formidable defense to protect themselves. In other words, they were vulnerable specimens.

Unfortunately, von Hentig's work was not immediately accessible to American scholars. World War II blocked many scholarly interchanges between the United States and Europe. As a result, his ideas lacked circulation until a refugee found safe passage to America.

Stephen Schafer

Stephen Schafer was a university law professor in Hungary. When the Russian army invaded that country during the late 1950s, Schafer and his family feared for their safety and well-being. They fled Hungary right before the Communist "Iron Curtain" fell, separating the East from the West.

Schafer left all his books and papers behind when he immigrated to England. Already a speaker of multiple languages, Schafer eventually became fluent in English. He relocated to the United States where he held a brief faculty appointment at Florida State University and then at Ohio University

before settling into an academic position at Northeastern University. These experiences, coupled with his familiarity with von Hentig's work, helped mold Schafer's outlook.

Schafer penned a book, *The Victim and His Criminal*, in which he introduced American readers to von Hentig's formulations and expanded on those ideas. According to Schafer, the criminal-victim relationship is steeped in gradations surrounding the notion of "functional responsibility." Functional responsibility refers to the degree to which the victim contributed to the underlying dynamics of the episode. Functional responsibility can range from a complete lack of involvement, to partial triggering of an incident, to full immersion. Although he incorporated some of von Hentig's categories into his classification, Schafer also added a new grouping that he called "the political victim." Understandably, oppression because of one's political beliefs would become the subject of his next book.

Marvin E. Wolfgang

While he was a faculty member at the University of Pennsylvania, Marvin E. Wolfgang undertook, what was for those days, an immense empirical examination of homicide events. Wolfgang extracted information from the Philadelphia police case files for all deadly encounters that took place in that city from 1948 through 1952. Being one of the earliest empirical analyses in criminology, his 1958 book *Patterns in Criminal Homicide* attracted immediate widespread attention.

Like his predecessors, Wolfgang was interested in what role, if any, the victim played in causing his or her own demise. Consequently, he wanted to examine the notion of *victim precipitation*. In other words, how was the victim, if at all, responsible for the victimization episode? Wolfgang operationalized this concept by noting whether the victim instigated the event by displaying a weapon, throwing the first punch, or otherwise provoking the violent exchange. Altogether, 26% of the homicide cases in the Philadelphia files were determined to be victim precipitated when applying this referent.

Although primitive by today's standards, a subsequent statistical analysis set the tone for a fuller understanding of homicide. Three conditions quickly emerged from the data that remain true even today. First, many victims and offenders

knew each other prior to the lethal encounter. That finding contradicted the common perception that the typical homicide was a stranger-to-stranger occurrence. Second, more often than not, the death was the culmination of a series of steps that grew more aggressive. What started out as a minor matter escalated into a more heated confrontation and, ultimately, burst out of control. Third, alcohol consumption, by either or both parties, was a common denominator. However, it was not clear whether inebriated combatants were so belligerent that they rashly overstepped social boundaries or whether they were so impaired that they physically could not mount a suitable defense.

In any event, whereas earlier typologies were organized around the pivotal concept of victim precipitation, Wolfgang's research empirically grounded this concept for the first time. It seemed that victim precipitation might be just the portal for which victimologists had been searching.

Menachem Amir

Menachem Amir was a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania and conducted his dissertation research under the tutelage of Marvin Wolfgang. Amir adopted his mentor's methodology and extended Wolfgang's approach to understanding homicide by conducting a parallel analysis of forcible rape incidents. Amir accessed the Philadelphia police investigative records and gathered data for the 1958–1960 interval. When Amir published his dissertation in book format in 1971, he attempted to draw an explicit connection to Wolfgang's earlier work by titling his study *Patterns in Forcible Rape*.

Amir crafted his definition of victim precipitation after Wolfgang's lead. If the victim at first seemed to consent to an amorous liaison but then later withdrew her permission, the incident was deemed to be victim precipitated. Using dicey or risqué language, wearing provocative or revealing clothing, having a reputation as a "bad" woman, and other indecencies became indicators of victim instigation. In all, 19% of the rape cases came under the rubric of victim-precipitated incidents. Tracking Wolfgang's lead, victim consumption of alcohol was a major factor.

Amir alleged that some victims in his study had a psychological desire to be raped. This bald assertion

prompted considerable outrage and critics unleashed a barrage of angry criticisms. As a result of this hostile reception, many victimologists shied away from this entire line of research. If up until this point the field had relied heavily on the concept of victim precipitation, its future development was now in serious question.

Benjamin Mendelsohn

Some observers refer to Benjamin Mendelsohn as the “father of victimology.” Mendelsohn was a practicing attorney in Israel. During the mid-1950s, Mendelsohn used his case files to explore the topic of victim blame. Although he constructed a typology that built on von Hentig’s classification scheme, Mendelsohn made a much larger contribution when he coined the term “general victimology.”

As already noted, the developments associated with the idea of victim precipitation had led victimology down a blind alley. The schisms that formed in the aftermath of Amir’s book left the field fractured and disoriented. Questions arose as to whether victimology was merely a subarea of criminology or if it was a genuine discipline in its own right. And, there was the question of what was the proper scope of victimology. There was some concern that the field had exhausted itself and had been merely a passing fad. In short, a broader unifying scheme was needed.

A group of victimologists convened an international conference in Bellagio, Italy, during the summer of 1975. It was there that Mendelsohn unveiled his concept of “general victimology” in an effort to break new ground and to stake out a claim as to its intellectual legitimacy.

According to Mendelsohn, the overall purpose of victimology is to understand the causes of victimization, to devise appropriate prevention strategies, and to investigate effective remedies or healing options. To establish a more inclusive framework, Mendelsohn conceived of general victimology as consisting of five major categories of victims. His proposal included the following dimensions:

- Victims of crime
- Victims of oneself
- Victims of the social environment
- Victims of technology
- Victims of the natural environment

The first category, victims of crime, is self-explanatory. It refers to the typical subject matter that victimologists were pursuing already. The second grouping, self-victimization, encompasses the harm that individuals can cause themselves. Suicide would be a prime example of a pertinent topic in this vein. The third entry, victims of the social environment, examines inequities perpetuated by the social structure. Discrimination based on race, sex, or age would be a relevant concern. Genocide and war crimes would constitute additional examples. The fourth aspect embodies victims of technology. Although innovations generally improve the quality of life, they also carry latent, or unintended, consequences. Transportation improvements can spawn dire consequences, such as accidents, loss of life, and property destruction. Industrial pollution and the side effects associated with advances in medicine or surgical procedures would be additional examples. Finally, victims of the natural environment (flooding, monsoons, tornados, earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes, famine, drought, pestilence, and the like) constitute the last category.

No matter which victim category researchers concentrate on, they tend to pursue four core lines of inquiry. A primary focus is how the legal system and people define victims. The second element is the application of these definitions, by victims and by other actors, that captures additional interest. The third avenue deals with postvictimization reactions of sufferers and the needs that these persons typically exhibit. The last area incorporates the systematic responses that are in place for handling victims, their concerns, and the healing process.

Victimologists emerged from the Bellagio meeting with a renewed sense of purpose and greater clarity as to the direction in which the field was headed. However, this academic orientation in and of itself was not enough to sustain this fledgling discipline. It would take practitioners and their grassroots efforts to show how the application of this new body of knowledge was valuable.

The Grassroots Portion

This section examines the contributions that stemmed from direct service providers and legal reforms. These topics include victim compensation, the women’s movement, the children’s movement, national efforts to promote

victim services, and the potpourri of forces that propelled victim justice.

Victim Compensation Legislation

The practice of victim compensation made its formal appearance during the mid-1960s. New Zealand began such an initiative in 1963, and Great Britain debuted its program the following year. Spurred by the 1967 President's Commission, interest in victim compensation began to attract legislative attention in the United States. California was the first state to establish a program of this type. Today, all 50 states offer a victim compensation program.

Victim compensation and offender restitution are two related, but distinct, forms of remuneration. *Offender restitution* occurs when the offender reimburses the victim for damages incurred as a result of the victimization incident. *Victim compensation* is a slightly different method for channeling money to victims. Here it is the state, not the offender, who provides financial assistance to the injured party. Victim compensation is also reserved for violent crime victims.

Two different compelling arguments are presented for why the state should compensate crime victims. The first platform is the *social contract* position. The thinking here is that government is the exclusive provider of many services, particularly crime control and public safety. Citizens subsidize these activities by paying taxes. Whenever people are victimized through no fault of their own, government has failed to abide by its implicit agreement to serve and protect the citizenry. Hence, there is a moral responsibility to restore injured parties back to their previctimization status.

The second position emphasizes the *social welfare* responsibility of government. Government strives to ensure a minimum quality of life for disabled persons and other unfortunate members of society. Whenever people become victimized, they endure needless suffering and other deprivations. As a result, government should intervene and assist these downtrodden citizens.

Another thread connects the academic developments in victimology with victim services. Many compensation programs borrow a page from the victim-precipitation line of thinking presented earlier in this entry. Specifically, victims are not eligible for state reimbursement if they share culpability

for the crime. For example, the crook who is shot during a robbery attempt or somebody who instigates an altercation and becomes injured during the event are patently ineligible for a compensation payment. Thus, provocation typically renders one ineligible for compensation.

Many victim compensation programs contain other provisions regarding the victim-offender relationship. Specifically, they restrict eligibility to parties who are not related to each other, are not engaged in a sexual relationship, and do not live together in the same household. Of course, these rules placed situations involving intimate partner violence beyond consideration. As our understanding of the dynamics underlying domestic violence grew, lobbying efforts from the women's movement relaxed these restrictions whenever doing so would serve the best interests of justice.

The Women's Movement

The women's movement coalesced around two fronts during the 1960s and 1970s. The first concern addressed rape and sexual battery reforms. Rape reform advocates had identified a number of inequities in how rape laws were worded and how they were applied. The second area was spouse abuse and the system's response to this problem.

Today's standard of sexual battery or sexual assault has replaced the older offense of forcible rape. The common-law definition of rape consisted of carnal knowledge of a female by a male, who was not married to the victim, with force, and against the victim's will. Several considerations were made here. First, the sexist terminology defined women as the only possible victims and men as the only possible offenders. Second, the unlawful act was restricted to just vaginal intercourse and omitted other forms of degradation. Third, husbands were immune from prosecution. Fourth, the issue of physical force overlooked situations such as date rape. Finally, the presence of physical injuries played a critical role in determining lack of consent.

Reformers also lobbied for other statutory changes. First, rape was a capital punishment and carried a death sentence. Many juries were reluctant to convict unless the evidence was compelling. A severely injured victim was all too often the minimum threshold. Second, there was some indication that Black persons received harsher sentences

than White defendants, especially when the victim was of the opposite race (see, for example, the United States Supreme Court decision *Furman v. Georgia*, 408 U.S. 238 [1972]). Finally, some rape statutes required the victim be of “chaste character.” This stipulation invited the defense strategy of impugning the victim’s allegation by perusing past relationships in an effort to besmirch her reputation.

New legislation addressed these issues. In addition to recasting rape as the crime of sexual assault, the punishments were realigned so as to parallel existing aggravated battery provisions. Shield provisions were enacted to prevent overly intrusive expeditions that invaded victim privacy.

The second avenue involved spouse abuse. Advocates worked hard to make the public more aware of the sordid events that transpired between couples behind closed doors. Rather than portraying intimate violence as an anomaly, they showed it as an ordinary and routine cultural practice rooted in male domination. Lenore Walker’s portrayal of *learned helplessness* and the *cycle of violence* accomplished many things. For one thing, it demonstrated why spouse battering was an episodic occurrence. More important, it offered a rational response to the question of why battered women simply did not leave their abusers and walk away. Finally, it paved the way for “The Minneapolis Experiment” and the many reforms that came in its wake.

The Children’s Movement

Child abuse did not gain formal recognition until the mid-1960s. Although maltreatment certainly existed in those days, medical personnel could not recognize what they saw. Diagnostic breakthroughs by pediatric radiologists eventually led to the discovery of child abuse. In 1962, Dr. Henry Kempe unveiled a new phrase *the battered-child syndrome* to identify physical injuries inflicted on a child by a parent or caregiver.

Mounting recognition of child maltreatment as a serious problem prompted the passage of state laws during the 1970s condemning child abuse and child neglect. *Abuse* refers to the commission of an act on a child, whereas *neglect* pertains to the omission or withholding of food, clothing, shelter, or medical attention. These legislative efforts also relaxed the doctor–patient privileged relationship,

established mandatory reporting laws, provided a good faith exemption, expanded protective custody powers, and instituted central registers.

The campaign to combat child maltreatment acquired several tools in its arsenal. Under normal conditions, the doctor–patient relationship is a *privileged relationship*. In other words, what transpires between a doctor and the patient is private and confidential. Physicians are not allowed to disclose any information to outside parties without the patient’s prior approval. *Mandatory reporting laws* stipulate that members of certain professions have the legal obligation to notify the authorities of any instances of suspected child maltreatment. Doctors, nurses, dentists, and teachers are required to contact the police if they come across indications of abuse or neglect. State legislatures, in an attempt to promote widespread reporting, established the *good faith* standard. Should a person call the authorities about a possible child abuse situation and the ensuing investigation does not find substantiating evidence, the reporter cannot be sued as long as he or she made the report out of genuine concern for the child’s well-being and without any malice.

Protective custody occurs when a government agent removes a child from the home without the parent’s or guardian’s permission and without a court order. State statutes empower law enforcement officers and caseworkers to take immediate custody of a child who is in danger of abuse or neglect and transport that minor to a safe location. Any siblings present in the household who are thought to be in jeopardy can also be seized. A court hearing to determine whether this removal was a reasonable course of action will follow this action.

Another legislative innovation was the creation of a *central register* or a tracking system that housed information regarding allegations of child maltreatment. Emergency room physicians, social workers, and police officers could access these files to determine whether there have been prior instances of abuse involving the child, siblings, or family members.

Promoting Victim Services

The federal government, via its now-defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) arm, provided seed money to underwrite

the implementation of victim and witness assistance programs in local prosecutor offices. The goal was to fund fully fledgling programs in the first year and then provide decreasing amounts of money during the next 3 to 4 years. The idea was to get these activities up and running so they could prove themselves to the local community, become absorbed into the mainstream, and go on to become self-sufficient offices.

A second strategy was aimed at coalition building. Washington used grants to encourage the development of service-provider alliances within various states. It was during this time, for example, that the Florida Network of Victim/Witness Services was founded and became an incorporated entity. The goals of this organization were to advocate for victims, establish lines of communication between victim and witness service programs within the state, provide technical support to these programs, train service providers, and support legislative and educational initiatives. Similar bodies sprung up in various other states, creating a honeycomb.

The need for some type of overarching organization that spanned the states became quickly evident. The National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA), which was founded in 1975, intended to close this gap and provide a guiding light. The purpose of this group was to promote victim rights and services. Victim compensation, victim impact statements, victim rights amendments, the establishment of a victim rights week, the provision of training and support to victim advocates, and other concerns provided rallying points. Interestingly, although NOVA was originally founded with crime victims in mind, the organization has expanded its scope to include crisis response to victims of natural and technological disasters. Thinking back to the first part of this essay, this revamped orientation is in line with Mendelsohn's vision for a general victimology.

Other Developments

Many other allied developments drew attention to and kindled greater interest in victim issues. The National Opinion Research Center's foray into victimization surveys appeared in the 1967 President's Commission Report and paved the way for subsequent victimization surveys. A national program to conduct an ongoing series of victim surveys, an

effort that still continues today, came into being. President Reagan empanelled the Task Force on Victims of Crime and that body completed its work in 1982. A follow-up report by the Department of Justice in 1986 kept the spotlight centered on compliance with the Task Force's recommendations. The Minneapolis Experiment, which was reported in 1984, examined appropriate police practices when investigating spouse abuse, ignited a national debate, and spawned policy changes. The terms *posttraumatic stress disorder* and *battered woman's syndrome* gained acceptance in the legal and therapeutic lexicons. Passage of federal legislation, recognition of the problem of runaway children and missing persons, increased attention to the fear of crime among the elderly, a burgeoning incidence of homicide, school violence, sentencing reform, and a host of other concerns quickly captivated the attention of the American public. This sentiment became the foundation for a mounting wave of support for crime victims. As one can observe, the victims' justice movement helped usher in victimology as a valid and worthy enterprise.

Summary

Both the academic and the practitioner worlds have nurtured victimology throughout its embryonic stages. This mutually beneficial conflux has enabled a deeper understanding of the trials and tribulations that engulf victims and their loved ones in the pursuit of that elusive goal known as justice.

William G. Doerner

See also Comparative Victimology; Early Victimization Theories; Feminist Victimology; Future of Victimology; Homicide, Victim-Precipitated; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Victim Precipitation; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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- American Society of Victimology: <http://www.american-society-victimology.us>
- International Victimology Web site: <http://www.victimology.nl>
- National Organization for Victim Assistance: <http://www.trynova.org>
- National Victims' Constitutional Amendment Passage: <http://www.nvcan.org>
- Office of the Attorney General of Florida, Crime Victims' Services: <http://myfloridalegal.com/agunits>
- World Society of Victimology: <http://www.worldsocietyofvictimology.org>

VICTIMOLOGY AND CRIME PREVENTION IN COMIC BOOKS

It has often been said that art imitates life, and today's popular culture and media is a reflection of that. In other words, popular media (cinema, television, radio, online publications, and print media) frequently reflects ideas and subjects taken directly from mainstream society. One of the more popular subjects for media focus is the criminal justice system. Studies have shown that movies, television shows, and numerous forms of print media often attempt to reflect both the actions and ideologies

of the criminal justice system and its members. One genre of popular media that is heavily based on the criminal justice system is comic books and graphic novels. Comic books and graphic novels often contain characters and/or storylines that emphasize themes of crime and justice, including victimization and crime prevention.

Definitions and Brief History

Comic books are typically short (e.g., 40 pages or fewer) paperback books or magazines that contain narratives, dialog, and artwork. They are often published as a series and printed on a monthly or bimonthly basis. Graphic novels are typically either extended versions of comic books—meaning they contain more pages than a typical comic book—or reprinted collections from a large series of comic books. They may contain independent storylines (e.g., *Watchmen*, *Sin City*, and *Wanted*) or reprints of short-run storylines from major comic book series (e.g., *Batman*, *Spider-Man*, *Hellboy*, and *Goon*).

Although made most famous with the introduction of superhero (e.g., *Superman*) storylines, comic books have been published for more than 150 years. Early in the 20th century, comic book writers began to focus heavily on themes of crime and justice, often developing series that reflected events from the headlines of the time (e.g., *Dick Tracy*, *Green Hornet*, and *Police Comics*). However, it was with the development and introduction of superhero comics (e.g., *Action Comics*, *Captain Marvel*, and *Detective Comics*) that the image of the comic book crime fighter was permanently instilled into mainstream society. These images and themes have penetrated even more into American society with the increased popularity of television shows (e.g., *Smallville*) and movies (e.g., *The Dark Knight* and *Superman Returns*) based on their comic book counterparts.

Themes of Crime and Justice

Most modern comic books focus on crime fighting as their central theme. Although in some instances it may be more evident or developed than in others, comic book heroes have their own unique philosophy, motivation, and brand of justice. After careful examination, examples of Herbert Packer's

conceptions of due process and crime control can be found throughout various comic series. However, crime control is undoubtedly the more dominant concept, with many characters adopting the mentality that the ends justify the means. Whether portrayed as the “All-American Hero,” the “Outspoken Tough Guy,” or the “Lone Vigilante,” nearly all comic heroes are driven to protect the innocent and stop the criminal.

Themes of Victimization

With few exceptions, the virtuosity and courage of comic heroes is reflected in the immoral and ruthless behavior of the villain(s). As a result, comic villains often perform extremely vile acts. Whereas property crimes (e.g., burglary and robbery) are sometimes committed, comic villains most often perform violent acts (e.g., murder and assault). In fact, the most popular comic villains (e.g., Lex Luthor and the Joker) are known for committing horrific and grotesque acts of violence—including mass murder, torture, and rape.

Most often, the victims of crime in comics are ordinary citizens who are in the wrong place at the wrong time. Paralleling reality, victims are frequently young males who are victimized during the course of their daily routine activities. Women and children are much less frequently portrayed as victims, typically used only to depict truly evil villains. In a small percentage of instances, small time offenders become victims of the more powerful villains. To extend the image of the evil villain, police officers and other criminal justice personnel are also frequent targets of victimization.

Themes of Crime Prevention

Crime prevention is often the underlying theme in most comic books. Even though the threat of victimization by the antagonists provides for the prospect of crime prevention, it is *prevention* itself in various forms that takes center stage. Crime prevention in comic books is portrayed in several ways—including preventing criminal acts, protecting the innocent, and even protecting criminals from other criminals.

Although investigative techniques are frequently illustrated, more often than not, a brute force intervention is used as the key means of crime prevention.

Focused almost exclusively on the ends, rather than the means, many comic heroes resort to use of force or violence to apprehend criminals. Frequently, this use of force is depicted as legitimate or justified given the situation; however, many times the protagonist uses excessive force or violence to prevent more serious crimes from occurring. Although a seemingly slanted view of crime prevention, this representation is similar to that often echoed by members of the general public.

Role in Criminology

Comic books and graphic novels, which are a neglected element in scholarly analyses of depictions of crime and justice in popular culture, often reflect societal conceptions of criminal justice. In fact, comics and graphic novels often serve as one of the initial representations of the criminal justice system for many children. This form of media has a long tradition of storytelling in which themes of victimization, crime prevention, and other criminal justice issues are depicted. As a result, its place in criminology should not be overlooked.

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See also Crime Prevention; Crime Time Television Shows; Media Coverage of Victims; Victimology

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VICTIM PRECIPITATION

Researchers trying to understand criminal behavior have typically focused on the offender. With the advent of victimization surveys, however, attention turned to considering the role of the victim, and now, many scholars believe that no explanation of crime would be complete without a consideration of the victim's involvement. In 1958, Marvin Wolfgang began examining the relationship between victims and offenders in homicide incidents and introduced the term *victim precipitation* to reflect those incidents in which the victim played an active role in the outcome. The term *victim precipitation* has been defined and used in various ways since it was first introduced, and some of those definitions and applications have raised a great deal of controversy in terms of understanding and characterizing the victim's role. Although often criticized as victim blaming, the consideration of victim involvement in violence remains an important research direction.

Defining Victim Precipitation

As early as 1914, researchers were discussing the idea that some homicide victims may have provoked the attack that led to their own death. Victim provocation, which generally refers to a legal consideration of whether the victim overtly provoked the criminal act, is also a well-established concept in criminal law. The idea that victims might provoke their own victimization has legal implications for determining the offender's level of criminal responsibility or the appropriate sanction for a given offense. Establishing provocation from a legal stance typically involves considering the mind-set of the offender and his or her level of self-restraint. Commonly equated with a "heat of passion" defense, the legal concept of victim provocation suggests that offenders cannot control their actions because of a perceived slight by the victim. There is a clear focus on the offender's interpretation of the victim's behavior as provoking a justifiable response. A legal judgment that the victim somehow provoked the incident may provide some excuse or justification for the offender's behavior, resulting in charge or sentence reductions (e.g., conviction for manslaughter

rather than murder or receiving a more lenient sentence).

In his 1948 book, *The Criminal and His Victim*, Hans von Hentig commented that, although the final outcome may look one sided, many criminal incidents may be characterized by a mutuality of behavior or an interplay between the victim and offender that helps determine the final outcome. In other words, the victim may often be a primary causative factor in how a criminal incident unfolds. von Hentig criticized the legal concept of provocation as creating a false dichotomy between offender and victim that cannot deal with the complexity of most criminal incidents. He preferred a more relativistic framework for understanding the relationship between and roles of victim and offender in a given incident, and he identified a category of victims who actively provoked the crime. This early consideration of the relative involvement of victims and offenders paved the way for the development of victim precipitation as an area of research attention in victimology.

In contrast to the clear emphasis on the offender's level of self-control as a result of their subjective interpretation of the victim's behavior in the legal context of victim provocation, victim precipitation relies on a presumably objective analysis of the victim's behavior during the incident. The most well-known definition of victim precipitation was developed by Wolfgang in his seminal study of homicide conducted in the 1950s. Wolfgang argued that, in cases of victim precipitation, the homicide would not have occurred except for the active involvement of the victim. He goes on to specify that victim precipitation in homicide occurs when the victim (i.e., the deceased party) was the first to use physical force during the homicide incident. Other scholars have noted that this definition explicitly points to an active victim whose own willingness to resort to violence brings unintended lethal consequences back on himself or herself. Wolfgang also notes that whereas some cases of victim precipitation may also fulfill the legal requirements for provocation, resulting in reduced charges or sentences, it is not necessary for those legal requirements to be met to determine that victim precipitation has occurred.

Wolfgang provided several examples of homicide incidents from his own research that could be characterized as victim precipitated. In all of these incidents,

the individual who struck the first physical blow was also the one who was killed in the incident. For example, in one case cited in his research, the eventual homicide victim struck another individual several times before that individual retaliated, causing the victim to fall and hit his head, which resulted in his death. In his study of nearly 600 homicide incidents in Philadelphia, Wolfgang identified 26% as being victim precipitated.

Victim precipitation may be considered in conjunction with many existing theories of victimization, including lifestyle/opportunity theories and routine activities theory, which share a focus on exposure to risk as an explanatory factor. Victim precipitation research similarly argues that some individuals put themselves at increased risk of victimization by their own actions or words. The development of the concept demonstrated the importance of understanding victim involvement. During the years, this has come to mean both direct involvement of the victim (i.e., being the primary physical aggressor) and more indirect actions viewed as provoking victimization (e.g., engaging in risky behaviors and leaving property unprotected). With the inclusion of direct and indirect victim behaviors, developing a clear and objective definition of victim precipitation has proven to be a difficult task, especially when the concept is applied beyond homicide to other forms of violence.

Victim Precipitation in Violent Crime

Since the introduction of the term *victim precipitation*, researchers have used several different definitions ranging from narrow, legalistic criteria to extremely broad perceptual characteristics. At the narrowest end of the spectrum, victim precipitation has been considered to occur only in cases of self-defense. Like victim provocation, the determination of self-defense is often a legal one, in which violence may be justified when it is determined to be immediately necessary to protect one's self or others from imminent threat. As an affirmative legal defense accounting for victim precipitation, defendants have the burden of proof to demonstrate that self-defense has occurred. In contrast, broader definitions of victim precipitation are often disconnected from the legal criteria for provocation or self-defense, relying on a consideration of the actions of the victim and offender during a

given incident. Since Wolfgang's original study, researchers have continued to study the presence and characteristics of victim precipitation in homicide incidents and have also applied the concept to other forms of violence.

Defining victim precipitation is most clear in homicide incidents. Studies of criminal homicide have continued to measure victim precipitation by seeking to identify the primary physical aggressor during a given incident. Wolfgang found that more than one fourth of homicides in his study were victim precipitated, and he also presented evidence that victim-precipitated homicides were more likely among an offender and victim with some sort of interpersonal relationship and in situations where the offender was female and the victim (i.e., the deceased party) was male. Other scholars have replicated these results, finding similar rates of victim precipitation in homicide incidents and confirming gender differences in victim precipitation. Research generally concludes that male homicide victims are more likely than female victims to have precipitated their own victimization. In other words, male victims were more often the primary aggressor in the incident leading to their own death. Precipitation is also found to be more common when the victim was using alcohol or had a prior criminal record. Unfortunately, research examining precipitation in homicide incidents reports that there is often not enough information available to make a determination of whether precipitation occurred, resulting in a large proportion of cases classified as unknown.

Despite Wolfgang's specific focus on the victim's primary use of physical force as the determining factor in defining victim-precipitated homicides, subsequent researchers have expanded the definition and applied it to other types of violence. In cases of aggravated assault, victim precipitation has been similarly defined as occurring when the victim was the first to use physical force, but the definition also adds the use of provocative language or gestures on the part of the victim as precipitating factors. Studies using this definition have found that approximately 14% of aggravated assaults can be defined as victim precipitated. As with homicide, however, a determination of victim precipitation is unclear in more than half of the incidents examined.

The definition of *victim precipitation* in cases of robbery and rape is much broader. In robbery

incidents, victim precipitation has been defined as occurring when the victim did not take reasonable steps for self-protection. Studies have indicated that about 10% of robbery incidents are victim precipitated using this definition. Perhaps the broadest definition of victim precipitation has been used in studying rape. One of Wolfgang's students, Menachem Amir, attempted to apply the concept of victim precipitation to rape, defining precipitation as occurring when the victim agreed to sexual relations but changed her mind or did not react strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s). As part of this research, he defined a victim-precipitated rape as occurring when the victim dressed provocatively or had a "bad reputation." With this definition, he concluded that nearly 20% of rapes in his study were victim precipitated. Other studies have limited this definition to some extent, excluding considerations of provocative dress or reputation, and have reported a lower incidence of victim precipitation at about 4%.

As the application and definition of the concept have expanded, serious concerns have been raised about victim blaming. Amir's application of victim precipitation to rape cases, in particular, has been soundly criticized by numerous scholars and clearly equated with victim blaming because of his focus on the offender's interpretation of the victim's behavior and for insinuating that the victim was somehow responsible for his or her own victimization. Feminist scholars were particularly disturbed by Amir's conceptualization of victim precipitation, arguing that he was using rape myths (e.g., having a bad reputation or prior sexual behavior) to justify sexual assault.

Concerns about victim blaming remain a common problem in studies of victim precipitation. In the 1990s, it was suggested that victim precipitation was not well defined from the beginning and that later applications of the concept were problematic and politically untenable. These concerns have hampered the subsequent development of the concept. Scholars have argued, however, that the criticism of victim precipitation should not reflect problems with the concept itself but with how that concept has been measured and applied in some studies. These scholars have advocated for a more narrow and focused definition of the term to refer to those situations in which the victim's actions were a necessary part of the event. In other words,

but for the actions of the victim, the violent incident would not have occurred. Thus, defining precipitation in this way would require a return to Wolfgang's original definition involving the identification of the primary physical aggressor. In fact, researchers have suggested that the concept of victimization may be most applicable to homicide and assault but much less so in cases of robbery and especially rape.

Research on Gender and the Relationship Between Victim and Offender

Researchers have recently expanded on Wolfgang's initial work. His seminal study identified many factors related to victim precipitation, including gender and the relationship between victim and offender. In particular, Wolfgang found that male victims were more likely to have precipitated their own victimization and that homicides between family members or intimates were more likely to involve victim precipitation. These results have several implications for understanding the use of violence in intimate relationships. A recent study examining victim precipitation and intimate homicide examined whether victim precipitation was better accounted for by gender or the nature of the relationship between the parties. Using varying definitions of precipitation, including self-defense and the primary physical aggressor (i.e., the first to use physical violence or brandish a weapon), results found that incidents in which females kill males are much more likely to involve victim precipitation compared with those in which males kill females, regardless of the nature of their relationship. Referred to as a gender-differences model of victim precipitation, the researchers argued that victim-precipitated homicides are most likely when the offender is female because women are generally less violent than men and thus require more motivation (provided by victim precipitation) to commit homicide. As such, it is the gender of the offender and not the relationship between the two that is important.

More recently, this line of research was expanded to examine victim precipitation in nonlethal violence. Again using a definition of precipitation that identified the primary physical aggressor (i.e., the first to use or threaten physical force), research in this area has found that victim-precipitated assaults

were most likely to occur between nonstrangers and between males. Similar to the results with intimate homicide, there was no support for a gender-relationship interaction. Rather, victim-precipitated assault is best explained by a gender differences argument (i.e., incidents involving men are more often characterized by victim precipitation because men are generally more violent than women).

Research that has looked closely at intimate partner violence has generally found that women arrested for assaulting intimates frequently report that their partner had provoked the violence in some way or that they had acted in self-defense. These women intimate partner violence "offenders" seem to be indicating victim precipitation on the part of their "victims" (i.e., their male partners). On the one hand, studies have concluded that the male "victims" in these incidents are more likely to have precipitated their own victimization by initiating the physical violence. On the other hand, female victims are much less likely to initiate the violence in a given domestic assault incident. Thus, victim precipitation may provide new insight into the use of violence among intimates, especially in understanding and explaining differences in male and female use of violence in intimate relationships.

The Current State of Victim Precipitation Research

The existing victim precipitation research, although important in bringing attention to the role of victims, is plagued by several methodological problems. First, most studies do not incorporate statistical controls or multivariate statistics. Studies that rely on official data are hampered by the fact that in a significant portion of the cases, there was not sufficient detail to determine whether the incident was victim precipitated. As such, figures from these studies may grossly underrepresent or overrepresent the extent of victim precipitation. In addition, the reliance of official, police data results in the study of victim precipitation among cases known to the police. It is likely that victim precipitation is also related to the likelihood that a victim will report an incident to the police. If victims feel as if they share some responsibility, then they may be unlikely to involve criminal justice officials, resulting in the underrepresentation of victim-precipitated offenses among police records.

In addition to these concerns, the definition and measurement of the concept of victim precipitation remain problematic. Studies have used direct measures of the primary physical aggressor, but they have also incorporated indirect measures, like a prior history of violence or failure to take adequate precautions to avoid victimization. These indirect measures rest on questionable assumptions that have little bearing on the actual use of violence by the offender and victim in the specific incident being examined. In addition, the use of indirect measures clouds the presumed objectivity of determining whether victim precipitation occurred and raises serious concerns about victim blaming. Because of the amount of criticism that the concept of victim precipitation has received, it is important to clarify the term and to distinguish it from provocation and victim blaming.

With the difficulty in defining and measuring victim precipitation, scholars argue that the phenomenon remains an idea rather than a scientific concept or theory. Future work in this area should try to provide a clear and objective definition that would allow the concept of victim precipitation to be objectively applied and integrated into existing theories of victimization. One step in this direction would be to distinguish the direct and active behavior of the victim (i.e., the initiation of physical violence) from more indirect measures that might better be classified as facilitating (e.g., involvement in risky behaviors). In this way, the concept of victim precipitation allows the researcher to take into consideration situational and contextual factors, providing a richer, more thorough explanation of the criminal event. An inclusion of situational factors into any analysis examining violent incidents should include what active role, if any, the victim played in the evolution of the incident.

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See also Early Victimization Theories; Homicide, Victim-Precipitated; Offending and Victimization; Rape, Victim-Precipitated; Victim Blaming; Victimization, Theories of

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VICTIM SERVICE PROVIDERS, TRAINING OF

The provision of services for crime victims is an integral component of the criminal justice system and is woven throughout networks of community-based providers. Victim services derive from multiple disciplines, including, although not limited to criminal justice, law, social work, psychology, and public health. Included in these services are a range of government, nonprofit, and private stakeholders who work in diverse settings. The training of victim service providers has evolved over time to meet the ever-changing manifestations of victimization. In recent years, victim service providers have made significant efforts at standardizing training procedures and outcomes for their employees. These efforts have been bolstered through federally funded initiatives such as

the U.S. Department of Justice's National Victim Assistance Academy, state victim assistance academies, and the National Victim Assistance Standards Consortium. Such efforts have advanced professionalization within the developing field of victim services beyond piecemeal training to include (1) development of professional standards and (2) comprehensive credentialing programs.

The Formalization of Professional Standards

Early efforts to provide victim services placed a strong emphasis on the experiences of victims of violence coupled with grassroots advocacy. Over time, the efficacy of service responses sometimes encountered challenges because of the divergent perspectives of the field's multiple stakeholders. Professional development specific to victim services was advanced through conference-based workshops, such as those offered through the National Organization of Victim Assistance, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, and the National Center for Victims of Crime (formerly the National Victim Center). Working partnerships were also formed through organizations such as the state and national coalitions against domestic violence and sexual assault, state law enforcement advocacy and prosecution advocacy organizations, the National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Parents of Murdered Children, and the National Organization for Victim Assistance. The structure of these trainings and partnerships developed into more comprehensive models of practice, with multiple training tracks to address the content needs of providers working in varied settings. Professional standards have now become a key aspect of competency-based training as well as academic certificate and degree programs.

Credentialing

A credential is a formal designation given to an individual who has satisfied a set of standards and/or who has demonstrated a level of competency to an authority. Cyril Houle (1980) states that credentialing is a necessary component of any professionalized system. Houle cites the formalization of policing, legal, and educational work groups as examples of this process. To date, credentialing

has been an issue of controversy in the victim services field because few victim assistance providers are currently required to subscribe to a formal code or national set of standards. Several state and nonprofit initiatives have paved the way in the credentialing of victim services providers. For example, the Ohio Advocate Network, which is a multidisciplinary group that includes both public and nonprofit providers, has developed an application-based system that incorporates multiple tiers of credentialing. Having satisfied hourly requirements for base training and continuing education, a victim service provider can earn credentials that include Registered Advocate, Registered Advocate with Advanced Standing, and Registered Advocate with Senior Standing. Some state-based credentialing programs now require public providers to receive training as a contingency for receipt of government monies, either through agency funding or through Victims of Crime Act grant awards (e.g., Florida, California, and Pennsylvania). The state of South Carolina became the first state in the nation to mandate certification and basic training requirements for both government and nonprofit victim service providers.

Because the provision of victim services involves the collaboration of diverse agencies and programs, there has been a strong need for standards to guide provision of victim services. The U.S. Department of Justice funded the National Victim Assistance Standards Consortium to draft model standards that could be adapted to varied victim service settings. These standards were conceptualized via a tripartite scheme including program standards, competency standards, and ethical standards. Program standards are typically used by coalitions, umbrella agencies, and national organizations to regulate the administration of services. Competency standards outline attitudes, knowledge, and skills for individual victim assistance providers and may be used as the basis of learning objectives for training curriculum development. Ethical standards include rules of conduct and values for principled decision making. This typically includes a code of conduct that, according to Houle, formalizes "a broad summary of the moral behavior that is expected of every practitioner and that becomes a guiding though constantly reinterpreted tradition, somewhat like the American Bill of Rights" (pp. 65–66). In some cases, victim service providers

may be required to take an oath to abide by these standards. Ethical standards are frequently used in training, in credentialing programs, and by membership organizations.

According to the Office for Victims of Crime, the field of victim services has moved from a fragmented, primarily advocacy-centered approach response to victimization toward "a full-fledged advocacy and service field dedicated to meeting the physical, financial, and psychological needs of victims and their families" (p. 153). The training of victim-service practitioners has been professionalized through the development of standards as well as comprehensive credentialing programs.

Hayden Smith and Dana DeHart

See also Court Advocates; Physical Health Consequences of Victimization; Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

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Web Sites

- Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/welcovc/welcome.html>

VICTIMS OF POLICE USE OF DEADLY FORCE

Several hundred people die each year in the United States as a result of police interventions. Most of these are lawful uses of deadly force against dangerous criminal suspects. Some are provoked by mentally disturbed or distraught individuals wanting to die, which is known as a suicide-by-cop scenario. Some deaths are unfortunate mistakes of judgment. Others are genuine accidents. Fewer still are criminal abuses of the use-of-force privilege given to the police. Even those killed or injured by police in lawful and justifiable circumstances can be viewed as victims of police use of deadly force.

Some justifiable homicides are *suicide-by-cop* cases. In the 1993 film, *Falling Down*, Michael Douglas plays the role of an out-of-work, aggravated man who brings his life to an end in a suicide-by-cop scenario. Prior to this film, such cases rarely were mentioned but did occur. Now police agencies routinely conduct training to deal with it.

Mistakes in judgment are wrongful death cases and often result in civil lawsuits for damages but rarely in criminal charges against the police. In 1999, Amadou Diallo was mistaken for a rape suspect and fired on 41 times and hit 19 times by four New York City police officers. The officers reported that Diallo was reaching into his clothing for something they wrongfully assumed was a gun. It was just his wallet. In 2001, police officer Willie Wilkins, who was undercover in Oakland, California, was holding his firearm on a suspect while making an arrest, and he was observed by two uniformed officers who misinterpreted the situation and fired on Wilkins, killing him. Such tragic events are mistakes, and the large civil judgments awarded to their families, as in the case of *Wilkins v. City of Oakland* (2004), pursued by the law firm of Haddad and Sherwin, reflect our judicial system's anguish over such events.

An *accidental injury* can occur whenever a police officer unintentionally discharges a weapon and hits someone not involved in a criminal activity. The victim may even be a fellow officer injured in an accidental discharge of a weapon in

police training, as Kimberly Lonsway and Susan Welch report, or normal police operations, as discussed by Stuart Meyers. To minimize risks to "innocent by-standers" police are taught not to use warning shots or fire into the air (what goes up must come down), and not to fire on suspects in the vicinity of others. The victims of such injuries are entitled to receive civil damage awards and such cases usually are settled with minimal litigation or publicity.

More rarely, a police officer *criminally abuses the use-of-force privilege* given to the police. In these cases, the police officer may hope to escape criminal prosecution by disguising his or her criminal act under the guise of a lawful use of deadly force or may simply attempt to evade detection for the crime. Some of these homicides begin as line-of-duty actions that go horribly wrong but go beyond simple mistakes of judgment.

It has been asserted that many killings of minorities are, as Stuart Palmer once claimed, willful police targeting of young, innocent African Americans. Although it is true that African Americans are disproportionately more often killed by police, comprising about 30% to 32% of those killed in encounters with law enforcement, as Christopher Mumola documents, they are also disproportionately more involved in violent crimes, which is a factor in police-suspect confrontations. In Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics for 2006, minorities comprised 48.6% of those arrested for criminal homicides and 56.3% of those arrested for robberies, so many shootings are justified.

Some documented cases involve criminal activity by police, but as Jodi Brown and Patrick Langan have argued, it is difficult to determine how many criminal acts by police officers actually occur. The current data sources do not distinguish the occupation of "police officer" among all of those suspected of or charged with criminal homicides.

The loss of any life, even that of a violent criminal suspect, is a tragic event to someone. Even if death does not follow from the use of deadly force and the victim survives the injury, the harm done often is substantial. Ethical police practice demands that a police officer seek less than deadly options whenever possible and resort to deadly force only when those other options are not available. The police arrest about 600,000 violent offenders

annually, slaying 373 in an average year, which equals less than one tenth of 1%, which suggests that most police find nonlethal means of arresting most violent offenders most of the time.

Richard R. E. Kania

See also Police and Victims; Police Fatality Review Teams

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VICTIMS' RIGHTS LEGISLATION, FEDERAL, UNITED STATES

In 1981, Ronald Reagan created the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime. This task force was designed to bring national recognition to the status of victims of crime and a national focus on victims' rights and service expansions. Its final report included 68 recommendations that became the impetus for the creation, implementation, and advancement of new federal legislation. The major initiatives that address federal victims' rights legislation are outlined as follows.

The Federal Victim Witness Protection Act (1982) instructed the Attorney General to create and implement guidelines for officials to follow when responding to the needs of victims and witnesses. The goal of the act was to ensure that the victims of federal crime were treated with fairness and respect for the victim's and/or witness's dignity and privacy.

The Victims of Crime Act (1984) provided funds to assist state programs that monetarily compensate the victims of crimes (established the Crime Victims Fund). The funds are gathered through fines and assets seized from offenders who have been convicted of breaking a federal law. The funds are then disbursed to eligible victim-compensation programs or given directly to the governor of a state for distribution to victim-compensation programs. This act also established the federal Office for Victims of Crime, which is a division of the government that oversees victim-compensation programs.

The Crime Control Act (1990) provided a federal bill of rights for victims of a federal crime and directed the U.S. Sentencing Commission to change sentencing guidelines. The act mandated that \$900 million be provided to states to help assist in improving their criminal justice systems, build effective prison systems, and provide alternatives to incarceration. It also expanded grant programs that focus on victims of child abuse and significantly increased penalties for child pornography convictions.

The Child Victims' Bill of Rights (1990) provided child victims and witnesses numerous rights that had not previously been extended to them. It includes the right for a child to have proceedings explained in language they can understand; a victims advocate present at interviews, hearings, and trials; a secure

waiting place during trial; a support person to wait with prior to hearing; personal information kept private unless otherwise specified by the child or guardian; an advocate who informs the court about their ability to understand the proceedings; to be provided with information and referrals to agencies for assistance; and an advocate present in court for emotional support and to allow law enforcement agencies to have other services available (child protective services, victim advocates, and staff with specialized training).

The Victims' Rights and Restitution Act (1990) confirmed that victims have a right to compensation and use of federal services that offer help to victims. The Victims' Rights and Restitution Act created a federal Bill of Rights for federal crime victims, which include the following rights:

- Be reasonably protected from the accused
- Reasonable, accurate, and timely notice of any public proceeding involving the crime
- Reasonable, accurate, and timely notice of any release or escape of the accused
- Not to be excluded from any such public proceeding
- Be reasonably heard at any public proceeding involving release, plea, or sentencing
- Confer with the attorney for the government in the case
- Full and timely restitution as provided in law
- Proceedings free from unreasonable delay
- Be treated with fairness and with respect for the victim's dignity and privacy

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (1994) is a comprehensive package of victims' rights that included: implementing the Violence Against Women Act (authorized more than \$1 billion in funding for programs to address violence against women) increased the Victim of Crime Acts programs, funding, and provisions, and established a National Child Sex Offender Registry and augmented punishment and sentencing for those driving under the influence with children as passengers.

The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (1996) provided \$1 million to strengthen anti-terrorism efforts and mandatory restitution in federal violent crime cases and expanded compensation and victim services for victims of terrorism (includes victims in the military and abroad).

The Victims' Rights Clarification Act (1997) extended the rights of victims of crime to attend the trial of the offender and provide impact statements during sentencing. The bill clarified preexisting law so that judges and district courts cannot deny victims and surviving family members the ability to witness the trial, even if they plan on providing impact statements during the sentencing phase. This act extended current law to include capital cases and noncapital cases.

The Victim Restitution Enforcement Act (1999) established formal procedures for the courts to determine victims' losses, required that restitution be provided to the victim regardless of the offenders' socioeconomic status, and allowed the courts to enter a restraining order or property injunction against the offender if necessary.

The Violence Against Women Act (2000) authorized \$80 million annually for rape prevention and education grants, expanded federal stalking statutes to include stalking that occurs over the Internet, and authorized funds for battered women's shelters, transitional housing for female victims of violence, and funds to investigate and address violence against women with disabilities.

Justice for All Act (2004) provided \$155 million in funding for federal and state victim assistance programs. It focused on the substantive rights for crime victims and the means of enforcing them. The act also provided funds to test the backlog of rape kits, allows for improvements within the nation's crime labs, and helps offset the costs of DNA testing of offenders.

Alana Van Gundy-Yoder

See also Defendants' Rights Versus Victims' Rights; Landmark Victim-Related Court Cases, Federal, United States; President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982; Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and Subsequent Revisions

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VICTIMS' RIGHTS LEGISLATION, INTERNATIONAL

The role of victims in criminal prosecution has changed drastically over time. Historically, the development of victims' rights in European countries followed a similar pattern to that found in North America. For centuries, the role of the victim in criminal prosecution was essential, as the state had little if no involvement. This golden age of the victim lasted into medieval times, when all wrongdoing was considered private. Then, by the 14th century, the victim was no longer the center of attention and compensation was not considered a purpose of the criminal justice system, until it reemerged in the 19th century.

Internationally, victims' rights have gradually become a preoccupation for the community as well as the criminal justice system since the mid-1970s, although a couple of initiatives can be traced back to the early 1960s. Over time, most Western jurisdictions have instituted different victims' rights and developed a wide range of services for crime victims. Beyond the diversity of contexts, there is constancy in the efforts to develop victims' support agencies and implement victims' rights. Most victims' rights models encompass compensation schemes, victim assistance programs, and regulations on victims' rights. Rights pertain to, for example, receiving information about the status of the case and applying for financial aid and psychological counseling. Nevertheless, whereas service rights have been widely accepted, the right to participate actively in the judicial process has proved a highly controversial issue, as some argue that procedural rights threaten a defendant's due process rights and undermine fairness.

Although victims' rights reforms around the world have been remarkably uniform, it is not possible here to discuss the specifics of each country. Therefore,

after briefly presenting supranational legislations, the European experience will be chosen as the focus of this entry, especially with regard to its characteristics that differ from the Anglo-Saxon model(s).

Supranational Legal Texts and Recommendations

Victims' rights reforms have been mostly similar across countries because they were inputted by the 1985 *United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*. The declaration defined the concept of crime victims, commanded access to justice and fair treatment for all victims, and dedicated a special attention to victims of abuse of power.

In Europe, additional uniformity was achieved with the adoption of one convention and two recommendations issued by the Council of Europe. The *European Convention on the Compensation of Victims of Violent Crime* (1983) established basic principles, among which the obligation of the states to compensate crime victims whenever compensation is not fully provided by alternative sources. Two years later, the *Recommendation R(85) 11 on the Position of the Victim in the Framework of Criminal Law and Procedure* was issued, which provided countries with a list of suggestions to be implemented at different levels of the criminal justice process, from the police station to the court. Then, in 1987, the *Recommendation R(87) 21 on the Assistance to Victims and the Prevention of Victimization* was adopted and addressed, among other issues, the importance of assessing level of victimization and victims' needs to adequately design victim assistance programs and services. Although legal texts recognize some regional variation in the implementation and structuration of programs, for the most part they suggest the establishment of fairly uniform practices across countries. Before the input of the Council of Europe, only three European countries, namely, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands, had legislated on victims' rights.

More recently, in 2001, the *European Union Framework Decision on the Standing of the Victims in Criminal Proceedings* was passed, establishing minimum standards for the treatment of crime victims. Since March 2002, this set of

principles is legally binding for European Union Member States, which consists of 27 countries in 2009. Themes refer, for example, to the possibility for victims to be heard during proceedings and to supply evidence, as well as to the right to access advice provided free of charge.

Major Differences Between Europe and the United States

Adversarial and Inquisitorial Models of Criminal Procedure

The place of the victim in the criminal justice system seems to depend on the evolution of the philosophy of penal repression. Because of historically and philosophically different traditions, two types of procedures coexist within the criminal justice framework: the adversarial model and the inquisitorial model.

The adversarial model favors the role of the different parties; the trial is conceptualized as a contradictory, oral, and mostly public dispute between the prosecution and the defense. Each party needs to provide evidence for his or her case. The role of the judge is to arbitrate the case, rather than conduct the investigation. The adversarial model exists in diverse forms in North America, Japan, and some European countries. On the contrary, in the inquisitorial model, the judge represents the interests of the community, as each offense is considered a breach of the peace. The judge is a legally trained professional in charge of conducting the investigation; therefore, he possesses important powers and orders acts of investigation both against and in defense of the accused. The investigation is written and secret, whereas the audience is public and contradictory. The inquisitorial procedure still appears to be the rule in continental Europe; yet the emblematic figure of the investigating judge is declining both in fact and in law.

The adversarial and inquisitorial models of criminal procedure do not consider victims alike. Although some countries view the victim as a party with his or her own rights, others view the consideration of victim as a duty of the criminal authorities. In addition to laws ensuring victim notification, protection, and financial compensation, most European legislations, with the exception of the United Kingdom, have granted victims with different mechanisms for influencing the course of

criminal proceedings. Participatory rights exist throughout the process and also pertain to hearings on bail or pretrial release of the offender to posttrial release hearing.

Traditionally, the common-law or adversarial system does not recognize the victim. The victim serves only as the principal witness for the prosecution. Unlike continental legal systems, the adversarial system usually accords victims no formal standing in the prosecution of their offenders. Yet, over time, there has been a demand for procedural rights within adversarial procedure, as illustrated by the implementation of victim impact statements in the United States and, recently, in the United Kingdom.

Victim Participation: A Controversial Issue

The issue of victim participation pertains to a balance between prosecution, defense, and victims' rights. Therefore, the degree to which a victim can input into or participate in criminal proceedings has for long been controversial. Arguments against victim participation include, for example, the intrusion of private says into public decision-making, the limitation of prosecutorial discretion, or the risk that the victims' subjectivity undermines the court's objectivity.

With respect to the victim's position in the trial, countries can be divided in three general groups. In countries from the first group (roughly speaking Northern and Eastern Europe), the victim has traditionally had the right to participate in prosecution. The second group consists of countries that have a French-based criminal code and that allow the victim to be a *partie civile* in the criminal process. The third group consists of common-law countries where the role of the victim has historically been limited to that of a witness.

In continental European legislations, the right to provide the court with input and, in some case, the right to control the course of the proceedings has been instituted. Obviously, no country allows the victim a direct say over the sentence, which always remains the absolute prerogative of the court; however, the scope of involvement differs depending on the option chosen. Some aspects of victim participation are reviewed hereafter and, as will be observed, the European experiences with victims' participation have been different from the Anglo-Saxon model.

Figures of Private Prosecution

Many legal systems offer alternatives to prosecutorial discretion. Most common methods include the institution of mandatory prosecution under defined circumstances, the existence of judicial review for prosecutor's disposal, and the right to private prosecution. The general right to prosecute is a historical heritage that has been considerably restricted in law and in practice; however, it is still effective in some jurisdictions. For example, in Spanish criminal procedure, any citizen can file a complaint and act as formal accuser. In England and Wales, although a marginal right, any victim can instigate a private prosecution by making a formal complaint to the magistrates' court, as long as he or she can support the costs of prosecution. In Germany, private prosecution is limited to specific offenses, for example, trespassing, defamation, vandalism, and comparable offenses; in such cases, private prosecution is authorized only if settlement has failed. In other continental systems (Austria, Norway, and Sweden, for example), the right to private prosecution exists as a secondary right, that is, when the public prosecutor refuses to bring charges or when he drops the case. Then, in a couple of legislations, some offenses are prosecuted only at the request of the victim; these are called complainant offenses and exist in, for example, Austria, France, Germany, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, and the Netherlands.

Even though most European systems employ at least one method to limit prosecutorial discretion, the figure of private prosecution does not play a significant role in practice. This is hardly surprising considering the burden that would represent for an individual, to collect and present evidence in court.

Adhesion Procedure and Civil Party

Countries with a civil legal tradition provide crime victims with formal rights in the criminal justice process, most often around the *adhesion procedure* or *civil party*. As a civil party, the victim can attach his or her civil claim to the criminal prosecution and thus participate as a party with legal representation. Yet the adhesion procedure is not only about compensation as it entitles victims to several active procedural rights, such as the right to be heard in court, to propose and submit evidence, to comment on any evidence submitted, or

to cross-examine. Joining a civil claim to criminal proceedings has many advantages, such as lower costs and the speediness of the procedure. Most of all, it offers the victim the possibility to express his or her views, while leaving the burden of prosecution and evidence to the public prosecutor.

Compensation

Traditionally, the victims' rights movements have sought empowerment, i.e., the possibility to input major decisions at every stage of the criminal justice process. Yet another strand of the victims' movement is state compensation for crime victims. Governments have always been keen to show that they care for crime victims. In this context, state-administered compensation programs are attractive because they profit the most visible victims (i.e., violent crime victims) and because they are not dependent on the action of a third party.

The first compensation scheme in Europe was the *Criminal Compensation Board*, which was set up as an administrative board in the United Kingdom in 1964, 1 year after the first compensation scheme was instituted in New Zealand. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, compensation schemes were introduced in several states in the United States, Canada, and North European countries. Today, almost every country runs a compensation program, following in the tradition of the Council of Europe and United Nations. A specificity worth mention: The case of English compensation orders that are, in contrast to many other countries, criminal sanctions made by the court of its own order; compensation orders have priority over fines, but can only be ordered if the defendant is found guilty.

Patterns of Change

Although some legal commentators consider victim participation a threat to the core values of the adversarial model and a challenge to the established patterns within criminal courts, most victims' rights activists consider it a positive evolution. Advocates argued that in addition to helping victims recover and increasing their satisfaction as well as cooperation, participatory rights promote more informed, hence accurate, sentencing. In common-law countries, criminal justice authorities generally welcome victim impact statements but are often reluctant to

allow these statements to influence the sentencing process. In most European legislations, crime victims can, and on occasion do, participate in criminal trials; yet there is no evidence that their involvement has negative consequences on the progress of criminal procedures. The debate continues.

Legal reforms may be a prerequisite for substantive change, but the ultimate test is whether victims receive the benefits of the reforms. Victims have varied interests in turning to the criminal justice system; therefore, the availability of different options can be regarded overall as beneficial for the victims. Yet, new developments always increase the need for researchers and policy makers to assess the true impact of reforms.

Véronique Jaquier

See also Landmark Victim-Related Court Cases, International; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Impact Statements; Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims' Rights Movement, International

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VICTIMS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT, INTERNATIONAL

Although diverse international initiatives have led to more standardized practices across countries,

adopting a global perspective on the victims' movement is still a stretch as there might be more than one victims' movement. Because of varying legal, social, and cultural contexts and traditions, victims' movements grew apart in different countries. Even though most countries agreed on the need and importance to take care of crime victims, responses have varied considerably.

Opposing victims' movements both in the United States and in Europe will serve as framework for this entry. Clearly, countries outside Europe like Australia or New Zealand also underwent interesting transformations and developments that do not exactly fit into either the North American or the European model. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discuss the specifics of each country; therefore, this entry resorts to general features and trends.

The Origins of Victims' Rights Movement(s) Around the World

Internationally, victims' movements have gradually gained visibility and recognition since the mid-1970s, although a couple of initiatives can be traced back to the early 1960s. Organized victims' rights movements began to appear in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand between the late 1970s and early 1980s. In most European countries, victims' movements were at their best from 1985 onward, because many international initiatives were passed in the area of victims' services and victims' rights, including one convention and two recommendations from the Council of Europe, and the 1985 *United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*.

The growing interest for victims' rights was triggered by different factors. First, public reactions in view of rising crime rates made victims' rights, as well as fear of crime, politicized issues in many countries. People were getting tired of the extremely impersonal and ineffective nature of the criminal justice system. At the same time, the feminist movement was putting a strong emphasis on the needs of women and children as victims of interpersonal violence. Professionals were more aware of the impact of crime on individuals, including both short-term and long-term consequences. Some commentators also questioned the rehabilitative model as a response

to offending and the emergence of center-right in British and North American politics.

The Specifics of the Victims' Movement(s) in Europe

From the early 1970s onward, victims' advocates and activists in the United States have aggressively campaigned for victims, focusing mainly on the idea that victims have *rights* and should therefore *claim* these rights. Campaigns also include calls for harsher sentences and, in a way, the rights of the victim were often claimed at the expense of the rights of the offender. On the contrary, in Europe, influential voluntary organizations were more invested in improving victims' services than fighting for radical changes in legislation. However, this categorization is not clear cut: Many agencies in the United States are purely service oriented, whereas different activist groups across Europe are fighting for victims' rights and tougher sentencing.

Over time, many developments have emerged in the area of victims' rights and services around the world, many of these under the impulsion of victims' movements. Across Europe, many voluntary groups or agencies began to provide crime victims with psychological counseling, support, advocacy, and legal advice, especially in the area of claims or actions for compensation. The *National Association for Victims Support Schemes* in the United Kingdom provided a framework for the support of victims in many countries, notably Ireland, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Specialized agencies in the area of sexual and domestic violence were set up by feminists around the world and played a key role in advocating the specific needs of women as victims of rape or domestic abuse.

Institutionalization and Professionalization

By and large, victims' support agencies underwent a rapid process of institutionalization and professionalization in the 1980s. Because of competition for state funding, agencies were likely to transform into bureaucratic organizations with standardized practices, victimization records, and specialized training. Individuals involved in victims' services changed too, from passionate activists to professionally trained counselors. Although, in the past, volunteers were likely to deal with victims of

burglary, they were suddenly asked to support rape victims and assist families of murder victims. Long-term support and a more professional approach to victims became the norm, modifying local assistance schemes. Because the ideological background of victims' movements was not always identical in each country, some agencies kept a distance from official agencies, whereas others were keen to be obtain funds through official channels. These issues were particularly salient in some countries, notably in the United Kingdom, in part because of the voluntary tradition of victims' services. Yet a similar debate arose in Germany (i.e., West Germany at that time) and the Netherlands.

Another major trend of this period is the focus on the original criticism of secondary victimization, many countries worked at strengthening the position of the victim. Learning from the experience of other countries, France, and later the Scandinavian countries, achieved a professionalization of victims' support agencies built on a good balance among institutionalization, generalized services, and voluntary work.

Learning From Each Other

Victim issues are still topical in almost every country; yet it is difficult to predict what will be the next step. European countries are not only looking at North American innovations but also at what is being implemented in their neighboring countries. Although the evolution and priorities of victims' movements across Europe were not identical to the American model, all these movements share the same concern for the victims' needs and well-being. Thus, the future might help us in answering our initial questioning: *Are there one or several victims' rights movements?*

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See also Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims' Rights Legislation, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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VICTIMS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT, UNITED STATES

The crime victims' rights movement in the United States is founded on the idea that the criminal justice system went horribly awry when it moved away from its victim-centric origins, creating an exclusively two-party system and treating individual victims as interlopers. During the past 40 years, the movement has worked to overcome this perceived flaw in the system by passing state, federal, and local legislation in an attempt to reintegrate the individual victim as a legally recognized participant with rights, interests, and voice into the criminal justice process. This entry explores the movement's attempt to reintegrate victims legally, discussing the history of victims' rights, the state of rights today, and identifying common areas of contention regarding victims' rights. This entry does not address the equally important aspect of the victim movement aimed at creating and affording victim services that aid victim recovery and survivorship.

History of Victims' Rights

Early History of Rights and the Initial Move to Exclude Victims

At the founding of the United States, the criminal justice system was victim centric in that crimes were often investigated and prosecuted solely by the individuals victimized. This shifted, however, to a recognition that harm from crime is, in part, a social harm, and the criminal justice system should be a tool aimed at remedying this harm rather than providing an avenue to redress

personal harm. The rise of the office of public prosecutor, the establishment of a professional police force, and correctional reform resulted in a fundamental shift in the criminal justice system. The individual victim came to be viewed as a witness to, or piece of evidence in, the case against the accused, and notions of individual harm were largely deemed inappropriate for the system's consideration.

The Rise of the Modern Victims' Rights Movement

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, three social justice movements were focused on the inability of the criminal justice system to take account of and treat fairly the individual harmed by crime. The "law and order" movement was rejecting the criminal justice system's perceived exclusive focus on the rights of the defendant; the civil rights movement was fighting disparate treatment of racial minorities, including the inability of victims of racial violence to secure effective prosecution; and the feminist movement was organizing shelters, services, and legal responses to remedy the system's poor treatment of victims of sexual and domestic violence. These groups became the foundation for the modern crime victims' rights movement.

Beginning in the 1970s, the movement coalesced and successfully passed legislation designed to alter the victim-exclusion model, including laws providing for victim compensation and erecting rape shield protections. These early efforts were largely isolated attempts to alter the system through targeted legislation and creation of victim services. In 1982, the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime held public hearings throughout the United States and concluded that with the exclusion and poor treatment of victims the criminal justice system had "lost the balance that had been the cornerstone of its wisdom" (p. 16). The Final Report of the Task Force set forth 68 recommendations for improving treatment of crime victims, including a proposal to amend the Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution to ensure "the victim, in every criminal prosecution shall have the right to be present and to be heard at all critical stages of judicial proceedings" (p. 114).

Victims' Rights Today: The Re-Emergence of Victim Participation

The movement took the recommendations of the Task Force to heart, turning national and cohesive attention to amending the U.S. Constitution and promoting state constitutional and statutory changes to afford rights to victims. Since 1982, more than 30 states have amended their constitutions to afford victims rights in the criminal justice process, and all states have passed statutes affording such rights. Even though these provisions vary greatly in the number of rights afforded, the timing of when such rights attach, and the enforceability of the rights, they are generally aimed at enhancing victim privacy, protection, and participation.

Efforts to amend the federal constitution began in earnest in 1996 with introduction of an amendment in the United States Senate, and these efforts have continued in nearly every Congress since. Efforts at the federal level also included statutory reform. For instance, in 1984, the Victims of Crime Act passed and the Violence Against Women Act passed. In 2004, the Scott Campbell, Stephanie Roper, Wendy Preston, Lourarna Gillis, and Nila Lynn Crime Victims' Rights Act (CVRA) became law. The CVRA provides victims of federal offenses with eight rights (protection, notice, presence, conferring, restitution, proceedings free from unreasonable delay, being heard at proceedings, and fair treatment and respect for dignity and privacy), provides standing for individual victims to assert rights in trial courts, and provides victims with the ability to seek rapid and mandatory appellate review if a trial court denies the rights. The CVRA's explicit provision of trial and appellate standing marks a fundamental shift to recognize the individual victim as a participant in the system with legal rights and interests in the criminal case against the accused. As the Ninth Circuit court recognized in *Kenna v. U.S. District Court for C.D. Cal.*, the CVRA rejects the long-held assumption "that crime victims should behave like good Victorian children—seen but not heard."

Battleground Points of the Victim-Participation Model

The movement and its emphasis on reintegration of the victim as a participant with legal rights is

not without objectors; it has three common oppositions. First, the provision of rights to victims detracts from the rights of criminal defendants. Second, the provision of rights to victims intrudes on prosecutorial discretion. Finally, victim participation inappropriately injects emotion and vengeance into the system. In response, the movement posits that victims' rights of privacy, protection, and participation are civil rights that ensure that individual harm is among the harms recognized by the system and that the rights afford voice in the process not a veto on proper discretion. Furthermore, citing to the criminal courts' well-established capacity to afford rights to participants other than defendants (such as the media), the movement notes that the system's accommodation of victims' interests is both possible and desirable.

Future Directions

The victims' rights movement continues to work for creation of additional rights through statutory, rule, and constitutional change at state and federal levels. In addition, the movement has begun using the skills of attorneys to represent victims as they assert and seek legal enforcement of their rights in criminal courts. The movement's victim-participation model will continue to evolve as the criminal justice system accommodates newly established victims' rights and the courts interpret those rights.

Meg Garvin

See also Rape Shield Laws; Victim Compensation; Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States

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Web Sites

National Crime Victim Law Institute: <http://www.ncvli.org>
National Organization for Victim Assistance: <http://www.try-nova.org>

National Victims' Constitutional Amendment Passage:
<http://nvcan.org>

Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc>

VICTIM SUPPORT GROUPS

Victim support groups provide victims of crime with various forms of emotional, physical, and practical aid. With the rise of the victims' rights movement, society has become more aware of the devastation that occurs to the victim of a crime and the intervention that must occur to repair and reintegrate the victim's sense of being. Victim support groups are made available in the United States through funds and support from the community, the National Center for Victims of Crime, the Victims of Crime Act, and the Office for Victims of Crime. Internationally, victim support groups are provided by the community as well as the government (e.g., England and Wales Victim Support, the UN's Victims of Crime Assistance League, and Australia's Victims of Crime).

Operation and Types of Support

Victim support groups operate primarily in a setting in which participant interaction and comfort is maximized in either face-to-face or online forums. They may provide information about navigating the criminal justice system, evaluating relevant and legal information relating to criminal activity, relating the personal experiences of victims, allowing for participants to listen and respond to others' experiences, and providing important social networks for victims.

They aim to include emotional support, practical support, and physical support. Emotional trauma is often regarded as the most damaging component of victimization. Support groups that focus on emotional components offer cognitive behavioral components and posttraumatic stress

therapy and facilitate personal and social trust among its participants. Support groups that focus on practical assistance offer legal information and direction, help with repairs, and aid with security and insurance claims, as well as discuss forms of financial assistance. Physical support groups focus on physical damage (rape survivors and assault survivors) and are more medically oriented than the other forms of victim support groups.

Support groups intend for group participation to help reorient victims' perspectives. Individuals can participate anonymously and they are asked to share their victimization experience. Support groups try to rebuild personal and social trust, provide personal validation, address fears and concerns, and focus on future education, safety, and support. Current support groups primarily provide services for victims of domestic violence, child abuse, elder abuse, families of homicide victims, hate crime victims, and victims of other forms of abuse and neglect.

Effectiveness

Participants of victim support groups claim that the groups are effective and vital to their recovery, but a formal assessment of these groups is difficult. Prior research has focused on specific variables (e.g., social capital and formal/informal networks) and suggests that support groups provide participants with a structure for reframing cognitive barriers and building trustworthy networks. For example, domestic violence victims who participate in victim support groups report significant improvement in levels of self-esteem, a self-focused locus and level of control, a positive change in traditional attitudes toward marriage and the family, lower levels of perceived stress, and more positive forms and thoughts of marital functioning.

Despite positive findings, evidence on their effectiveness and efficacy is contradictory and sometimes inconclusive. Research has also found that study findings do not indicate consistent beneficial effects. In this case, this is sometimes a result of mismatched services, that is, what the victim needs is not what the victim can get from the group. For example, victims of property crime may want practical help (help with repairs, insurance claims, and financial assistance) but were more likely to be offered emotional services (professional counseling).

To demonstrate effectiveness, studies must show that the services provided by a support group aid in the victim actually recovering from the effects of victimization. At a minimum, contradictory evidence suggests that society is strengthened when the community bands together to demonstrate that they care about someone's experiences and recovery from an emotionally and/or physically difficult time.

Research also suggests that key components for an effective victim support group include education and violence prevention, safety prevention for future victimization, and support from law enforcement, religious institutions, and other community organizations. If victim support groups can provide comfort, education, and open discussions, then they serve as an effective means to form a collective voice and community unity for people who share the same experiences, concerns, and interests.

Alana Van Gundy-Yoder

See also Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy; Peer Counseling; Victim Assistance Programs, International; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victims' Rights Movement, International; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

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VICTIM-WITNESS PROJECTS

Although victims and witnesses are crucial players in the justice process, they did not receive much

attention in the United States until the last quarter of the 20th century. The halls of justice can be daunting for those people who never intended to pass through those doors. Among the most obvious chores, victims and witnesses will find themselves meeting with the police, answering inquiries from lawyers, and testifying in court. They may be caught off guard by a myriad of other unanticipated activities such as long waits, paying for parking, missing days from work, and the stress of having to recall the criminal event deliberately. In light of these difficulties, system officials have expended efforts to assist victims-witnesses as they are presented with challenges that dissuade subsequent participation in the justice system. The nature of a crime or a person's sense of civic duty might be meaningless if victims-witnesses are constrained by excessive burdens and pressures. The thrust behind victim-witness projects is to provide participants with administrative, professional, psychological, social, and economic advice. Dispensing such services aims to blunt any existing negative stigma and to promote a friendlier, more interactive process.

This entry presents the victim-witness programs, illustrates common features, and questions whether they ameliorate unnecessary costs. The next section highlights important historical developments. Continuing forward, this entry explores the types of projects that have originated and their realms in the justice system. The conclusion reiterates the merit of victim-witness programs, acknowledges several concerns, and offers final remarks.

Historical Events

In the 1940s and 1950s, academic criminologists were busy discussing the treatment of victims and key witnesses. Instead of following suit, the courts began undertaking massive changes toward establishing a moral penal code system. Almost all the states reformed their criminal codes, punishments, and correctional procedures. Realizing that law-abiding citizens had been forsaken for a focus on criminals, the judicial movement shifted its efforts in the 1970s to improving relationships with victims and witnesses—two long-ignored elements of the legal process. The federal government doled out funds to victim-witness assistance programs that were first housed in prosecutorial offices and

then elsewhere. The original intent was to cultivate the projects until they were perceived as necessary, permanent fixtures. At that point, the local governments and judiciary officers were to inherit the financial obligations. Within a short period, several hundred programs sprouted up across the country. Despite proof of greater victim-witness participation and improved conviction rates, the projects failed to attract local funding. As the federal subsidies scaled back, so did the livelihood of these projects.

The 1982 President's Task Force on Victims of Crime conducted a series of public hearings across the nation to assess the criminal justice system and unearth the roadblocks to institutionalizing victim-witness programs. Already victimized once, people relayed countless tales of how their sufferings were amplified via unfriendly officials, scant advice, inefficient bureaucracies plagued with uncomfortable waits, incomprehensible paperwork, and lengthy trials that methodically reintroduced their traumas. In the end, the justice system got the convictions it desired, but at whose expense? Victims and their families were left alone to battle with torn feelings, strained emotions, stifled anguishes, and suppressed psychological afflictions.

The President's Task Force concluded that these conditions within the criminal justice system were exploitive and deplorable. Serious reform was needed to protect victims and witnesses from more losses. Specifically, prosecutors were directed to work more closely with victims-witnesses to develop an embracing, high-quality process of dealing with clients. The next section details that advice and other impacted areas.

Victim-Witness Projects

To understand victim-witness projects, this section discusses the general development of the programs, how they operate, and techniques for successful evaluations. Later, we divide them into four areas to demonstrate their roles in the justice system.

The development stage of a project should identify the target group, learn what the clients want to achieve, and then initiate the process by hiring dedicated personnel. To determine the target group, a program needs to define the potential number and types of clients that will rely on its services. Typically, victimization studies combine population

trends with expectations of criminal behavior. Care should be taken to predict the changes in demographic composition, as well as the impact of recent legislation on sentencing and punishments. To gauge the viability of a program, it is not uncommon to rely on support from other segments of the criminal justice system and academia. With outside help, directors can properly analyze the demand for their services and set practical goals that do not overlap with existing projects.

Based on previous and existing projects, the core activities offered by victim-witness programs include emergency services (shelter, food, financial assistance, on-scene comfort, and medical care), counseling (phone crisis hotline, psychiatric/psychological counseling, and mediation), advocacy and support services (employer or landlord intervention, property return, victim impact reports, and legal/paralegal counsel), claims assistance (insurance, restitution, and compensation), court-related services (witness reception, court procedures, transportation, and child care), post-sentencing services (orientation, notification, and victim-offender reconciliation program), and systemwide services (public education, legislative advocacy, and training). Regardless of which activities are implemented, projects should convey to victims and witnesses the importance of their cooperation and efforts, inform them of their rights, display compassion and understanding, and supply participants with information about meetings and procedures.

Tracking the performance of a victim-witness project is vital to justifying its significance in a community. Programs should compile reports listing items such as the number of staff and clients involved, client satisfaction surveys, evidence of proper staff procedures, awards or recognitions, professionalization of its staff, and grants or other external forms of funding. For successful projects, referrals are common among police, prosecutors, and victims, which result in additional positive feedback and increased business. Undoubtedly, the quality of services is important. Trust and credibility are essential to clients, but are also meaningful indicators of the long-term success of a project.

Because public perception carries such a substantial weight, evaluation techniques are indispensable to programs and the ability to modify procedures is paramount to their survival. Previously, critics

chided prosecutorial offices for becoming “assembly lines” because of their detached approach to the victim-witness. Now, those same projects strive to restore confidence and provide a minimally invasive process. Waiting rooms are decorated with comfortable chairs, magazines, televisions, and courtesy telephones. To accommodate their clients, victim-witness programs promote Web sites that contain links for information, applications, registrations, court procedures, and witness fees. When a program notifies a victim-witness of a court or meeting cancellation, needless trips can be avoided and reduce superfluous costs that were previously commonplace. No longer must victims-witnesses tolerate an additional wave of indirect and direct costs. Instead, they are viewed as the crucial spoke of a powerful wheel.

All these aesthetic and structural changes have been based on two prominent notions in program evaluation: Victims-witnesses are essential to winning convictions and their lack of cooperation is a result of anticipated costs being excessively high. Critics have questioned whether these alterations are worthwhile in a cost-benefit framework. The statistical results are mixed. On the one hand, improved notification practices have little impact on reducing case dismissals and no changes in perceived client attitudes. On the other hand, when victim counselors began testifying in place of the child in juvenile cases, the percentage of guilty verdicts nearly doubled. Subsequently, there were increases in the severity of charges and incarceration rates. Overall, the level of success depends on the type of cases and involvement of victims-witnesses.

The Realms

To this point, this entry has sidestepped a basic question. Where might one expect to find such victim-witness programs? The influences can be grouped by law enforcement, prosecutor, judiciary, and corrections. These programs are considered “internal” to the criminal justice system. Examples of “external” projects are crisis counseling hotlines (e.g., American Red Cross), domestic violence shelters (e.g., Safe Horizon or Refuge House), and grassroots organizations (e.g., Mothers Against Drunk Driving). Programs may fall in other categories, but the internal, system-based

realms are most commonly where a victim-witness will encounter a project.

A law enforcement representative is usually the first official figure to interact with a victim or witness. Given the importance of initial impressions, victim-witness programs try to educate officers on providing a supportive atmosphere and reducing tension. A list of suggested procedures for an officer might entail giving verbal and written notifications of rights; assisting with access to emergency services, financial assistance, and community programs involved in crisis support; shielding the victim from additional suffering; and providing investigative updates. In this realm, the emphasis is on making the victim feel safe yet simultaneously involved in the process. If a secure atmosphere does not materialize, then the victim might grow disillusioned and abandon the case altogether.

Already, this entry has mentioned the involvement of victim-witness groups in prosecutors’ offices. Such programs notify victims-witnesses of trial specifics; consult with them about testimonial procedures, fears, or concerns; encourage expedited processing of emotionally sensitive cases; coordinate expert counselors who can assist with and testify for children; and ensure the prompt return of personal property that was confiscated for evidence. Facilitating information and reducing anxiety are major duties of these victim-witness groups.

Judges can be influential as well, and thus victim-witness program advocates suggest the following recommendations for improvement. Should the case make it to trial, judges should earnestly incorporate victims in bail, trial, sentencing, plea bargaining, and restitution decisions. Instruction should demonstrate a commitment to engaging the victim. As the court proceeds, the judge should advise the victim as frequently as the defendant of his or her rights. The protection of the rights of the victim (and future victims) is a common justification for the involvement of the government in criminal and civil affairs. The judicial approach should emulate that assumption.

As a case leads into the correctional system, the programs continue to exert influence. Any changes in an offender’s status or release should be communicated to the victim-witness. Victim impact panels are a rehabilitative approach to presenting convicted persons with the consequences of their actions on individuals and society. If desired, the

victim should feel just as involved in this last step as in the prior ones.

Across these realms, several themes surface as the victim-witness traverses the halls of justice. These people, like defendants, have rights and should be made aware of them. Future harms and inconveniences should be reduced to a minimum. A sense of involvement and appreciation should invigorate every person—even the dissenting voices that are discussed in the next section.

Criticisms

How has the system changed its approach to victim-witness projects over time? To assess compliance with recommendations from the 1982 President's Task Force, the Department of Justice wrote an upbeat report (*Four Years Later* in 1986) that complemented the evolution of services. However, although the contained statements acknowledged that almost three fourths of the suggestions had been addressed, critics noted that the evidence fell short of demonstrating any long-term sustainability. Nonetheless, the findings were not compelling enough to instigate a subsequent overhaul of the criminal justice system. Years later in 1998, the Office for Victims of Crime underwent a 3-year survey to ascertain the level of conformity with the original ideas. Startlingly contrary results were obtained. Seldom did victims-witnesses receive financial assistance, counseling, information, or advocacy on their behalf. Reiterating the earlier calls for reform, the newer report (*New Directions From the Field*) submitted 250 points on which to improve. Among the reminders are requests for programs to remain client-oriented, offer services that reflect actual desires instead of perceived victim-witness needs, and advance the professionalization of victim advocates. Ethical concerns have also surfaced. Victims-witnesses drop out at various stages because costs become too high or the prosecution no longer needs their testimony. In a perfect world, services would not be limited to just those people who continue the journey throughout the criminal justice system.

Final Remarks

Victims and witnesses bring essential services to the justice system. Without their participation, our

courts would be challenged to ensure procedural due process. Even so, the importance of the victim-witness has been recognized for less than a half century. While initial programs boasted a breadth of goals and services, recent studies question whether the delivery of such promises ever takes place.

After participating, victims and witnesses should be justly compensated for their contribution. Testifying in a court of law is not always a voluntary choice. Involvement places a great strain on individuals, as well as their family members and friends. To make matters worse, reimbursements do not necessarily extend beyond basic fees of parking or a pre-determined, average daily wage. When victims-witnesses protest their involvement or approach the proceedings with an apathetic attitude, one might question whether their reactions are a result of risk-averse people trying to avoid the myriad of additional costs inherent in an unapologetic justice system. Advocating on behalf of their clients, victim-witness programs must mindfully insist on receiving what their clients actually demand and not what others think their clients want. Future improvements should continue to address the requests of these acute parties so they may avoid additional tribulations. After all, these people had no original intentions of disrupting the normalcy of their daily lives.

William M. Doerner

See also Defendants' Rights Versus Victims' Rights; Double Victimization; Fear of Crime; President's Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982; Victim Assistance Programs, United States

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Web Sites

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- Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc>
- Office of the Victims' Rights: <http://www.justice.gov/usao/eousa/vr/index.html>

VIGILANTISM

When in certain societies, usually in unsettled or frontier conditions, existing institutions and conditions prove inadequate to the enforcement of criminal laws, individuals, or more commonly, groups, will work “outside the law” and prescribed institutions to achieve justice and/or stability. The practice of setting alternative arrangements to state-sponsored criminal justice components is called vigilantism. Vigilantism has many faces and adapts to a wide variety of social circumstances. In some instances, these solutions take on a quasi militaristic manifestation, whereas in others, vigilantism has a mercantile, Chamber of Commerce flavor. The anti-labor or racist lynchings of the past were viewed by participants as socially preservative vigilante actions. Moreover, political change efforts have incorporated vigilante behavior. Finally, individuals who have acted violently to protect themselves have been labeled, erroneously,

by the media as “vigilantes.” Today, “Internet vigilantism” has become both a reality and a concern. This entry presents several historical examples of vigilantism.

Regulators

South Carolina was the site of extensive political and person violence during the frontier period, especially before and during the American Revolution. Factional violence and continuing feuds created such chaos in the backcountry, particularly in the north and central parts of the state, that partisan bands had free rein. Local groups of Regulators arose in both Carolinas, took on military formation, and drove outlaws and partisan bands from their areas. In 1771, before the American Revolution, they came into active conflict with British colonial troops. Their goal was to end out-lawry and corruption and to achieve better government in their areas.

California Vigilantes

The California gold fields and San Francisco Committee of Vigilance are probably the most well-known movements of this kind in the United States. In the gold fields crimes were frequent and justice hard to find. Kangaroo courts followed by a hanging or tarring and feathering were frequent outcomes. San Francisco businessmen were appalled by misgovernment and the tolerance of violent crime that typified that city's criminal justice response. Accordingly, in 1851, they created a vigilance committee which held court and engaged in citizen-based community policing. Famously, a few malefactors were hung but others were exiled to Australia or whipped. Again, in 1856, the committee was reconstituted and focused on political corruption as well as criminal issues. This committee had wide public support, controlled the press, and was backed by local militia units.

Texas Regulator/Moderator Violence

In Texas of the 1830s and 1840s, unsettled conditions produced the Regulator/Moderator War along the Louisiana/Texas frontier (“the Sabine strip”). In this frontier area, institutions of law were so inadequate that vigilante law was the only

functional form of justice. But Regulators came into being to straighten out perceived injustices, and Moderators arose to counter the Regulators. These conflicts only ended when the Republic of Texas sent in the militia. After the Civil War, unrest festered in central Texas and spontaneous vigilante movements arose to deal summary justice to horse and cattle thieves. In fact, those caught in the act were often hung or shot on the spot. At times, vigilante groups stormed the county jails and shot suspects in their cells. Sheriffs thought to be in league with rustler gangs were sometimes killed in these actions. Texas Rangers were called in to deal with the situation when vigilante violence and counter violence got out of hand. In the period after the war, violence raged between unionists and pro-Confederate families and vigilante groups. Much violence of this nature continued in Texas until the end of the century.

New Orleans Vigilantism

New Orleans vigilantism in the 1850s concerned the efforts of political elites to wrest power from the corrupt ruling party. In fact, the future Confederate General Beauregard ran against a corrupt New Orleans machine and lost. After the war, several clearly vigilante insurrections against the Federal regime and the New Orleans police occurred. But the most notorious “vigilante” event in American history was the 1891 lynching of 11 Italian immigrants for their supposed involvement in the murder of the chief of police. This event, which was an action against supposed “mafia” corruption of the courts, caused a rupture in relations between the United States and Italy, and it did nothing to curb the eventual ascendancy of the Italian-American organized crime in the Crescent City.

The Guardian Angels and the Goetz Trial

High concern about victimization led to the founding of the Guardian Angels in New York City in 1979. Not actually a true vigilante group, as they imposed no punishments but simply “patrolled” high-crime areas in flashy red berets, they received enormous media attention for several years. Founder Curtis Sliwa was a frequent guest on talk shows. In this climate of media attention, in 1984, a self-employed electronics technician Bernard Goetz,

shot four Afro-American panhandlers who he perceived as menacing him on a subway. Eventually, “the subway vigilante” who was supported in court and in the media by the Guardian Angels was only convicted of criminal possession of a weapon and given a light sentence. A later civil trial awarded one of his victims a large settlement. But the quiet and soft-spoken Goetz became a symbol of vigilante-type reaction to urban crime and a celebrity.

Internet Vigilantism

Internet vigilantism refers to computer users employing computers to bait or punish computer-based malefactors. An example is the television show *To Catch a Predator*, in which confederates of the show, using Internet chat rooms, lure would-be pedophiles into fake assignments with minors. When the alleged predator arrives at the scene of the proposed tryst, they are shamed and harangued by a television personality and are forthwith arrested by a local law enforcement agency. As might be expected, many of these arrests have ended in dismissed charges, but disgrace and stigma linger. Some agencies routinely “troll” for sex offenders in this manner and have agents dedicated to that task.

More commonly, vigilantism on the Internet refers to individuals shaming fellow students for various faux pas or Internet users hatching elaborate schemes to trick and punish those who perpetrate internet frauds, such as “Nigerian scams.” Turning victimizers into victims, they frequently lead the con man/woman into traveling to an unsafe environment in search of easy money or another con. Like the Regulators of old, these Internet vigilantes act in the vacuum created by the inability of government to deal effectively with the huge task of policing a new frontier—in this instance, the Internet.

Frederick Hawley

See also Citizen Patrols; Hate and Bias Crime; Incivilities/Social Disorder; Internet Fraud

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VIOLENCE, PROTECTION AGAINST

Violence in the United States is common. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), more than 6 million rapes, sexual assaults, robberies, and assaults were reported in the United States in 2006. In addition, data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program indicate that 17,034 individuals were murdered in the United States in 2006. People can try to prevent themselves from being the victim of violent crime in various ways. Many of these measures fit into routine activities theory's concept of increasing guardianship. Thus, this entry begins with a discussion of routine activities theory. It then reviews some of the various measures that individuals may take to protect themselves from being the victim of a violent crime, including carrying self-protective devices such as mace or pepper spray, carrying a weapon, using physical and/or verbal resistance, and for victims of intimate partner violence, seeking civil orders of protection. Finally, because alcohol seems to play an important role in victimization, its role is discussed.

Routine Activities Theory

Research has shown that criminal victimizations are not randomly distributed across society. Instead, victimizations are associated with peoples' lifestyles, daily routines, and demographic characteristics. Routine activities theory postulates that for a crime to occur, three elements must be present: a likely offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. According to routine activities theory, one way to avoid being a victim of a crime is through increasing guardianship. Individuals can try to increase guardianship through measures such as carrying a gun or other

form of self-protection (e.g., mace, pepper spray, club, bat, body alarm, or knife), installing burglar alarms, living with other adults, or going out in public with other people rather than alone. Research suggests that not all individuals are equally likely to employ measures of guardianship. For instance, Richard Tewksbury and Elizabeth Mustaine, in their study of 1,513 college and university students, found that students' employment of self-protective devices (i.e., gun, mace, club, body alarm, and knife) was dependent on various factors. Specifically, students were more likely to use self-protective devices if they were unemployed, spent a lesser percentage of time during the week with strangers, resided in neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization, used crack recently, and felt safe in their homes at night. Although this last finding (feeling safe in their homes at night) may seem contrary to expectations, the authors point out that a "time-sequencing issue" may be involved. In other words, it is possible that individuals who feel safe at home feel this way *because* they are using one or more forms of guardianship.

Weapon Possession

As noted above, one way that people may attempt to protect themselves from being a victim of crime is by carrying a weapon. Results from the 1993 National Self-Defense Survey conducted by Gary Kleck and Marc Gertz indicated that almost 9% of adults carried guns in the previous year, 3.7% carried guns on their person, and 6.5% carried guns in their vehicle. Research has found certain characteristics to be associated with a higher likelihood of carrying weapons. For instance, Kleck and Gertz's study found that African Americans were more likely than Whites to carry weapons. They also found gun ownership to be more prevalent among males and among people in the South and West. Finally, they found that individuals who knew someone who had recently been the victim of a crime, individuals who had been a victim of robbery, and individuals who believed people must rely on themselves for protection were more likely to carry guns.

Researchers disagree as to whether possessing or using a weapon actually decreases a person's chances of being a victim of violent crime. It seems

that the effect of guns may be partially dependent on the particular type of crime. For instance, Gary Kleck and Don Kates, using data from the 1992–1998 National Crime Victimization Surveys (NCVS), found that using a gun reduced the risk of property loss in robberies and did not increase the risk of injury to the victim. However, several studies examining homicide have not found weapon possession to be associated with a reduction in risk of victimization. For example, Arthur Kellermann and his colleagues, in their analysis of homicides in three metropolitan counties, found that keeping a gun in the home was strongly associated with an *increased* risk of homicide. They note that almost all of this risk was attributed to homicides by a family member or an intimate acquaintance. Similarly, Peter Cummings and his colleagues examined handgun purchases from licensed dealers and found that a history of a family handgun purchase was associated with an increased risk of homicide, which lasted for more than 5 years after the weapon purchase. Thus, although some evidence indicates that the use of guns may reduce the risk of robbery completion, other evidence indicates that guns may increase the risk of homicide victimization.

Physical Resistance

The previous section discussed the impact of gun possession and use on violence. Research has explored the more general use of physical resistance in violent victimizations. Researchers have divided physical resistance measures into two types: forceful physical and nonforceful physical. Forceful physical resistance refers to active aggressive behaviors used by victims against offenders to stop an attack, such as wrestling, punching, biting, scratching, kicking, and using a weapon or martial arts techniques. Nonforceful physical resistance refers to passive physical behaviors used by victims to avoid an attack. Examples include trying to avoid the offender, removing the offender's hands, pulling away from the offender, and running away from the offender.

Researchers have examined the effectiveness of physical resistance measures on various types of violence including rape, robbery, and assault. Using data from the NCVS, Shannon Santana found that the use of both forceful physical and nonforceful physical resistance decreased the likelihood of both

rapes and robberies from being completed. Similarly, Jongyeon Tark and Gary Kleck found that victims who used various forms of physical resistance were less likely to suffer a completed robbery (i.e., experience property loss). Specifically, they found that victims who attacked with a gun, attacked with a nongun weapon, attacked without a weapon, struggled, or ran away or hid were less likely to suffer a completed robbery than people who did not resist. Finally, Santana found that the use of both forceful physical and nonforceful physical resistance was associated with a simple, rather than aggravated, physical assault.

Verbal Resistance

Several studies have also examined the impact of victims' use of verbal resistance. Researchers have divided verbal resistance measures into two types: forceful verbal and nonforceful verbal. Forceful verbal resistance refers to active verbal strategies designed to scare the offender and/or attract help. Examples of forceful resistance include screaming, yelling, and threatening the offender. Nonforceful verbal resistance refers to the victim using nonaggressive verbal strategies such as trying to reason with the offender, pleading, begging, or crying.

Research has explored the effectiveness of forceful verbal and nonforceful verbal resistance strategies in rapes, robberies, and physical assaults. The research generally indicates the beneficial nature of forceful verbal resistance in rapes and robberies. Specifically, Santana's research found forceful verbal resistance to be associated with rape avoidance and robbery avoidance; however, the use of forceful verbal resistance was found to be associated with aggravated, or more severe, physical assault.

In terms of nonforceful verbal resistance, a review of the research by Sarah Ullman indicated it is ineffective in avoiding rape. Similarly, research by Santana suggests that nonforceful verbal resistance is not effective in terms of preventing robbery completion or in avoiding more severe physical assaults.

Civil Protection Orders

Besides using measures of resistance, another way that people can try to prevent themselves from being a victim of a violent crime is by seeking a

civil protection order (also referred to as injunctions or restraining orders). Orders of protection are primarily used by victims of intimate partner violence. These civil protection orders prohibit perpetrators of intimate partner violence from having contact with the victim for a specified amount of time. If the offender violates the conditions of the protection order and the police are called, then the offender can be held in civil or criminal contempt or criminal charges may be filed.

Research on the effectiveness of civil protection orders is inconsistent. Judith McFarlane and her colleagues reviewed eight longitudinal studies on protection orders and found that six studies reported positive results; in other words, the victims felt the protection order aiding in stopping or decreasing the violence. However, the other two studies found high rates of reassault for the victims who filed protection orders. McFarlane and her colleagues' own study found lower levels of intimate partner violence after women applied for protection orders. Interestingly, they found reduced levels of intimate partner violence among both women who were granted protection orders and among those who, for various reasons, did not ultimately receive protection orders.

The Correlation Between Alcohol Use and Being the Victim of Violent Crime

Research reveals that many victims of violent crime are under the influence of alcohol. The association between frequent alcohol use and victimization is consistent with routine activities theory because individuals who are drunk are less able to "guard" or defend themselves effectively. Using data from the Violence Against Women Survey, Richard Felson and Keri Burchfield found that the role of victims' alcohol use differs depending on factors such as the victim's relationship to the offender, gender, age, and nature of the crime. Specifically, they found drinking to be a greater risk factor for male victimization than for female victimization. They postulate that this is because intoxicated men are more likely to provoke other people than intoxicated women. In addition, they found that young adults are more likely to be victimized while drinking than older adults. They hypothesize that this is because young adults who are drinking engage in more provocative behavior

compared with older adults who are drinking. In terms of the nature of the crime, they found that drinking is a greater risk factor in sexual assaults than in physical assaults. Finally, they found that men who were assaulted by their female partners were especially likely to have been drinking. Findings such as these suggest that one way that individuals can protect themselves from being a victim of violent crime is through limiting their consumption of alcohol. Because studies have found that alcohol plays a large role in violence and victimization among college and university students, college and university administrators are under pressure to reduce alcohol consumption on their campuses.

Shannon A. Santana

See also Assault: Simple and Aggravated; Crime Prevention; Rape, Protection Against; Robbery; Routine Activities Theory

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VIOLENCE, THEORIES OF

Most theories and research examining the causes of violence have focused on one level of explanation, with particular attention to individual reasons for engaging in violent behavior. Given the lack of theoretical integration, some contend that the epidemiological approach may be more appropriate to understanding violence. The epidemiological approach involves identifying both risk and protective factors that increase or decrease one's chances for engaging in violent crime, respectively. Although the epidemiological approach does result in critical insights into the utility of biological, psychosocial, macrosocial, and situational risks for violent crime, it is an atheoretical approach. Many researchers and scholars consider this problematic because it leaves one without an understanding of the mechanisms for how risk and protective factors operate, which downgrades the efficacy of potential policy implications that stem from this research. Without a complete understanding of the multilayered causes of violent crime, implementing policies to decrease violence may reduce it but not necessarily to the greatest extent possible. To understand violence more fully it is critical to consider the causes of violent crime from theoretically derived frameworks that take into account various microlevel and macrolevel causes.

The purpose of this entry is threefold. First, fundamental types of violent behavior are defined and levels of explanation are conceptualized. Second, theories that explain why individuals and groups (or neighborhoods, regions, etc.) are violent are reviewed. Third, theoretical integration is

explored by discussing the merger between individual and aggregate level explanations. Because most theories are developed to explain behavior at a single level of analysis, key theories at two separate levels of explanation are discussed. Theoretical explanations for individual involvement in violence and macrosocial explanations that account for aggregate level differences in violent crime are discussed. Finally, a discussion of the efficacy of integrated, multilevel theories of violence is presented, and ideas for future research and theoretical development are offered.

Violent Crime and Levels of Explanation

Violence differs from aggression in that the former is a more restrictive concept excluding behaviors that lack intentionality with respect to physical harm. Violent crime is a special case of the broader term *violence*, which includes only violent behaviors that have been criminalized by formal legislation. Violent crime naturally varies across space and time, but the most serious types are generally recognized as crimes that include homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

A considerable variation in behavior is found both between and within individual violent crime categories such as homicide, which makes explaining violent crime difficult. Two fundamental types of violent behavior are commonly accepted by experts. *Instrumental violence* refers to the purposeful use of violence as a means to achieve an end goal such as stealing money. Instrumental violence is often planned and nonemotional. In contrast, expressive violence refers to the use of violence with the sole intent to cause physical harm. *Expressive violence* often occurs in the heat of passion to settle grievances. However, not all crimes neatly fall into either of these two categories. Nevertheless, the difference between these two fundamental types of violence is important because some theories may be relevant predictors for one or both types of violence.

When considering integration of violent crime theories, it is important to understand various levels of explanation. Albert Reis and Jeffrey Roth identify two overarching levels of explanation including individual and social levels. However, James Short recognizes three distinct levels of explanation including the individual, microsocial,

and macrosocial levels. Theories at the individual and macrosocial levels of explanation seek to understand why some individuals or groups engage in violent crime more than other individuals or groups, respectively. Although each level separately is important and explains a piece of the violent crime problem, the goal should be theoretical integration across levels to develop a coherent and complete understanding of violent crime.

Individual-Level Theories of Violent Crime

Biological Theories and Biosocial Perspectives

Biological theories hold that the biological makeup of an individual directly influences violent crime. The earliest of these was developed by Cesare Lombroso, who hypothesized that atavists (i.e., evolutionary throwbacks) were born criminals who could not control their behavior. Although Lombroso's work has pointed to the importance of examining biological influences, early biological theories have largely been discredited. More recently, the *super-male theory of violence* has been developed, which posits that violent crime is caused by a chromosome abnormality in which males are born with a XYY chromosome pattern as opposed to the normal XY pattern. It is an empirical fact that males commit more violent crime than females, and this additional Y chromosome is hypothesized to augment male violent behavior. Whereas the prison population contains a somewhat higher proportion of XYY males than the general population, the practical differences are minimal indicating that the super-male theory is, at best, a weak explanation of male violent crime. Individual genes or isolated chromosome abnormalities alone are highly unlikely to have large significant direct effects on violent crime.

Scholars have noted that biological explanations are complementary to psychosocial explanations of behavior and their interaction provides a more complete explanation of violent crime. Biosocial researchers contend that individuals inherit factors that influence their responses to particular environments as opposed to inheriting specific genes or traits that directly influence behavior. Given the wide range of biological, psychological, and social variables that can interact to

cause violence, biosocial models serve as frameworks to contextualize biosocial research findings, but there is still a critical need for biosocial theoretical development. Three theoretical propositions in the areas of neurochemistry, neuropsychology, and behavioral genetics are explored next.

Angela Book et al. conducted a meta-analysis of 45 neurochemical studies that examined the link between testosterone and aggressive behavior and found evidence for a weak but significant relationship. Recently, Alan Booth et al. articulated a biosocial explanation of antisocial behavior incorporating individual development, parent-child relationship quality, and both parent and child testosterone levels. The model hypothesizes that a child's testosterone can have direct effects on violent behavior as well as indirect effects operating through individual development and parent-child relationship quality. Additionally, a parent's testosterone level can influence the parent-child relationship quality, and importantly, this factor can moderate the direct effect of child testosterone on violent behavior. However, neurochemical theorists should recognize that behavior may influence levels of testosterone too. Nevertheless, testosterone remains an important explanation of expressive violence in part because of its ability to account for the age-crime curve (i.e., the increase in violent crime at puberty, the peak in late adolescence, and decline in early adulthood).

A consistent negative relationship is found between IQ (Intelligence Quotient) and delinquency, which indicates that neurological functioning leads to antisocial, violent, and aggressive behaviors. Terrie Moffitt offers a neuropsychological model for delinquency, including violence, which hypothesizes that neuropsychological deficits of higher-order mental functions (e.g., verbal, visual-spatial, verbal memory, visual-motor integration, and mental flexibility) lead specifically to "life-course persistent" antisocial behavior. The population is theorized to include two fundamentally different subpopulations of offenders: "life-course persistent" and "adolescent-limited" offenders. Relevant to the current discussion are life-course persistent offenders, who commence violence and other criminal behaviors prior to adolescence and continue their offending into adulthood. Although there is disagreement over the exact number of distinct subpopulations, life-course persistent offenders

are more likely to be violent. Thus, the neuropsychological model holds promise as an explanation for expressive violent crime among life-course persistent offenders.

Sarnoff Mednick has proposed an articulated biosocial explanation for delinquent behavior. The social component of the theory holds that consistency in punishment is required to instill fear in children for committing particular acts. When an individual avoids engaging in a criminal act, his or her fear is alleviated, which reinforces civilized behavior. Importantly, the reinforcement is a function of the time it takes to alleviate the experienced fear; this process is controlled by the autonomic nervous system. The biological component stems from the inheritance of deficient autonomic nervous systems, which are slow to recover from fear resulting in inadequate reinforcement of civilized behavior. Therefore, individuals who inherit deficient autonomic nervous systems and who experience inconsistency in punishment are at the highest risk for violence. Evidence suggests that low autonomic functioning is a consistent and significant predictor of violence, and Mednick's theory is particularly useful for explaining instrumental violence. It should be evident from this review that biosocial theories of violent crime have already taken a step toward theoretical integration at the individual level.

Psychosocial Theories

Social learning seeks to explain how violence is transmitted from one individual to another. Ronald Akers's social learning theory encapsulates differential association theory with three other behavioral constructs including definitions, differential reinforcement, and imitation. Differential association refers to direct interaction with deviant others and the resultant exposure of values. Definitions refer to the meaning one ascribes to particular behaviors. Differential reinforcement refers to the balancing of rewards and punishments, which are a function of prior and current experience as well as future expectations. Finally, imitation refers to reproducing a model's behavior. The theory holds that individuals who are differentially associated with more violent individuals, have more favorable definitions of violence, are differentially reinforced toward violence (more rewards than costs), and imitate the behavior of criminals are more likely to engage in

violent crime. Social learning theory can account for both expressive and instrumental violence.

Control is an individual trait that *prevents* one from engaging in violent crime. Hence, control theories attempt to explain why an individual fails to engage in violent crime, which is a unique theoretical contribution and an important complement to other individual-level explanations of violent crime. Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's self-control theory, which hypothesizes that crime, including violent crime, is caused by the interaction of low self-control and criminal opportunity. Self-control is the tendency to consider the long-term costs of a particular act. Individuals with low self-control tend to be impulsive, risk seeking, and self-centered, and they also have a temper, a preference for physical tasks over mental ones, and a preference for simple tasks over harder ones. Low self-control is the result of ineffective parental socialization during the formative years; it crystallizes within an individual around the age of eight and remains stable throughout life. Low self-control is a strong predictor of crime and analogous behavior across divergent samples. Given that their definition of violent crime involves gains, self-control theory is relevant only for instrumental violence. However, their definition of violence is unnecessarily limiting, and thus, it would seem that self-control could also explain impulsive (expressive) violence.

Another variety of control theory is social control theory (i.e., social bonding theory), which hypothesizes that individuals with weak social bonds are more likely to engage in crime. Hirschi claims that social bonds are composed of four elements: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Individuals with strong attachment to others and strong commitment to conventional activities are less likely to engage in crime because important consequences that could result from engaging in deviant behavior. Additionally, individuals who are highly involved in conventional activities simply have less time to commit crime, and those who believe in conventional norms are less likely to commit crime. Although social control and self-control theories are traditionally considered separate explanations of crime, Hirschi claims that they are the same thing.

Gresham Sykes and David Matza reject the notion that individuals subscribe to a deviant set of

values; rather, they hypothesize that crime is the result of the successful employment of techniques of neutralization, which are justifications for a momentary failure in adherence to conventional norms. These excuses for violent behavior are only used by individuals who generally adhere to conventional norms or who do not belong to a subculture of violence. Several neutralization techniques seem particularly relevant for explaining expressive violent crime, which include denial of responsibility (e.g., “they started it so it is not my fault”), denial of the victim (e.g., “they had it coming to them”), and appeal to higher loyalties (e.g., “my friends needed me”). Neutralizations seem particularly relevant in rationalizing expressive violence but could also account for instrumental violence. For example, denial of injury (e.g., “it didn’t really hurt anyone”) rationalizes instrumental violent crime. Techniques of neutralization neatly account for the fact that individuals do not constantly engage in antisocial behavior and instead tend to “drift” in and out of delinquency.

Macrosocial Theories of Violent Crime

Whereas biological and psychosocial factors are largely responsible for driving individual differences in violence, macrosocial forces are factors that influence group differences in violent crime. Norbert Elias’s “civilizing process” theory contends that state formation causes an increase in human interdependencies and a state “monopoly on violence” with respect to both means and use of physical force. As a state forms, social elites instill social constraints on their class to differentiate themselves from lower classes. Over time, social constraints become internalized (i.e., self-restraint develops), and social differentiation leads to social integration as constraints trickle down to lower classes. The civilizing process denotes an important shift in violence from expressive to instrumental. More specifically, there is a rise in repugnance thresholds for violence, an increase in drive-controls and guilt, a removal of violence from everyday life, and an increase in instrumental violence. Elias’s theory is highly important as it accounts for historical changes in violence rates in America. Moreover, the theory can account for group differences in violent crime within America. First, social constraints may fail to trickle down to

lower classes. Second, decivilization, or state withdrawal, can occur, which leads to an increase in violence committed by a particular group.

According to Donald Black, violence can be viewed as a form of social control when it responds directly to deviant conduct or defines certain conduct as deviant. Black’s theory of self-help contends that citizens are more likely to engage in self-help (i.e., the expression of a grievance through aggression) when law is not an option. Importantly, the availability of law to settle grievances is not constant across social groups. Consequently, the rates of expressive violence are higher for social inferiors since self-help is, or perceived to be, their only option for justice, whereas it is lower for social superiors since they have the choice between engaging in self-help and employing the law. Thus, an unformed state or the unavailability and illegitimacy of law and legal institutions of a formed state can cause high expressive violent crime rates.

Social disorganization theory holds that neighborhoods that are socially disorganized are more likely to experience disorder, crime, and violence. Socially disorganized neighborhoods are characterized by high levels of population turnover, ethnic heterogeneity, and concentrated disadvantage (e.g., low socioeconomic status and unemployment). Social disorganization theory claims that the extraordinary social conditions in which ordinary people live cause crime and violence. However, focusing solely on population turnover, ethnic heterogeneity, and concentrated disadvantage fails to explain the mechanisms that drive the relationship between social disorganization and violence. Robert Sampson and colleagues propose that neighborhood collective efficacy (i.e., social cohesion and trust amongst neighborhood and their willingness to intervene for the common good) is related to violent crime; neighborhoods with high levels of collective efficacy are more able to activate and employ informal social control and, resultantly, have lower rates of violence. Population turnover, ethnic heterogeneity, and concentrated disadvantage explain a substantial portion of the variation in collective efficacy across neighborhoods, and the effects on violence were either completely or partially mediated by collective efficacy.

In his classic work on suicide, Émile Durkheim employs the term *anomie* to describe a state of

normlessness, in which the behavior of citizens fails to be socially controlled. For Robert Merton's institutional anomie theory, anomie occurs when a disconnect exists between esteemed cultural goals (i.e., wealth attainment) and legitimate methods to attain them. Although society strongly emphasizes the achievement of cultural goals, it tends to care less about how those goals are attained, albeit legitimate means are preferred to illegitimate means. Merton contends that this means–end disconnect is a product of the American social structure. Legitimate means are differentially available to various social and ethnic classes. For example, racial minorities and those of low socioeconomic status have fewer legitimate opportunities to achieve wealth and success. Building on Merton's institutional anomie theory, Steven Messner and Richard Rosenfeld identify the following four core cultural values: achievement (occupational success), individualism (obtain success independently), universalism (objective evaluation), and fetishism of money. They contend that the economic institution devalues the importance of other institutions such as family and education (e.g., the homeowner is valued more than the homemaker). The economic institution compels other institutions to accommodate it (e.g., education serves to prepare one for work). Additionally, the norms of the economic institutions spread to other institutions (e.g., families operate like businesses). These processes collectively create an "institutional imbalance" in which the social control capacities of familial, political, and educational institutions are compromised, which leads to increases in instrumental violent crime rates.

Subcultural explanations of violence seek to explain why particular regions or cultures within a particular nation state have abnormally high violent crime rates. Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti infer that young Black males constitute a subculture of violence because they have the highest rate of violence. Their theory holds that individuals who belong to a subculture of violence develop a differential psychology in which jostles, daily frustrations, and the presence of weapons, for example, are more likely to be responded to with violence. Put another way, members of a violent subculture legitimize violence in certain situations such as to persevere their honor or respect. Although research suggests that many delinquents do not

generally approve of violent behavior, there is reason to believe some individuals do in fact adhere to subcultural values. Perhaps, the problems with the instrumental–expressive dichotomy are no clearer than with the subculture of violence theory. Whereas subcultural violence could be classified as expressive since violence is often impulsive, the maintenance of honor is a clear end goal for members of the subculture. Thus, subculture of violence theory may explain both types of violence.

Multilevel Integration: Data and Examples

Despite a wealth of understanding of violence at the individual and macrosocial levels separately, much remains unknown about how these two levels are linked to explain violent crime. Policies targeting a reduction in violent victimization will be strengthened by the development of theories that take into account both individual and macrosocial forces. Multilevel integrated theories of violence can be developed from two directions simultaneously. First, the identification of risk and protective factors through empirical data mining has direct relevance for theory development. That is, if researchers and scholars know which factors are related to the presence and absence of violent crime, they can construct theories that account for these empirical facts. Although this approach is worth subsequent exploration, numerous existing theories, several that were reviewed here, are ripe for theoretical integration. Then, linking existing theoretical explanations across levels of explanation is a second approach to the development of a comprehensive understanding of the causes of violence.

A major obstacle to the development of multilevel theories of violent crime has been the mutually reinforcing problem of inadequate data and insufficient theoretical complexity. In the past, existing data sets were not complex enough to develop and test multilevel theories of violence, and these theories were not sufficiently developed to spark appropriate data collection. This is not true today.

Studies examining multilevel theories require data that have a nested structure such that individuals are nested within some macrosocial context. The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) offers a wealth of data in which individuals are nested within

neighborhoods. The PHDCN is a compressive data collection effort aimed, in part, at uncovering the developmental and contextual causes of violence and other behavioral outcomes. A major component of the study involves the accelerated longitudinal cohort design that followed seven birth cohorts for three waves of data collection. Additionally, the PHDCN has community survey and systematic social observation data at the neighborhood cluster level. These features of the PHDCN make it an ideal data set for both testing multilevel theories of violence and developing them by employing the epidemiological approach to the study of violent crime.

One particular example of an integrated theoretical approach to understanding violence is from Akers's social structure social learning model. Akers links individual learning principles to macrosocial structural contexts. He identifies four social structure variables, which are hypothesized to have indirect effects on crime and violence operating through the aforementioned social learning variables. First, differential social organization refers to community characteristics such as population density and age composition that influence community crime rates. Second, differential location in the social structure refers to sociodemographic characteristics such as ethnicity and race that indicate social standing within the social structure. These two macrosocial constructs are responsible for structuring individuals' general learning environments. Third, differential social location refers to memberships in and relationships to groups such as the families and colleagues. This factor structures individuals' more immediate learning environments. Finally, theoretical structure variables refer to constructs such as anomie and social disorganization that have been used to explain variations in crime rates and are hypothesized to influence social learning variables. It is this idea where theoretical integration between existing macrosocial theories and social learning theory holds promise. However, the inclusion of macrosocial theories (e.g., institutional anomie, subcultural) into the social structure social learning framework has not been entirely mapped out. Nevertheless, Akers's work is an important contribution demonstrating that macrosocial forces may be mediated by individual social learning processes. Additional research is

necessary to develop these notions. Moreover, the possibility of incorporating biological and other psychosocial factors to develop a more complete understanding of the causes of violent crime should be explored.

Conclusion

Major theories of violent crime have been considered at two levels of explanation, namely the individual and macrosocial levels. Individual-level theories include both biological and psychosocial theories that seek to explain individual variation in violent crime. Macrosocial theories seek to explain group- or aggregate-level variation in violent crime. It has been argued that advances in our policies aimed at reducing violent victimization will parallel theoretical integration between the macrosocial and individual levels of explanation of violent crime. This will occur because theories that take into account multiple levels yield a more fundamental and complete understanding of the causes of violence. Quality data sets are available to aid in theoretical development and to test existing multilevel theories. Moreover, existing theories at the individual and macrosocial levels of explanation await theoretical integration. Given the seriousness of violent crime, developing and testing multilevel theories that account for both expressive and instrumental violent crime is an important endeavor that should be actively pursued.

The review of violent crime theories and the connections made between the levels of explanation herein are not without important qualifications. First, there are other theories, not reviewed here, at both the individual and macrosocial levels of explanation, which are relevant to explaining violent crimes. Second, this entry reviewed only key theories at the individual and macrosocial levels of explanation. Although individual and macrosocial explanations explain why individuals and groups differently engage in violence, they do not explain how interactions and situations contribute to violent outcomes. Third, this entry only begins the journey of exploring theoretical integration across levels of explanation.

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See also Lifestyle Theory; Victimization, Theories of; Violence, Protection Against

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VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT OF 1994 AND SUBSEQUENT REVISIONS

Violence against women and domestic violence are major social concerns. Women and leading representatives of the Women's Liberation Movement during the 1960s and 1970s began a continued process of requesting legalistic changes protecting females from systematic violence. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was originally proposed in 1990 and supported by congressional investigation of domestic violence situations. Congressional testimony by women victimized through violence was obtained in separate proposals within the period from 1990 to 1994. The measure was passed as a portion of the Omnibus Crime bill in 1994.

Provisions of the 1994 Legislation

The VAWA was divided into three separate areas in defining protection against violence against women and domestic violence. The first area concerned the area of funding. The VAWA provided \$1.6 billion over 6 years for education, research, treatment of domestic and sex crime victims, and the improvement of state criminal justice systems. There was a distinct realization among lawmakers and advocates for a policy change that the public and officials entrusted with protecting the rights of women needed both technical and practical information in understanding the problem of violence against women. In addition, the solutions could not come until the legal system could find remedies in dealing with the problem.

Thus, research in the area of violence against women was encouraged through federal grants solicited through programs funded by the National Institute of Justice. Funds were distributed to research agencies and scholars in an effort to probe the extent of violence against women and domestic violence. Women's rights groups throughout the country also participated in gathering information and submitting policy recommendations to federal agencies engaged in formulating legislative measures designed to protect women.

In addition, funds were allocated to improve the treatment of domestic and sex crime victims. In the past, domestic and sex crime victims often received little or no follow-up treatment from criminal justice authorities or victim services agency personnel. Much of this is attributable to a lack of financial resources. The available funds now enabled the strengthening of ongoing local victim services programs and the establishment of new outreach efforts within the community and the criminal justice system.

In particular, sex crime victims received more systematic attention from crime victim agencies and members of the criminal justice system. In the past, such violations as rape were not treated thoroughly because of a lack of criminal justice education on rape offenses and the training of officers to collect evidence useful for later prosecution.

Finally, federal funding served to improve the state criminal justice system response to violence against women. State and local agencies were faced with allocating priorities predicated on available funding. Task forces on violence against women and rape were negligible or nonexistent with the ongoing focus on violent crime and the processing of other everyday criminal incidence. Significant federal funds enabled the creation of sustained programs aimed at specifically targeting violent crime against women and domestic abuse or sex crimes. Personnel could be trained and additional officers or specialists hired to deal with the incidence of violence against women.

The VAWA also served to provide significant services for victims of violence. Funds were allocated for increasing safety for women on public transportation. More police officers could now monitor buses and subways throughout metropolitan areas.

Shelters were also funded through this legislation. Few shelters are available for battered women.

The lack of such resources restrains women from leaving situations where domestic abuse is a regular occurrence. The creation of more shelters meant that victim service agencies now had the ability to help women successfully leave life-threatening situations.

Youth education programs were also covered under the VAWA. One of the leading causes of domestic abuse is the lack of education afforded to at-risk youth who are likely to engage in battering behavior. The ability to detect individuals early in this behavior cycle can serve to prevent such incidents in the future and prevent future female victims of abuse and sex crimes.

Another function of the VAWA focused on the training of judges and other court personnel in dealing with gender bias within the courts. Judges and other administrators were either unaware or indifferent about the protection of females as victims of violence.

Rape cases sometimes went unprosecuted when district attorney offices prioritized other violent criminal cases in place of sex crimes. A significant factor was the increased effort in gathering evidence and the mind-set of prosecutors. Rape cases were often dropped through failure to take allegations seriously and undertake serious prosecution. Judges frequently expressed the same bias in failing to understand the physical and mental anguish experienced by female victims testifying in a courtroom setting.

The VAWA also focused on two other aspects related to knowledge of female violence and protective measures. Funding was authorized to pay the cost of testing for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) for victims of sexual abuse. In the past, funds were not available for the thorough evaluation of sexual abuse victims. The funding of testing for sexual transmitted diseases was a significant protection provided sexual abuse victims.

The other aspect is related to increased safety on college campuses. The hiring and training of campus police is important for proactive prevention of some violent offenses and quick reactive response in reported battering cases. Leading researchers point out that there is significant concern for the safety of co-eds on college campuses. Such offenses are often underreported. However, increased policing ensures a more appropriate monitoring and response to the recurrent female violence problem.

A final provision of the VAWA focuses on gathering crime statistics and protection of battered immigrant women and children. In the former, the Attorney General was authorized to provide grants to local governments to improve the keeping of crime statistics. Crime statistics on domestic battering and sex crimes are important in understanding the depth and scope of the larger issue of female violence. The protection of battered immigrant women and children was an important measure. Both legally recognized and undocumented immigrant families were not accorded recognition and protection by police authorities, prosecutors, and protective agencies. This provision encouraged the implementation of significant funds for prosecution and protective services.

Finally, the VAWA increases criminal provisions for crimes based on gender. The law prohibits interstate domestic violence, which makes it a felony to cross state lines with the intent to injure, harass, or intimidate that person's spouse or intimate partner. In addition, it allows protection against credible threats of violence, repeated harassment, or bodily injury to the person or persons whom the order covers. The victim in a prosecution under the VAWA has the opportunity to be heard regarding the danger posed by the defendant during a pretrial detention hearing. In addition, the VAWA provides for restitution to the victim, regardless of any civil or criminal penalties the law provides. The perpetrator is held liable for the full amount of the victim's losses in the areas of medical services; physical and occupational therapy; necessary transportation, temporary housing, and child care expenses; lost income; and attorneys' fees, plus expenses involved in obtaining a civil protection order.

Significant Reform

The VAWA placed significant emphasis on gender-based victims of violence. The summarized provisions provided important heretofore unavailable protections for female victims of violent crime. The legislation, which was passed as Title IV, sec. 4001–40703 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 HR 3355, was signed as Public Law 103-322 by President Bill Clinton on September 13, 1994. The impact of the provisions discussed here served to enhance the

investigation and prosecution of the violent crime perpetrated against women, increase pretrial detention of the accused, impose automatic and mandatory restitution on those convicted, and allow civil redress in cases prosecutors chose to leave unprosecuted.

Several controversial procedures were established within the overall legislation. The VAWA gave gender-based victims of violence a cause of action against their attackers. The stipulated liability included both compensatory and punitive damages. This provision was enacted under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution allowing for the regulation of interstate commerce and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. However, the civil rights remedy was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Morrison* (2000). In a 5–4 decision, the court ruled that the law could not be implemented under the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment. Nevertheless, the VAWA stood up and was consequently renewed in 2000 and later years.

There was some opposition to the bill from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The ACLU was concerned that increased penalties, pretrial detention, and mandatory HIV testing for charged but not convicted offenders violated a citizen's right to privacy and the restitution section was nonjudicious. The DNA provision was removed and the bill was renewed in 2005.

Subsequent Revisions

The VAWA legislation was renewed in 2000 when Congress passed a bill reauthorizing the act for another 5 years. More funding was included for domestic violence programs and new measures against the trafficking of women and children into prostitution. The VAWA was also reauthorized in 2005 and will come up for reconsideration in 2010.

In the interim, in 2007, then-Senator Joseph Biden proposed the International Violence Against Women Act as part of other 2007 legislation initiatives. The measure contains several controversial provisions. One provision amends the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to establish in the Department of State the Office of Women's Global Initiatives to coordinate U.S. government efforts respecting international women's issues. A second

provision directs the President to develop a comprehensive strategy to prevent violence against women and girls. The coordinator of the Women's Global Initiatives is directed to ensure that foreign assistance programs incorporate measures to prevent and respond to violence against women and girls. In addition, U.S. training of foreign military and police forces incorporates instruction on the prevention of violence against women and girls.

A third provision directs the department and the U.S. Agency for International Development to assist programs that prevent and respond to violence against women and girls in all humanitarian relief, conflict, and postconflict operations. Finally, a fourth provision reflects the point of view that the United Nations should strengthen its ability to prevent violence against women and girls by U.N. military and civilian personnel. The IVAWA has not yet been enacted into law.

Legacy

The Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and its subsequent revisions reflect community sentiment that the federal system needed to protect the rights of women in domestic battering or sex crime situations. The criminal justice system had long neglected the rights of women placed in violent situations. Furthermore, local prosecutors often failed to prioritize domestic violence with an emphasis on other forms of criminal conduct.

Furthermore, the VAWA was a bipartisan understanding that the federal government needed to take a more active role in combating domestic abuse. Legal systems across the country were not uniform in providing for the needs of women in the event of violent crime. The allocation of the funding and public education programs was instrumental in providing assurance of an adequate response to protecting all crime victims.

Lloyd Klein

See also Victims' Rights Legislation, Federal, United States; Victims' Rights Movement, United States

Further Readings

U.S. v. Morrison, 529 U.S. 598, 120 S. Ct. 1740, 146 L.Ed. 2d 658, 68 USLW 4351 (U.S. Va. 2000).

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1994

During the 1980s and the 1990s, the fear of crime was a significant problem for law enforcement in the United States. High on the list of priorities were the War on Drugs, domestic violence, and violent crime. During this time, the ideas of community policing and crime prevention were becoming significant considerations in the arsenal of law enforcement.

As a direct result of the national focus on these priorities, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (hereinafter "the act") was signed into law on September 13, 1994. It was the first omnibus crime bill to be enacted in many years and covered a broad range of topics within the field of criminal law. The act was divided into 33 titles. This entry examines those sections that are most germane to the topics in this encyclopedia.

Title I

Title I, Public Safety and Policing, was also named the Public Safety Partnership and Community Policing Act of 1994. The stated purposes of this Title were to (1) increase the number of law enforcement officers directly interacting with members of the community, (2) provide more effective training for law enforcement officers, (3) encourage new innovative programs for the prevention of crime in the community, and (4) encourage the development of new technologies to reorient law enforcement from reacting to crime to crime prevention.

The essential feature of Title I was an authorization for the U.S. Attorney General to make grants to states, local governments, tribal governments, or other public or private agencies to address crime and disorder and otherwise enhance public safety. These grants could be made for hiring or rehiring personnel, training of personnel, or procurement of equipment or technology for the purposes of community policing. Many law enforcement agencies took advantage of these funds to expand their community policing efforts in the years after the act was implemented.

Title II

Title II, Prisons, addressed a wide range of topics directly related to the correctional systems in the states and the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Acknowledging the serious problem of increasing prison populations and the significant expense of constructing more prisons, the act authorized the U.S. Attorney General to make grants to states to construct, expand, modify, improve, or operate alternative correctional facilities to free space in conventional prisons for violent offenders and to implement truth in sentencing laws. Truth in sentencing laws are laws that mandate the completion of a substantial portion of a prison sentence rather than allowing parole or early release. This authorization specifically included boot camps.

Fifty percent of the available grants were to be given to those states that increased the percentage of convicted violent offenders sent to prison, the average time served by violent offenders, and the percentage of sentences served by violent offenders, as well as those states that had in effect laws requiring violent offenders to serve 85% of their sentences. This requirement was enacted to give effect to truth in sentencing laws. Many states took advantage of these funds to expand their correctional systems in the years after the implementation of the act.

Under Title II, the issue of young offenders was also addressed. The Attorney General was authorized to make grants to state and local governments to develop alternative methods of punishment for young offenders instead of traditional correctional facilities. The suggested alternative methods included, but were not limited to, restitution programs, community service programs, education, job training, and alternative sanctions.

The theory behind those provisions for the modification of corrections systems included, in addition to the goal of saving money and resources, the idea that some classes of offenders were more amenable to less harsh sanctions so as to look more at rehabilitation rather than creating a permanent subclass of repeat offenders. Indeed, the act required that federal inmates had to be making satisfactory progress toward their high school diploma to be credited for their time served. Also, the act established an office in the Department of Justice to support job training and placement programs for

inmates and ex-offenders. However, it is interesting to note that the Congress attempted to limit civil rights claims by prisoners under the Eighth Amendment for overcrowding to those cases where cruel and unusual punishment was inflicted on the inmate.

Title III

Under Title III, Crime Prevention, the Ounce of Prevention Council was established. The duties of the Council included making grants to municipalities, counties, nonprofit entities, tribal governments, schools, colleges, and universities for such crime prevention programs as summer and after-school education and recreation programs, Drug Abuse Resistance Education programs, employment programs, and programs to help with substance abuse, child abuse, and adolescent pregnancy.

Local governments were also eligible under Title III for block grants for programs concerning such activities as (1) education, training, diversion, treatment, and rehabilitation programs to prevent juvenile violence, gangs, and juvenile drug abuse; (2) crime prevention concerning the elderly; (3) the Youth Fair Chance Program; (4) Boys and Girls Clubs of America and visitation programs for abused or neglected children; and (5) juvenile law enforcement services. Title III also provided grants for applicants to develop innovative crime-prevention programs in not more than 15 high-crime areas. Title III also provided grants for the improvement of academic and social development of at-risk children in schools. This section of Title III was also named the Family and Community Endeavor Schools Act. Title III provided various other grant programs concerning certain issues, many related to drug abuse, rehabilitation in prison, and gang resistance. Many of these programs were funded only minimally.

Title IV

Title IV, Violence Against Women, contained several sections. The first subtitle, the Safe Streets for Women Act of 1994, provided for increased prison sentences under federal law for repeat offenders of sexual crimes and for mandatory restitution to victims. Title IV also provided for grants to combat violent crimes against women. The purposes of

these grants included training law enforcement and prosecutorial personnel, expanding enforcement of domestic violence and sexual assault laws, collecting data, and increasing victim services. Title IV, with some exceptions, significantly limited the admissibility of evidence of an alleged victim's past sexual behavior or predisposition in both criminal and civil proceedings concerning allegations of sexual misconduct. Title IV also provided monies to the states for programs involving rape-prevention education programs.

Title IV made it a felony for a person to commit interstate domestic violence or interstate violation of a protection order. This law made it easier to prosecute persons who commit domestic violence or violate protection orders and then cross state lines to escape prosecution.

Title IV also provided grants to states, tribal governments, and local governments to implement mandatory arrest policies in cases of domestic violence. Moreover, the act, in a subtitle named the Civil Rights Remedies for Gender Motivated Violence Act, specifically authorized a civil rights action for compensatory and punitive damages against any person who commits a crime of violence motivated by gender.

Title V

Title V, Drug Courts, provided for the funding and support of drug courts. Drug courts involve the judicial administration and supervision of nonviolent drug offenders rather than sending them to prison.

Title VI

Title VI, Death Penalty, also known as the Federal Death Penalty Act of 1994, presented several new aspects and clarifications to the criminal law and the imposition of the death penalty. Any person who intentionally killed the victim, intentionally caused serious bodily injury that resulted in the death of the victim, intentionally participated in an act contemplating the death of the victim and the victim died, or intentionally engaged in an act of violence knowing of a grave risk of the death of a person and the victim died may be sentenced to death. Also, any person who traffics in illegal controlled substances may, in

certain circumstances, be sentenced to death. The act also provided a list of mitigating and aggravating factors to be considered concerning imposition of the death penalty.

Title VII

Title VII, Mandatory Life Imprisonment for Certain Felonies, concerned what are more commonly known as "Three Strikes" laws. Three strikes laws usually mandate life imprisonment when a person has been convicted of three or more felonies. This part of the act addressed persons charged in federal court. Under this part of the act, any person who is convicted of a serious violent felony and has two or more previous violent felony convictions shall be sentenced to a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. A serious violent felony was defined as a crime of violence punishable by a maximum of 10 or more years' imprisonment. Also, under this part of the act, any person convicted of a serious violent felony and has one or more serious violent felonies and one or more serious drug offenses shall be sentenced to life imprisonment. A serious drug offense was defined as a drug offense that would be subject to a 10-year mandatory minimum penalty.

Title XI

Title XI, Firearms, was also named the Public Safety and Recreational Firearms Use Protection Act. Its primary component was a ban on the manufacture, transfer, or possession of a semiautomatic assault weapon. A semiautomatic assault weapon was defined as certain specific military style weapons or other weapons that had a combination of such features as a detachable multiple round magazine, a folding or telescopic stock, a pistol grip that extended below the weapon, a flash suppressor, a bayonet mount, or a grenade launcher.

Title XII

Title XII, Terrorism, mandated the new crime of providing material support or resources to terrorists. Material support or resources was defined as including the provision of financial services, lodging, training, safehouses, false documentation or identification, communications equipment, weapons

explosives, personnel, or transportation but was not defined to include humanitarian assistance. There was much criticism of this law as being overly broad and difficult to apply.

Title XV

Title XV, Criminal Street Gangs, increased the penalties for certain violent crimes by persons who were members of street gangs. This law recognized the increasing problem that street gangs were causing in urban areas, especially with regard to the increasing incidence of violence and drugs.

Title XVII

Title XVII, Crimes Against Children, required any person who was convicted of a criminal offense against a victim who was a minor, who was convicted of a sexual offense, or who was deemed to be a sexually violent predator to register with law enforcement agencies for a certain time period or until additional order of the courts. This law was enacted in response to the strong public outcry to protect children from sexual abuse and repeat offenders.

Conclusion

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 intended to address numerous problems of crime control by the prevention of crime through the creation of various programs and the hiring of an additional 100,000 police officers. Crime prevention was not only addressed through such aspects of deterrence through increased penalties but even more so through programs that actively try to stop crime before it happens.

Through the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services in the Department of Justice, which was formed to implement the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, millions of dollars were disbursed to state, tribal, and local governments and agencies.

Since the enactment of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, there has been a dispute as to whether the crime prevention and community policing programs initiated by it have been effective. However, there is no dispute that the act has resulted in the hiring of many more law enforcement officers and the

enhancement of community resources and programs for the prevention of crime.

Wm. C. Plouffe Jr.

See also Crime Prevention; Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.); Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Megan's Law; Police Crime Prevention Units; Rape Shield Laws; Substance Abuse, Prevention of

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VIRTUAL REPEATS AND NEAR REPEATS

Although it has been known for the last decade that prior victimization is the best predictor of future risk, recent research suggests that future patterns of victimization may be improved by considering the similarity (in terms of geographical proximity or otherwise) of current and potential victims. The ability to predict accurately when and where (or against whom or what) crime will occur has obvious implications for crime prevention and detection. This entry provides an overview of research concerned with virtual and near repeats, which inform this agenda. There is a special emphasis on the techniques employed to identify near repeats and the associated methodological issues. Additional sections deal with the explanations put forward to explain these phenomena, as

well as explain how our current knowledge of the subject can be used to prevent and detect crime more accurately.

Definitions

The concept of *virtual repeat* was coined by Ken Pease, who used it to refer to those crime incidents in which the target is selected on the basis of similarity to a previous victim. For instance, an offender might favor a particular make and model of vehicle to steal because he or she has successfully stolen the same type of vehicle in the past. The particular type of car may be appealing for a range of reasons, including the ease of entry and the profitability associated with its disposal. Other examples of virtual repeats include racial incidents, where the victim is selected on the basis of their apparent ethnicity, burglary of residences with similar physical layouts, and so on.

The term *near repeat* is a special case of the virtual repeat concept. A near repeat occurs when a crime is committed against a target that is geographically close to a previously victimized target. So, whereas virtual repeats involve targets that may be similar in one or more characteristics, near repeats involve targets that are close in space. As with repeat victimization of the same target, the likelihood of a near repeat occurring decays over time so that the increased risk observed to nearby targets decreases dramatically as time progresses. Most research on near repeats has so far focused on residential burglary, although recent studies have extended this to other crime types, such as theft from motor vehicles, street shootings, and even improvised explosive attacks in Iraq.

Identifying Virtual and Near Repeats

Virtual Repeats

The identification of virtual repeats is heavily dependent on the target characteristics and the crime type under study. Often, this information is available within police data sets. For instance, police data usually contain information on the gender, age, and ethnicity of victims; the make, model, and security features of a stolen (from) vehicle; the

type of building being burgled; and so on. However, these fields are sometimes left blank or the information provided is not detailed enough for the researcher's purposes, which makes the study of virtual repeats based on police data difficult.

An alternative is to engage offenders in ethnographic research. Using these techniques, useful information can be revealed about offender targeting strategies and the relative importance they assign to target similarity when making decisions about their offending. One discovery made using this approach concerned an offender who robbed gas stations. This offender revealed that he usually targeted petrol stations from the same chain, as they all had identical floor plans.

Near Repeats

Considerably more work has been completed regarding near (rather than virtual) repeats, and so the methods developed to examine the phenomenon are discussed here. The identification of the near repeat pattern has so far been achieved using techniques developed in the field of epidemiology to detect disease contagion. The simple reason is that, if near repeats occur, then the spatial and temporal distribution of crime should resemble the spread of a disease (i.e., a single incident should be followed by additional occurrences that take place nearby and soon after). The aim of the technique used is to establish whether events are concentrated in time *and* space more than would be expected if crime were simply concentrated in time *or* space.

The Knox Approximation Method

To do this, for a given data set, the spatial and temporal distances between all possible pairs of events (for n events, the total number of possible pairs is $n(n-1)/2$; e.g., a sample of 10 crime events will have 45 possible pairs) are computed and a contingency table is populated to summarize the results. The contingency table summarizes how many pairs of events occur within particular space-time intervals of each other. For instance, in the fictional example provided in Table 1, one pair of events occurred within 100 meters and 2 weeks of each other, five pairs occurred within 100 meters and between 2 and 4 weeks of each other, and so

on. The bandwidths used in the table, although arbitrary, are usually informed by existing research on journey to crime and the time course of repeat victimization. Common bandwidths used in the literature are 100 meters and 2-week intervals.

Once the contingency table has been computed, the observed frequencies in the table can be compared with the frequencies that would be expected if the timing and location of crimes were independent. These expected frequencies are calculated using the marginal totals in the contingency table. Comparisons between the observed and the expected frequencies can then be made and a chi-square test can be performed to determine whether the overall distributions obtained are significantly different from each other. Residuals can also be calculated to obtain statistical test results at the cell level.

If a significant difference is found, then the results of the test can be interpreted by identifying the categories (or cells) in the table that have

higher observed frequencies than would be expected by chance. For a spatiotemporal distribution to be observed (and hence the existence of near repeats in the sample), it would be in the cells depicting the shortest spatial and temporal intervals (i.e., top-left of the table) that these unusually high frequencies should be found. (If unusually high frequencies only occurred, say, along the first row but across the table, then we would just have crime that is concentrated in *space* but not time [i.e., a stable hot spot]; in the same way, if unusually high frequencies occurred along the first column, then all the way down the table, we would have a purely *temporal* concentration, in other words, a pattern where a limited-time crime wave has taken place throughout the geographical area.)

There is an important problem with this approach, however. One assumption of the chi-square test is that the observations will be independent from each other. For the analysis of pairs of events, this assumption will be violated.

Table 1 Example of Knox table, which shows the observed frequencies for different spatial and temporal distances between pairs of events ($N = 10$)

		<i>Time Apart (weeks)</i>							<i>Total</i>
		$0 \leq t < 2$	$2 \leq t < 4$	$4 \leq t < 6$	$6 \leq t < 8$	$8 \leq t < 10$	$10 \leq t < 12$	$12 \leq t < 14$	
<i>Distance Apart</i>	$0 \leq d < 100$ m	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	6
	$100 \leq d < 200$ m	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	6
	$200 \leq d < 300$ m	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	4
	$300 \leq d < 400$ m	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	$400 \leq d < 500$ m	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	5
	$500 \leq d < 600$ m	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	4
	$600 \leq d < 700$ m	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
	$700 \leq d < 800$ m	0	0	0	4	2	2	1	9
	$800 \leq d < 900$ m	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	5
	900 m and above	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total		5	11	5	6	7	7	3	45

Monte Carlo Approach

An alternative approach is to use a Monte Carlo resampling method to compute the expected frequencies. This is done by shuffling the data by randomly allocating the actual dates to crimes and then recomputing the contingency table. A full permutation for a sample sized n would be $n!$, so even for small data sets, the number of permutations can be incredibly high (e.g., for a sample of just 450 crime events, we would have $1.73 \times 10^{1,000}$ permutations). A Monte Carlo simulation is thus used to select random samples from all possible permutations to generate the expected frequencies. Whenever an observed frequency is higher than the expected frequencies generated in 99% or more of the simulations, a conclusion can be made that this difference is significant at the .01 level.

Other Methodological Considerations

With either approach, however, outstanding methodological issues remain that mainly relate to edge effects and to physical and social boundaries. *Edge effects* occur as a result of dealing with a limited geographical area. This means that the “full picture” is not available for crime events close to these boundaries, so that nearby crimes can be overlooked. These effects are most problematic when the boundaries do not reflect the physical or social geography of the area (e.g., a better boundary would be one that has been imposed along the course of a river or separating areas that have different ethnic or socioeconomic makeups). This is because *physical and social boundaries* can have an effect on how crime disperses, hence the importance of taking these variables into account when carrying out this type of analysis.

Subsequent methodological issues originate from the sometimes poor quality of location data within police data sets. Often, address information is missing, incomplete, or recorded in a nonuniform way, which leads to the removal of large amounts of data prior to analysis and to difficulty in identifying near repeats accurately. In the case of crimes where the victim is not present at the time, there is the additional potential problem of dealing with large time windows, which refers to the amount of time when the offense could have occurred (i.e., from when the target was last seen

prior to victimization to the time when the crime was discovered).

Explaining Virtual and Near Repeats: Flag or Boost?

When attempting to explain the occurrence of virtual and near repeats, two accounts used to explain repeat victimization can be employed: flag and boost accounts. According to the *flag* account (or *risk heterogeneity*), a target is victimized repeatedly because of the specific characteristic of this target, which make it permanently vulnerable. According to the *boost* account (or *event dependency*), repeats (either virtual, near, or simple repeats) are conditional on the original event and involve the same offender. For instance, once an offender has committed a burglary in a particular area, he or she will be likely to return to the same area and commit additional burglaries (because the individual has become familiar with the area as a result of the original burglary).

The boost account is consistent with routine activities and lifestyle theories. An analogy has also been drawn with the ecological concept of optimal foraging, where animals are thought to forage actively in one area for a limited period of time and then move onto the next, thus maximizing rewards while minimizing effort and the likelihood of being captured by a predator.

Recent studies have provided support for the boost hypothesis, by demonstrating that crimes that occur close in space and time are significantly more likely to have been committed by the same offender (as opposed to those that are not clustered spatiotemporally).

Preventing Virtual and Near Repeats

Where virtual or near repeats are identified, this knowledge can be used to guide crime prevention efforts. For instance, if a particular make and model of vehicle is found to be repeatedly victimized, then measures could be taken to minimize its attractiveness to offenders by improving its security features. Awareness of near repeats has also been used to develop methods of crime forecasting, which have been shown to be more accurate than the traditional hot spot maps currently used by the police. Research concerned with the

near repeat phenomenon is in its infancy, but the application of the findings has considerable potential.

Lucia Summers

See also Prospective Crime Mapping; Reducing Burglary Initiative; Repeat Victimization; Repeat Victimization, Theories of; Revictimization

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W

WAR CRIMES

War crimes are offenses against the laws of war, more recently termed the laws of armed conflict or humanitarian law. This entry examines four key issues: (1) What are war crimes? (2) Where does the notion come from? (3) What do we know about war crimes? and (4) What can we do about them?

Definitions

The laws of war can be separated into two types: (1) laws concerning the regulation of methods and means of combat, such as prohibition of the use of poisonous gases, which is stressed in the 1907 Hague Convention, and (2) laws of armed conflict concerning the protection of human beings, such as the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Protocols. The Geneva Convention can be broken down into rules pertaining to the protection of military personnel or combatants and those pertaining to the protection of civilians. The violation of both types of law, namely the methods of combat as well as the protection of people, can produce victims.

Victimologists, however, prefer a victim-focused definition of war crimes, such as the one found in the 1985 UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power. According to Article 18 of the UN Declaration, victims are “persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental

rights, through acts or omissions that do not yet constitute violation of national criminal laws but of internationally recognized norms relating to human rights.”

Based on this definition, victims include both individuals and groups. Collective victims are created when violent actions are directed at a specific population, for example, an ethnic, ideological, or religious group. This definition is sufficiently broad that it includes both direct and indirect victims. Direct victims are those who have suffered the direct effects of the violence. These are the individuals who were killed, tortured, raped, and so on. Indirect victims are those who are linked to direct victims in such a way that they too suffer because of that link, for example, the victim’s family.

Most war crimes occur by military personnel. However, any person, including civilians, can be a perpetrator. Individuals, acting in either an official capacity (e.g., police) or a private capacity, can commit war crimes. However, victim and offender groups are not mutually exclusive: A person can be a victim at one time and an offender at another time.

By definition, war crimes can only occur within the context of a war or armed conflict. However, sometimes it may not be easy to establish whether a conflict is a war despite obvious serious violations of human rights. Crimes against humanity refer to many of the same types of offenses against human beings, such as torture, rape, and murder. But unlike war crimes, crimes against humanity can take place in times of peace as well as in times of war.

Historical Perspectives

One of the first efforts to regulate and humanize armed conflict originated in the United States. In 1863, in the context of the American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln signed General Orders No. 100, also known as the Lieber Code, which was later adopted as International Law at the 1907 International Peace Conference in Copenhagen and became the basis for the Hague Convention IV respecting the laws and customs of war on land. The Lieber Code addresses both the methods and means of combat as well as the protection of human beings, including civilians. Although the Code prohibits unnecessary violence against private citizens, Article 21 specifies that “any citizen or native of a hostile country is thus an enemy.” This perspective continued into the Second World War, during which citizens of German, Italian, and Japanese origin, who were living in North America, were interned.

The first Geneva Convention was codified in 1864, inspired by the work of Swiss businessman Henry Dunant. This first Convention addressed the protection of the wounded and sick. After the atrocities of World War II, in 1949 the four Geneva Conventions were adopted: The first deals with the wounded and sick, the second addresses the sick and wounded at sea, the third concerns prisoners of war, and the fourth focuses on civilians. The Convention on civilians demonstrates a drastic change in perspective with regard to the treatment of civilians during wartime. Instead of viewing all members of the opposing group as the enemy, the Convention stresses humane and unbiased treatment of all persons taking no active part in the hostilities as well as members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those unable to fight, for example, due to sickness or wounds (Article 1). Persons protected by the Convention are those who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of a conflict or occupation, in the hands of a Party to the conflict or Occupying Power of which they are not nationals (Article 4). Breaking with the past, the Convention specifically puts strict limitations on the internment of foreign nationals (Article 42). In addition, it offers special protection to women, in particular against rape, forced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault (Article 27).

International humanitarian law is not a cohesive body of law. Instead it is a category of separate legal principles and rules that come from a variety of different sources of law, such as international treaties, conventions, and customary law. Thus, beyond the Geneva and the Hague Conventions, one can find articles that are relevant to international humanitarian law in many other sources, including the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The Consequences

Although it is hard to find precise statistics on the number of victims of war crimes, Amnesty International estimates that 70% of the casualties in recent conflicts have been noncombatants and most of them are women and children.

Violent conflict causes terrible suffering to all people, but it also has a different impact on men and women, because victimization is partly gender specific. Traditionally, men are more likely than women to be involved in fighting and to be killed or wounded. However, in recent years, women have joined the ranks of several armies, such as Latin American guerrilla forces.

Women are subject to double victimization. Mass rape of women belonging to an enemy group has been practiced as a means of assaulting the role and identity of the men in the group as providers and protectors of the family and the group. In other cases, women are forced to “marry” men either as a strategy of creating alliances or to satisfy the needs of men isolated from their families during war. For example, girls may be forced into the army, not as soldiers, but as sexual slaves for the soldiers. Moreover, as a result of their victimization, women may also be at greater risk of rape, abuse, and stigmatization by members of their own community. Their own communities may reject the victims along with their illegitimate children.

Differences in rights and entitlement can be of great importance in determining how conflicts affect men’s and women’s livelihoods, for example, if women are not registered as individual citizens or they are not registered (and recognized) as owners of land, houses, assets, and tools. This can make it difficult for women to protect their resources and to make claims for compensation and other kinds of assistance and adds to their economic and social vulnerability.

Although sexual assault predominantly affects women, it is important to recognize that men can also be the victims of sexual assault and sexual torture. The sexual assault and sexual torture of male prisoners of war has been well documented. Sexual torture includes a variety of behaviors ranging from forced nakedness to rape. Another example of crimes that target men is when opposing groups murder or permanently injure young men simply to prevent them from possibly fighting one day.

Children are the most defenseless victims in war, and with the changing nature and proliferation of conflicts after the end of the cold war, children have increasingly become victims of warfare. Two groups are particularly vulnerable: refugee children and child soldiers. Research on the impact of war on children shows that children may suffer a wide variety of stress-related symptoms, including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety problems, behavior problems, and social impairment. Although the prevalence varies between studies, it is clear that children can be strongly affected by war and that traumatic experiences have a cumulative impact. If, for example, in addition to having witnessed the atrocities of war, children are also displaced and living in refugee camps, they are more likely to suffer PTSD than children who have similarly witnessed war but continue to live at home in villages and cities. Moreover, these problems can persist for many years. Research with adults who experienced World War II as children reveals that the negative impact of war can last a lifetime.

War crimes can have such a profound effect on victims that not only will they carry the scars of their victimization for the rest of their life, but their children may as well. Studies have shown that the children and sometimes even the grandchildren of victims can suffer trauma even though they were not born yet at the time of the actual victimization. Hence, a distinction can be made between first- and second-generation victims.

Because war crimes may target specific social, religious, or ethnic groups, members of that group or community may also feel victimized regardless of whether they themselves experienced any direct victimization. Social psychologists, like Henri Tajfel, argue that identity is defined in a social context and that people have a personal identity, which is unique to them, as well as a social identity,

which is based on their membership in social groups. Feeling that their social identity has been targeted, members of the targeted group may experience a wide range of emotional reactions, including anger, fear, sadness, feelings of powerlessness, vulnerability, and suspicion of others. For example, the victim-witnesses who testified at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia often wanted to speak not only about the wrongs they personally suffered but also about those endured by their social group.

Besides the direct victims and their families, humanitarian aid workers who assist traumatized populations may also experience emotional, cognitive, and physical consequences. This is commonly referred to as vicarious victimization.

Responses and Prevention

Although victims may have rights in international humanitarian law, recognition of rights and the right to claim those rights are two different things. In general, there are three different ways to respond to war crimes: (1) amnesty, (2) criminal prosecution, and (3) truth commissions.

Amnesty is the act of an authority by which pardon is granted to a large group of individuals. It means that as a group, the victims and offenders turn the page and move on. Although there may be a recognition that crimes were committed, there are no consequences for the offenders. And although amnesty may help a country place the tragedies of war behind it and embrace the future, it does not help victims or the society come to terms with what happened. Indeed, research with victims suggests that impunity augments the victims' suffering.

Criminal prosecution of war criminals puts an end to impunity and recognizes the injustice committed against the victims by the offenders. The first international criminal court was the Nuremburg Tribunal, which was established in 1945, in order to try the top Nazi officials for the crimes committed during World War II. One year later, the Tokyo Tribunal was established in order to try the top Japanese officials for the crimes committed by the Japanese during the war. These were temporary, ad hoc tribunals, which were dismantled once they had tried and sentenced the accused. Almost 50 years after the Nuremburg and Tokyo trials, the UN Security Council created two more ad hoc tribunals.

In 1993, the *International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991* (Resolution 827) was created. Two years later, in 1995, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was created, in response to the genocide in that country in which an estimated 800,000 people were murdered. Finally, in 1998, the international community adopted the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), which permitted the creation of a permanent international criminal court. The International Criminal Court, which is located in The Hague, the Netherlands, entered into force on July 1, 2002.

In addition to the ICC, nation states maintain the right to prosecute their nationals for war crimes. The complementarity principle of the ICC ensures that nation states are considered the first appropriate forum for trying war criminals; however, if the nation is unable or unwilling to prosecute, the ICC can step in. For example, if Canadian soldiers committed war crimes while on a UN mission, one would expect the suspects to be tried by a Canadian military tribunal. Only if Canada was unwilling or unable to try them could the case go to the ICC.

Although criminal prosecution holds offenders accountable, victims often feel excluded or forgotten in criminal procedures. In the ad hoc tribunals, the victims' only role was that of witness to a crime. This is in violation of the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, which was adopted by the United Nations in 1985 and calls for "national and international measures in order to secure the universal and effective recognition of, and respect for, the rights of victims of crime and of abuse of power" (Article 1). A distinguishing feature of the ICC is that, unlike its predecessors, the ICC recognizes victims' rights to participation and reparation. To enforce their rights, victims can be represented in the criminal justice process by a lawyer.

Another unique feature of the ICC is the introduction of the Trust Fund for Victims. The Trust Fund was established as an independent body to complement the Court's reparations function to benefit victims of crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court and their families. The main functions of the Trust Fund are to collect voluntary contributions, fines, and forfeitures; implement reparation

orders from the Court; and use voluntary contributions to provide assistance to victims independent of the reparations process.

Despite the tremendous progress made by the ICC with respect to victims' rights, some authors argue that criminal justice procedures may act as an obstacle and hinder reconciliation between groups or, at best, not affect intergroup relations. After all, in a mass conflict where everyone in the society is affected in one way or another, you cannot simply imprison half the population. At one point, society has to move beyond the victimization and work on its future; schools need to be built, business needs to flourish, and farming needs to resume. For survivors of war crimes, justice encompasses more than criminal trials. It means returning stolen property, locating and identifying the bodies of the missing, capturing and trying all war criminals, securing reparations, ensuring victims' protection and safety, providing their children with good schools and teachers, helping those traumatized by atrocities to recover, and commemoration, as well as reintegration and reconnection of victims in their community.

A third possible response to violent conflict is the creation of a Truth Commission. Placed on a continuum, Truth Commissions are situated in between total amnesty and criminal prosecutions. Victims are given a voice in Truth Commissions, which focus on uncovering the truth about what happened and, as such, can help victims and the society as a whole to come to terms with the atrocities committed in the past. Unlike criminal prosecutions, Truth Commissions are not adjudicative and do not punish offenders. Truth Commissions may be particularly salient in the case of civil war, where rival groups have to find a way to live together after violent conflict.

It is important to note that the three paths outlined here are not mutually exclusive. Any combination is possible, for example, beginning with a Truth Commission followed by criminal procedures, or the reverse, or criminal justice procedures for the top officials and amnesty for the foot soldiers.

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See also Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); Race/Ethnicity and Victimization; Sex and Victimization; Victimology; Victims Rights Legislation, International

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Web Sites

Amnesty International: <http://www.amnesty.org>
 International Criminal Court: <http://www.icc.org>

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME

Within the discipline of criminology, white-collar crime is one of the more challenging forms of law violations to operationalize. Edwin Sutherland, the sociologist who coined the term in a 1939 presidential address to the American Sociological Society (ASS), defined white-collar crime as “a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.” In his influential 1949 text, *White Collar Crime*, Sutherland specifies that crimes committed by business managers and executives are the primary subjects of this field of study. Likewise, the sociologist, E. A. Ross, who reportedly had the greatest direct influence on Sutherland, popularized the typology of the “criminaloid”: the exploitive businessman whose pursuit of profit maximization lay hidden beneath his respectable status and pious demeanor.

Although the earliest attempts to define white-collar crime tended to focus more on the psychological or social-psychological characteristics of these offense types and offenders (relative to structural, organizational, and/or cultural explanations), many of the key attributes noted by Ross and Sutherland—particularly the offender’s abuse of power and trust within his or her occupational context—are central components of white-collar crime studies today. In 1973, Marshall Clinard and Richard Quinney provided one of the most central definitional contributions to white-collar crime when they made the distinction between occupational crime and corporate crime. The former refers to a law violation for personal gain committed by an employee of any status level, and that is made possible through his or her engagement in a legitimate occupation. The latter refers to a law violation by higher-level corporate officers whose illegal behavior is committed on behalf of the corporation itself. Corporate crime also includes illegal acts committed *by* the corporation.

Characteristics of Offenders, Offenses, and Typologies

Despite the definitional advances over the last 70 years since Sutherland's landmark ASS presidential address, no singular, universal, agreed-upon definition of white-collar crime currently exists. Instead, the term is often discussed typologically where there is generally more widespread agreement as to its offense and offender characteristics. As with traditional forms of law violations, white-collar offenders are disproportionately male. However, with respect to other demographic comparisons, white-collar criminals are much more likely to occupy a middle- or upper-class background relative to conventional offenders. Also in contrast to conventional law violators, white-collar offenders tend to be middle-aged or older, have more formal education, are more likely to be married with more stable home lives, and have greater social networks including community groups and church affiliations.

Personally and professionally, the masks of legitimacy and respectability distinguish the white-collar offender from most conventional offenders. Through acquiring occupational positions of power, responsibility, influence, and trust, the white-collar offender opportunistically exploits the deficits or weaknesses—be it in his company, corporation, industry, or law—for (personal or organizational) financial and/or political gain.

Characteristics of white-collar offenses generally include deceit, concealment, and, as stated, violations of trust, responsibility, authority, and/or power within the course of one's occupation. Motivations for committing these offenses center on enhancing one's personal, organizational, or political power, influence, or financial gain. On average, white-collar offenses typically require greater autonomy, planning, sophistication, occupational access, and specialized knowledge compared with most conventional crimes. White-collar offenses also carry less risk in terms of being so labeled, detected, arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and criminally sanctioned.

White-collar offenses may include a violation of criminal, civil, or administrative law or may border the edges of legality—as in the case of unethical or immoral occupational conduct—often labeled white-collar deviance. The latter term recognizes that a white-collar offense need not be

criminally codified or sanctioned to cause significant physical, financial, or moral harm. The tobacco industry, for example, manufactures a legal product responsible for contributing to more than 400,000 American deaths annually. Despite the fact that cigarettes are highly addictive, carcinogenic, legal drugs, they are not regulated by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, which regulates other legal drugs.

The centrality of harm with respect to white-collar crime is evident in each of its many typologies, including corporate, occupational, governmental, finance, enterprise, entrepreneurial, avocational, and technological crime. Major varieties and examples of white-collar crime include *fraud*—false advertising, consumer fraud, financial fraud, tax evasion, and professional fraud; *labor violations*—workplace safety, health, and compensation violations, violations of privacy and the right to organize; *manufacturing violations*—manufacturing unsafe products or illegally emitting or dumping industrial pollutants into the air, water, or land; *governmental abuses of authority*—(*crimes of commission*) state sexual violence, political bribery, political corruption, and (*crimes of omission*) failure to adhere to agency/administrative orders, or to produce or report information when there is a legal obligation to do so; and *illegal or unfair business practices*—commercial bribery, industrial espionage, trademark, copyright, and patent violations, antitrust law violations (prohibiting monopolies), and Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations legislation (targeting organized crime).

Prevalence and Costs

Even greater than the task of defining white-collar crime is the challenge of locating the true prevalence and costs associated with these many offense types. Unlike the Department of Justice's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program and the National Crime Victimization Survey, which mostly collects data on conventional violent and property crimes, no nationwide, systemic governmental data collection exists for all of the varied forms of white-collar crime. Although the FBI's UCR Program (in its Part II category) does collect some data on white-collar crime as does the National Incident-Based Reporting System, the offense types measured are

primarily lower-level occupational or avocational offenses; no data on corporate or governmental crime, for example, are included. Similarly problematic is that both of these governmental databases rely on data reported by state, county, and municipal law enforcement agencies. Federal agencies provide the lead role in white-collar crime enforcement; yet no federal agency data are reported to the UCR Program.

Nevertheless, the FBI and the Association of Certified Fraud Examiners estimate that white-collar crimes cost the United States between \$300 billion and \$660 billion each year, respectively. In comparison with white-collar crime costs, the Sourcebook for Criminal Justice Statistics (which uses an average loss figure per incident) estimates that annual total losses from all property crimes are about \$15 billion; the FBI estimates these losses at approximately \$17 billion. Despite the methodological challenges associated with measuring direct costs (i.e., victims' losses), indirect costs (i.e., higher taxes, increased cost of goods and services, higher insurance rates, and residual economic costs), and physical costs (i.e., personal injury and loss of life), most empirical estimates from governmental, academic, and organizational sources find that the economic costs of white-collar crime are significantly higher than the costs of all conventional "street crime" combined. Perhaps most striking is that even a single white-collar crime case or event can dwarf the economic losses from all recorded property crimes in a single year. The savings and loan scandal of the 1980s, for example, has estimated losses between \$300 billion and \$500 billion. The more recent losses resulting from the corporate criminal conduct of Enron are estimated to reach between \$50 billion and \$60 billion.

Victim Impact

In addition to white-collar crime's greater financial costs, these offense types (most of which can be classified as corporate crime or corporate violence) far exceed conventional street crime with respect to loss of life, injury, and illness. As of this writing, the FBI estimates that close to 17,000 persons are murdered each year in the United States. In contrast, more than 12,000 Americans are killed each year because of unnecessary medical operations

alone. In the workplace, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) reports that 6,000 American workers are killed by occupational injuries each year, 56,000 die from occupational diseases contracted from their work, and 4 million are injured on the job. In the home, the Consumer Product Safety Commission estimates that 27,100 deaths and 33.1 million injuries each year are caused by consumer products.

Similar to the occupational (medical) malfeasance that victimizes patients, the operation of unsafe and unhealthy workplaces that victimize employees and the manufacturing of defective products that victimize consumers, the production, management, and disposal of toxic chemicals by corporate polluters victimize residents with devastating effects on human, animal, and environmental health. For example, the American Cancer Society estimates that 2% of the 556,902 annual American cancer deaths result from air pollution alone. More liberal estimates that count annual deaths from exposure to toxic air, land, and water pollution place the estimate at closer to 200,000. Despite the documented harms associated with these hazards, however, only a fraction of the hundreds of thousands of chemicals in commercial production are presently regulated by the Environmental Protection Agency.

As of this writing in early 2009, the largest governmental bailout (to date) was not of a single corporation but of some of the largest corporations in the mortgage, insurance, banking, and auto industries. The largest portion of the bailout went to the financial industry where widespread corporate-state malfeasance in the mortgage, banking, and insurance sectors have victimized the global and national economy (as well as its member taxpayers) on a scale not seen since the Great Depression. The level of illegal behavior (specifically corporate fraud) responsible for causing many of these spectacular business collapses is not yet fully appreciated.

In the mortgage industry specifically, the FBI has reported thus far that 80% of the fraud losses known to them involve collusion or collaboration between industry insiders. Better known are the quasi-legal (albeit often unethical and harmful) corporate-state practices that allowed the financial sector to dominate more than 35% of overall U.S. corporate profits. Many analysts point to a variety

of governmental factors, including a long-standing buildup of Securities and Exchange Commission deregulation, nonenforcement, and political and legislative influence by financial industry lobbyists that made this “financialization” of the economy possible. As one example, the nonenforcement rules against predatory lending by mortgage companies and banks fueled short-term thinking as well as the excessively high-risk and unstable financial practices that eventually led to the housing crisis of the late 2000s.

The financial industry’s ability to privatize profits and socialize risk is nothing new. For decades, the Treasury Department, Federal Reserve Board, and global lending institutions like the International Monetary Fund have historically enabled “moral hazards” whereby reckless lending and insuring practices by big banks and insurers is met with limited corporate liability, government guaranteed deposits, and government aid packages. As of mid-March 2009, the U.S. government has provided four bailouts to the nation’s largest underwriter of industrial and commercial insurance, American International Group (AIG). The governmental concern regarding “systemic risk” to other financial markets has allowed governmental stewards of the economic and financial system to continue the bailout process for as long as is necessary. Arguably, by externalizing the risks and costs associated with such reckless lending and insuring practices, the financial industry (with great assistance from the State) has learned via both positive and negative reinforcement that taxpayer-funded rescue packages are the new recourse for corporate and industrial malfeasance.

Governmental Responses

In the United States, the first major federal laws regulating and criminalizing white-collar crime emerged in the late 1800s, during the height of the American industrial revolution. Not coincidentally, case law during this time also granted corporations the same rights as “natural persons” in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case, *Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific Railroad* (1886). The concept of corporate personhood has created unique challenges with respect to criminally prosecuting many white-collar crime cases insofar as it is exceptionally difficult to demonstrate organizational criminal intent. As such, the overwhelming majority of white-collar

crime prosecutions involve individual offenders or individuals engaged in business as an organization; corporate criminal prosecutions are still rare. Other factors limiting white-collar crime prosecutions include class biases that favor white-collar offenders, and insufficient staff and budget resources required for prosecuting these criminal cases that are generally more labor intensive and sophisticated.

Conversely, civil and administrative laws emphasize strict liability, alleviate the *mens rea* burden required of prosecutions, and allow for a more specialized approach to regulating various organizational and occupational practices and behaviors. Similar to the resource issues constraining federal white-collar crime prosecutions, most federal regulatory agencies are grossly understaffed and underresourced, face enormous industrial as well as congressional pressures, and are often expected to do much with little. As a prototypical example, OSHA has approximately 1,000 compliance safety and health officers nationwide to inspect 7 million job sites and protect 115 million workers. On average, only about 2% of these job sites are inspected annually. As with many other regulatory agencies whose purview is largely administrative and civil law, OSHA can refer cases to the Department of Justice for federal prosecution, but it rarely does so in practice. In the case of willful occupational safety or health violations that cause an employee’s death, the maximum penalty for an employer under federal law is 6 months in jail—a misdemeanor—which under any other type of victim–offender relationship would ordinarily warrant a manslaughter charge.

Since the corporate scandals of the early 2000s, the United States has passed the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) of 2002, which with mixed results has sought to increase corporate governance and accountability, enhance auditor independence, strengthen internal controls, and improve financial disclosure for publicly traded companies. Also after the passage of SOX, the U.S. Sentencing Commission dramatically increased white-collar crime sentences for several offense types. Unfortunately from the vantage point of the deterrence doctrine, the new Sentencing Guidelines do not include fine provisions for many corporate and governmental crimes involving environmental pollution; food, drug, agricultural, and consumer product violations; civil rights violations; and

administration of justice violations (e.g., contempt, obstruction of justice, and perjury). Likewise, despite the enhanced penalties for certain white-collar crimes, the sentencing disparity between conventional and white-collar offenders remains substantial. On average, white-collar offenders are far less likely to be sentenced to prison upon conviction, and they receive far shorter prison sentences than traditional criminal offenders. To date, white-collar criminals comprise less than 2% of the nation's federal correctional population (where most white-collar offenders are sentenced), and no white-collar offender has ever been sentenced to death for his (or her) crime.

Policy Recommendations for Curbing White-Collar Crime

Responding to white-collar crime is an enormous task that requires a solid understanding of its many typologies, characteristics, contexts, victims, and offenders. Such an understanding requires the collective efforts of an informed social movement involving consumer, public interest, labor, environmental, and independent media groups in concert with academic, government, and business leaders committed to transparency and accountability in economic practices and decision making. Among the suggestions for reform are the creations of a white-collar crime sourcebook and national database to compile all of the varied white-collar crime violations, characteristics, and criminal justice system responses, in a consistent, accessible, and easily identifiable format. Such a database could include information on corporate criminal convictions, settlements, and grievances, which could be used by policy makers, attorneys, judges, journalists, activists, researchers, regulatory bodies, shareholders, and any other stakeholder concerned about curbing white-collar crime. Likewise, other additional reporting mechanisms could be initiated, such as an annual crime report similar to the FBI's UCR Program for white-collar crime. In addition, the National Incident-Based Reporting System could expand its category of white-collar crime violations to include more corporate and governmental crimes.

As corporate crime is arguably the most consequential form of white-collar crime, some critics advocate the abolition of corporate personhood

and revocation of their corporate charters for corporations convicted of wrongdoing. More generally, regulatory enforcement and compliance efforts could be initiated that build on the internal compliance efforts that companies have, as well as the ethical evaluations that managers make in informing their business decisions.

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See also Corporate Crime

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WITNESS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Witnesses are often critical for the investigation and prosecution of offenses because they can usually identify the offender and the offense he or she committed, which are the two most important factors for a successful prosecution. This is illustrated by a survey of 159 police officers who were asked the question, "How often do witnesses provide the major leads for an investigation?" Eighty-seven percent said "normally," "almost always," or "always." However, several factors can limit the impact of witnesses. Witnesses may not come forward to the police in the first place, they may decline to give evidence or attend court, or they may give poor-quality evidence. For these reasons, many witness assistance programs have been developed. Because witnesses providing accurate evidence in court are essential

to achieving justice, witness assistance programs can help achieve this at each stage from the initial reporting of the crime, to pretrial, to the trial itself and afterward.

Pretrial Programs

One problem with regard to witnesses and their willingness to participate in the criminal justice process is witness intimidation. Warwick Maynard found that on high-crime housing estates in the United Kingdom, 13% of crime reported by victims and 9% by witnesses led to subsequent intimidation. Intimidation also prevented many from reporting in the first place; 6% of victims and 22% of witnesses did not report for fear of intimidation. Intimidation may be even higher for certain vulnerable witnesses such as victims of rape and child sexual abuse. A recent survey suggested that 53% of vulnerable witnesses experienced some form of intimidation, usually from the defendant or the defendant's family. For intimidation, some programs have used the police to target those who are involved in the intimidation. One study indicated that the police intervention was successful about half the time, whereas another increased the number of witnesses giving evidence in court by 19%. For more extreme forms of intimidation, several countries have Witness Protection Programs, which may involve moving the witnesses and their family and even giving them a new identity. One simple way of improving the motivation of witnesses, and in turn their participation in the criminal justice system, simply involves treating witnesses with respect and understanding witness motivations for giving evidence. Research indicates that witnesses are usually motivated to give evidence to protect others and themselves, to make sure the truth comes out, and so the offender can be punished. Many police services nowadays put much more emphasis on motivating witnesses and victims and on identifying their needs, particularly for vulnerable witnesses, than was the case in the past.

The delay between witnessing or being the victim of a crime and giving evidence in court can be particularly upsetting for prospective witnesses and adds to psychological distress. This seems to be especially the case with children and those giving evidence against a family member. Some programs

have sought to ameliorate these problems via the videotaping of evidence or the provision of counseling. Recent legislation in England and Wales, Australia, and some parts of the United States has made provision for many vulnerable witnesses to give an initial account in court via a prerecorded videotape of their evidence. This process has several advantages. As the evidence is given as soon as a potential crime is disclosed, this means memory decay is minimized. In addition, if counseling is provided subsequent to the initial evidence being provided, it is less likely that the evidence may be contaminated by the therapeutic process or for such allegations of contamination to be made in court. Finally, if the account is videotaped when allegations are made, then the interviewer's questioning can be observed and potentially leading and distorting questions may be identified. Counseling is permitted in some jurisdictions. Often this is tightly controlled by the witness assistance program to ensure that the witness's account is not distorted by the process and that the process is clearly fair. This can be achieved by maintaining detailed notes about what is covered, and the therapist can concentrate on behavioral symptoms rather than on the alleged crime itself.

The prospect of giving evidence can be a daunting task. Many witness assistance programs seek to reduce witnesses' concerns and to improve witnesses' performance through familiarization of the witness with the court and court procedures. This may include precourt visits, videotapes and DVDs of what happens in court, and a host of other methods. For instance, several booklets, including pop-up books for children, cover what will happen in court. Any concerns the witness might have, or special needs they might have, can be assessed at this time with either a formal or an informal assessment. For example, the witness may be concerned that he or she will meet the defendant in the waiting room before going into court. Such fears can be dispelled by providing information about the separate waiting rooms (where applicable) provided for witnesses. Other "special measures" to help the witness provide evidence can be discussed at this point with the witness. Finally, witnesses often need practical support with day-to-day issues, which might include transport to the court and child care for dependent children. Of course, a key issue here is

identifying those who are in need of assistance, and there do seem to be some problems in some areas with officers and prosecuting authorities not recognizing those who are most vulnerable and in need of support and in coordinating this support.

In Court

Several schemes assist a witness in the court itself. These are typically tailored to start as soon as the witness arrives, indeed often before to ensure the witness is comfortable coming into the court buildings in the first place. One way of doing this is via a support person, sometimes called a victim-advocate, who waits with the witness prior to the court appearance and often goes into the court itself. Recently, several initiatives have sought to enhance the quality of the evidence that witnesses give via "special measures." Perhaps the most useful of these is the provision of closed-circuit television (CCTV) or the playing of previously recorded evidence, as mentioned. The main reason for the use of these procedures is that the witness does not have to give evidence in a crowded courtroom. Many adults from the general population find talking in front of large audiences about banal issues difficult; however, when the topic is more stressful, as in the case of rape or child abuse, and the witness is vulnerable, this problem is exacerbated. Another advantage of presenting evidence via video or CCTV means that the witness does not have to meet the defendant directly. Research indicates that presenting evidence in this way is effective. In one survey, 98% of those giving video evidence felt that they had the opportunity to say all they wished compared with only 53% of those in open court. Nevertheless, in some jurisdictions, these procedures may not be available because of the defendant's right to confront his or her accuser.

One of the most critical influences on the quality of witness evidence is the way in which witnesses are questioned. Research indicates that the questions that lawyers ask are often difficult for witnesses from the general population to understand and are particularly problematic for vulnerable groups such as children and people with intellectual disabilities. Most questioning in court is closed, and this is especially the case in cross-examination, meaning that the witness's account is

often constructed by the lawyer rather than given in the witness's own words. The influence of question type can be understood in terms of the different cognitive and social demands of different question formats. For more open questions, the task is to tell the interviewer what the witness can remember by relying on his or her own memory. For more specific, closed questions, the task changes to one of providing the interviewer with what he or she wants the witness to remember that the witness may not be able to recall. If witnesses cannot remember events well, it is unsurprising that they provide less accurate answers to specific questions and confabulate. In addition, lawyers often use complex vocabulary, complex syntax, negatives and double negatives, and multiple questions. These questions are problematic because the witness may not comprehend what is being asked, and their confusion about what the question means can make them look as if they are confused about what they remember rather than the question itself. Furthermore, the fact that many witnesses are suggestible means they may simply give "yes" answers and it may not be clear what they understand the question to be. People with social and cognitive difficulties are more likely to be suggestible because of their poorer memory capacity and impairments in coping with the uncertainty, expectations, and associated pressures.

The implication of this is that the quality of evidence that witnesses provide can be improved by using questions that the witness can understand. Some forms of questioning are permitted in law, and so the judge must allow them; nevertheless, the judge can ensure that some forms of questioning that are problematic for witnesses are modified. For example, the judge may require that multiple questions are split into individual questions and that complex vocabulary is made understandable. This can be achieved without violating the defendant's rights but often requires that the judge is informed of what questions are likely to be particularly problematic for the witness. This information can be provided formally by a witness assistance program. In addition, interpreters have been used to facilitate the giving of evidence for those who are not fluent in the language of the court. This has not been particularly problematic as long as the interpreter's translations are accurate and verifiable. However,

more controversial is the use of intermediaries with people who have a form of idiosyncratic communication, for instance, some individuals with an intellectual disability that may be able to communicate in a way that is not understood by others, which does not necessarily seem objective.

Finally, after the court case has finished, witness assistance programs may still have a role to play. This role may involve explaining the verdict and ongoing support. In some cases, witnesses may be distressed by the verdict and may feel that the jury did not believe them; in these cases, the high standard of "beyond reasonable doubt" may need particular explanation.

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See also Defendants' Rights Versus Victims' Rights; In-Camera Proceedings; Victim Impact Statements

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WOMEN'S SHELTERS/HELP LINES

Shelters and help lines are on the front lines of service provision for intimate partner violence victims. This entry explores the definitions of shelters and help lines; provides some historical background; discusses current perspectives and methodologies; discusses what help is available on a national, state, and local level; and ends with a look at how many services were provided by domestic violence programs on one particular day in September 2007.

Definitions

Domestic violence shelters are designed specifically to protect women who are at risk of danger from their intimate partner. Emergency shelters were created to be short-term living spaces in response to an immediate crisis for victims and their children. Women in need of such safe haven often arrive at a shelter without many personal belongings, money, or other resources because of the peril involved in leaving their abusive partners. Consequently, domestic violence shelters provide a variety of services to both women and children to help families rebuild their lives.

Domestic violence help lines—also referred to as hot lines or crisis lines—are services on the telephone, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Calls are toll free, confidential, and can be anonymous. Help lines usually provide services to non-English-speaking callers through language interpretive services and have TTY capabilities for those who are deaf or hard of hearing. Those frequently calling for help are victims themselves, but also they can include family, friends, and even perpetrators. Consultation also occurs with professionals working with victims, including law enforcement, health care professionals, mental health/social service providers, educators, clergy members, and attorneys.

Historical Perspective

Providing shelter to women and children who experience domestic violence began as a movement in the United States in the early 1970s. Guided by feminist values, the shelter movement believed in the empowerment of women and worked toward ending all forms of abuse, oppression, and discrimination. Early shelters and help lines were grassroots organizations, run by volunteers and a few paid staff. Some communities began with safe homes, where dedicated individuals shared their homes with women and their children. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, many communities were marshalling resources to create group housing to shelter victims.

In the early days, the battered women's knowledge base was just developing. Books such as Del Martin's *Battered Wives*, published in 1976, provided initial guidance about how to provide assistance. Shelters were opened with no specific

operational guidelines or regulations, aside from group home standards and health department regulations. Those managing programs had to develop their own training programs. Communities were suspicious that “those women” working at shelters/help lines “were breaking up the family.” Conversely, domestic violence programs were distrustful of potential allies, especially law enforcement and others in the legal system, as victims’ experiences were often not believed. Legislation about domestic violence was nonexistent, and financial resources were also a struggle. Most programs were initially supported locally through partnerships with United Way chapters, mental health boards, foundations, and individual donors.

Current Perspective

Today there are many more resources for, and a wealth of information available about, intimate partner violence that enhances the ability of shelters and help lines to provide quality services, focusing on collaboration and inclusiveness. Legislation recognizes domestic violence as a crime, and laws have been instituted to protect victims. Even the use of language has changed. Instead of referring to domestic violence as wife battering, the term *intimate partner violence* is used more frequently because it captures the variety of ways in which intimate partners of either gender experience domestic violence in gay, lesbian, and straight relationships.

In the 1980s and 1990s, national legislation improved the base of financial support for domestic violence programs. Congress enacted the Victims of Crime Act, the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, and the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). Many states legislated fees on marriage licenses as a method to fund shelter programs. This income has greatly stabilized services; yet programs are still not funded at adequate levels, and a variety of resources are needed to balance program budgets on a yearly basis.

Current Methodology

Shelters and help lines have documented fact-based methods to save women’s lives. Among the major contributors are Barbara Hart’s innovative work

with the legal system and developing coordinating councils, Jacqueline Campbell’s pioneering lethality risk instrument, Ginny NicCarthy’s practical advice for ending abuse, and Susan Schechter and Ann Jones’s strategies for women with controlling partners. Also, there are standards on what type of services should be provided.

Those providing assistance are expected to be culturally competent with a diverse client base, encompassing race, culture, ethnic background, disability, religion, gender, immigrant status, and sexual orientation. Community-wide collaborations are now the norm, often in the form of domestic violence coordinating councils to enhance the effectiveness of services for victims and batterers. Recognition of the barriers victims experience when living in rural communities has brought attention to the lack of resources and has served to reallocate some resources to these communities. More shelters and help line programs recognize the need to train staff about children who witness domestic violence, the issues male survivors experience, and how to help teens experiencing dating violence. Teen dating violence prevention programs are offered in many communities. Engaging men, both teens and adults, in the field of prevention is now recognized as an integral aspect of eliminating violence against women.

Services Available

Several national organizations provide and/or coordinate services to victims, provide technical support to professionals in the field, work on public policy, and increase public awareness about domestic violence. These organizations include the Family Violence Prevention Fund, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV), and the National Network to End Domestic Violence (NNEDV). In 1996, the National Domestic Violence Hotline (NDVH) was created with VAWA support to provide services in all 50 states, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

State coalitions against domestic violence, such as the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women and the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence, are membership organizations made up of shelters, help lines, other domestic violence programs, supportive agencies, and concerned individuals. State coalitions provide technical assistance, resources,

information, and training to all who address or are affected by domestic violence, and they promote social and systems change through public policy, public awareness, and education initiatives. Most coalitions also link victims to local resources.

Number of Programs

According to the 2008 *National Directory of Domestic Violence Programs*, published by the NCADV, there are approximately 2,000 domestic violence shelters and programs in the United States. However, the coalition reports that not all domestic violence programs list their programs with the NCADV. Shelters and help lines can be stand-alone nonprofit organizations or programs within a larger nonprofit agency. Some programs only serve domestic violence victims, and some are dual programs also serving sexual assault victims.

Shelter Operations

Shelter facilities can be a variety of physical structures. A shelter may be a renovated home, a residential floor in a YWCA, a specially built facility, or even paid hotel rooms. Shelters try to provide the same amenities that one's own home would have, including meals, clothing, and private bedrooms with enough beds for each family member. Victims are usually asked to not disclose where they are staying to keep those who live and work at the shelter safe. Shelter stays are anywhere from 30 to 90 days, with extensions based on extenuating circumstances. Some communities also provide transitional housing after the initial emergency shelter, which provide additional housing and supportive services. Most shelters are staffed around the clock to be able to respond to the emergency needs of victims.

Help Line Operations

Help lines are designed so that callers can seek assistance as often as needed, 24 hours a day, 365 days of the year. During a typical call, trained staff will provide crisis intervention, education/information, and safety planning, which is a process of strategizing with the caller on how to reduce the risk from the batterer. An example of safety planning is teaching a child how to run to the neighbors and call 9-1-1 when the batterer becomes abusive. If

the help line is part of a shelter and the caller needs emergency housing, intake procedures occur to determine whether the shelter is a viable option. If the help line is a separate organization, a referral is made to the shelter. With modern technology, the call is often transferred directly to the shelter so no second call is needed.

Overall Services

Services may vary slightly, dependent on the community. All services should be accessible to victims with disabilities and to non-English-speaking victims. Most shelters and help lines offer the following:

- *Crisis intervention and/or counseling*—includes empathetic listening, developing options, safety planning, information, and referral, as well as guidance. In states where licensure is required to counsel, crisis intervention is provided versus counseling.
- *Advocacy*—acting on a victim's behalf and with her permission, barriers are removed that impede progress with law enforcement, social services, landlords/housing, health care, etc., including assistance in securing rights, remedies, and services. For instance, a trained advocate might accompany a victim to a hospital emergency department to document injuries with photographs.
- *Court accompaniment/legal services*—accompaniment and advocacy throughout a criminal or civil court process, such as help with protection order paperwork or accompanying a victim during a court proceeding.
- *Children's services/child care*—providing counseling, child care, or children's activities.
- *Support groups/group counseling*—offering support, education, and guidance in a group setting. Again, licensure issues may apply.
- *Emergency financial assistance*—cash outlays for transportation, food, clothing, emergency housing, etc.
- *Case management*—overall coordination of a service plan for clients.

Training, Prevention, and Public Awareness

Training, prevention education, and public awareness are also activities that shelters and

help lines provide to the community. Professionals who work with victims are trained on how to identify domestic violence, provide sensitive intervention, and offer appropriate referrals. Speeches are made to community groups to increase awareness about domestic violence. Teen dating violence prevention education is provided to students. Public relations and marketing activities occur to ensure that victims, their family and friends, and the general community know how to access help.

How Many Victims Seek Help

In an effort to understand more fully the number of victims seeking help, in 2006, the NNEDV developed the National Census of Domestic Violence Services. This census collects an unduplicated count of adults and children seeking services from domestic violence programs in the United States during a single 24-hour period. In the second annual census, conducted on September 25, 2007, 69% (1,346 out of 1,949) of identified domestic violence programs participated. The census found that 53,203 victims were served in one day. Of these victims, 25,321 victims were housed in emergency shelters or transitional housing and 27,882 adults and children received non-shelter services, such as counseling, court accompaniment/legal advocacy, and/or children's services. Programs also answered 19,432 help line calls, with an extra 1,150 calls answered by the NDVH. Programs also reported conducting prevention training and community education to 29,902 individuals in their communities. Lastly, the participating programs reported 7,707 requests for services they were unable to meet. Deficits of resources and funding caused a lack of shelter space, reductions in staffing, and even cuts in programming. It is clear that although much progress has been made in serving intimate partner violence victims and their children, there is still much work to be done.

Ann MacDonald

See also Court Advocates; Domestic Violence; Intimate Partner Violence; Rape Crisis Centers; Victim Assistance Programs, United States; Victim Service Providers, Training of; Victim Support Groups

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Web Sites

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- National Council on Juvenile and Family Court Judges: <http://www.ncjfcj.org>
- National Domestic Violence Hotline: <http://www.ndvh.org>
- National Network to End Domestic Violence: <http://www.nnedv.org>
- Ohio Domestic Violence Network: <http://www.odvn.org>

WOMEN'S USE OF AGGRESSION

Decades of research have focused on men's use of aggression, often defined as behavior intended to

harm another person physically or psychologically. Recently, attention to women's use of aggression and the different contexts in which it occurs has increased. Research has found that women initiate physical aggression more often in the home (e.g., within relationships) than in the general community (e.g., against strangers and acquaintances). This entry describes (1) women's aggression in community and relationship contexts, (2) the risk factors and correlates of women's aggression, and (3) responses to and interventions for women's aggression.

Contexts in Which Women Use Aggression

Community Context

Limited data show that women's aggression in the community, such as toward acquaintances and strangers, has a different pattern than their aggression in relationships, such as toward intimate partners or children. Women's aggression toward acquaintances tends to be unplanned, in response to the acquaintance-victim's behavior, and related to substance use. For example, a study of more than 200 female inmates of a New York prison found that women convicted of homicide were involved in the drug market and used aggression toward acquaintance-victims to protect their economic investment in the market. Data on women's aggression toward strangers also are limited, with most information deriving from studies of robbery. This limited information shows that women are more likely to use weapons (1) when perpetrating robberies compared with other violent crimes and (2) when robbing a male victim than a female victim.

Relational Context

Intimate Partners

More than 100 studies have found that women self-report using physical aggression in relationships as frequently as men. These findings have led to broad conclusions that "women are as aggressive as men," which have generated a great deal of controversy. Some researchers view these conclusions as oversimplifications because they focus solely on the frequency of physically aggressive acts without taking into account the context

in which aggression occurred, motivations for the use of aggression, and consequences of aggression to the victim. Studies that have addressed context of, motivations for, and consequences of women's aggression show that women often are aggressive in the context of their own victimization, often use aggression in self-defense, and experience more serious consequences as the result of their partners' aggression against them than vice versa.

Psychologist Michael Johnson identified the typologies of women's and men's use of aggression in intimate relationships that are focused on the extent to which the motive for the use of aggression is to control the partner. His four typologies are (1) *situational couple violence*, (2) *violent resistance*, (3) *intimate terrorism*, and (4) *mutual violent control*. Respectively, Johnson's typologies describe relationships in which (1) aggression is perpetrated by both partners toward each other as a function of specific conflict, *without* the aim of controlling another person's behavior; (2) aggression is used to protect oneself from enduring more aggression and control; (3) aggression is perpetrated to control the partner's behavior; and (4) aggression is perpetrated by both partners to control the other person's behavior. In heterosexual relationships, *situational couple violence* is the most common typology, whereas *mutual violent control* is the least common. Similar to heterosexual relationships, violence in some lesbian relationships has been found to reflect *intimate terrorism*, particularly when one woman is more dependent on the other.

Children

The need to focus on women's aggression against children separate from men's aggression against women has become evident. Women, more often than men, perpetrate physical and psychological aggression against children. Women use moderate-to-severe forms of aggression against their children, which result in injury and, in extreme cases, death. In regard to sexual aggression against children, men are the perpetrators in 96% of cases. However, gender differences exist for the child-victim and adult-offender relationship such that more women than men perpetrate sexual abuse against boys, the most common form of which is touching.

Risk Factors and Correlates of Women's Aggression

Several factors have been identified as precursors and correlates of women's aggression in community and relational contexts. Risk factors for women's aggression include their experience of childhood trauma, a history of juvenile arrests, conduct disorder behaviors in childhood and adolescence, and poverty. Correlates of women's aggression include their own victimization as well as psychiatric symptoms, including posttraumatic stress, depression, and anxiety.

Response and Intervention

Women's aggression in community and relational contexts has been met with different responses. Response to women's aggression in community settings (typically in the context of drug marketing and robberies) has been to incarcerate them or mandate them to complete community-based anger management programs. The response to women's use of aggression in relational contexts, specifically toward intimate partners, is linked to the Law Enforcement Protection legislation of the 1980s, which allowed officers responding to domestic violence calls to arrest and charge the perceived perpetrator without the victim having the burden of doing so. Enactment of this legislation has led to increased arrests and prosecution of women for domestic violence offenses and, thus, to an increase in mandates to complete batterer intervention programs. The response to women's aggression toward children is to mandate them to complete parenting programs and/or to remove children from the home.

Overall, limited research exists focusing on response to and interventions for women's aggression. As more research focuses on women's aggression, specialized interventions can be developed that take into consideration the context in which women's aggression occurred, motivations for the use of aggression, and consequences of aggression to the victim.

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See also Domestic Violence/Family Violence Courts; Family and Domestic Violence, Theories of; Intimate Partner Violence; Offending and Victimization; Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence

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WORKPLACE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN THE

Every year, an estimated 1.8 million women report severe physical assault by an intimate partner. The lifetime prevalence of intimate partner violence for women is 25% to 30%. This violence includes physical and sexual assault as well as psychological victimization, and the estimates likely underestimate the actual occurrence of partner violence. Most of these victims, and the perpetrators of this violence, are members of the workforce.

Violence against women, often perpetrated by male partners or ex-partners, has been linked with injuries, homicide, and other short-term and long-term sequelae, including complications of pregnancy and adverse pregnancy outcomes, sexually transmitted diseases, chronic pain syndrome, irritable bowel syndrome, posttraumatic stress disorder, and depression. Much less is known about the effects of partner violence in the workplace, but logic would indicate that with the number of victims and the severity of the consequences, the effects are likely to be broad.

Extent of Workplace Domestic Violence

Although there is no precise estimate of how much domestic violence (DV) occurs at work, it clearly represents a daunting challenge, affecting a sizable proportion of the approximately 140 million employees in United States. Several national-level data sources shed some light on the extent of workplace DV.

The Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries conducted annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that homicide is the leading cause of death for women on the job. During 1992 to 1994, 17% of the alleged perpetrators who killed women at work were current or former partners.

According to a Federal Bureau of Investigation report, each year approximately 3% of workplace homicides are known to be perpetrated by an intimate partner. Of the workplace homicides committed by an intimate, approximately 62% were committed by a husband ($n = 122$) and 37% were committed by a boyfriend ($n = 72$). Far fewer homicides, nearly 2% ($n = 3$), were committed by a wife.

The annual National Crime Victimization Survey reports more than 1.7 million workplace violent victimizations (i.e., rape, sexual assault, robbery, and simple and aggravated assault) each year, with many of these perpetrated by partners. A larger percent of female employees were victimized by an intimate rather than by their male counterparts. Five percent of the women victimized at work were attacked by a current or former spouse or boyfriend compared with 1% of the men.

These estimates, however, drastically underestimate the extent of DV in the workplace. Although existing data systems can be used to identify work-related deaths, work injuries, and violent victimizations, no existing data source was specifically designed to identify the nexus between DV and the workplace. This inability to measure workplace DV is, in part, because few sources measure both the relationship of the violent act to work and the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. Furthermore, data sources are not available to capture events such as psychological abuse or stalking. Thus, the answers to many important questions about the frequency, types, and consequences of DV in the workplace are largely unknown.

Effects of Domestic Violence on Employees

Studies of DV in the workplace have begun to establish the damaging effects of the violence on every component of a work organization. DV in the workplace affects the safety and health, as well as the productivity, of the victim employee, the perpetrator employee, their co-workers, and the organization as a whole. It is estimated that almost

\$900 million in lifetime earnings alone is lost because of the premature death of female victims.

Effects of Domestic Violence on the Abused Employee While at Work

The effects of DV on the victim's work opportunities and performance are broad. Victims of violence may have difficulty seeking work because of the control their partners demonstrate, such as extreme isolation or blocking access to transportation. In addition, many victims are underemployed, with women who have experienced DV in their lifetime reportedly earning, on average, \$12,000 less per year than their nonvictimized counterparts.

Physical and emotional harm endured by DV victims causes increased absenteeism, including tardiness and missed work days. A study of female DV victims, ages 18 to 65, found that one in four were late to work or missed days of work because of their partner's abuse. Common interference behaviors used by the perpetrator include neglecting to provide transportation or child care to the victim and physical violence that causes severe injuries resulting in the victim being unable to go to work. In addition, 75% of employed DV victims are bothered by the perpetrator while at work. Perpetrator tactics involve harassing phone calls to the victim's place of employment and showing up unexpectedly. The fears of abuse looming over the victim while in the workplace result in distraction. This distraction may be a leading source of victim lost work productivity.

Financial costs endured by the victim are staggering. More than 30,000 full-time jobs, the equivalent of 8.0 million days of paid work, are lost each year because of DV as well as approximately 5.6 million days of household productivity. It is estimated that these lost days cost victims and their employers at least \$192 million annually.

Absenteeism and poor performance resulting from violence has resulted in abused women losing their jobs and earning lower wages. Jody Raphael determined that almost one third of abused working women lost or quit their jobs because of their DV situation. Victims often must quit their job in the process of ending the abusive relationship so that they can relocate away from the abusive partner and try to find safe environments while ending the relationship.

Although DV victims suffer negative consequences at their workplaces, they are just as likely to be employed as nonvictims. Some research has found that DV actually boosts labor market participation. Although this may seem conflicting to the findings previously discussed, DV victims may seek employment for increased protection. Employment may allow an abused woman to continue or reclaim her financial independence as well as provide much needed social support from supervisors and co-workers, although one in three report not telling an employer about the abuse. In addition, an abused woman's workplace may provide a safe haven from the abuse she receives at home.

The Impact of the Perpetrator-Employee on the Job

Little is known about the number of violent or abusive acts a perpetrator may commit using job-related resources. Interviews of batterer's in six Maine intervention programs found that almost 9 in 10 DV offenders used company resources to reach their partner while on the job, with the majority reporting use of the company phone and car. Perpetrators reported using work resources to check up, bully, intimidate, or express remorse/anger to the victimized partner. The majority reported using the company's car to drive to the victim's home or workplace during working hours, which could pose a threat to the victim's co-workers.

The DV abuser's ability to function on the job is also impaired. Abusers self-report that mistreating their partner has a negative effect on their job performance. Almost half of abusers (48%) admitted that thinking about their relationship, while on the job, caused them to be distracted. A smaller proportion (19%) reported a mistake or near-miss disaster brought about by their abusive actions toward a loved one. Being retained in police custody because of their perpetration of abuse work resulted in more than 15,000 hours of work time lost.

Absenteeism is not only a problem for victims but also for the perpetrators of the violence. Almost half of abusers reported they had been late to work or left early because they were committing acts of abuse against their partner.

A focus group of male DV abusers, administered by the Massachusetts-based Employers against Domestic Violence, reinforced the lack of consequences for DV

perpetration while in the workplace. Supervisors of offenders showed compassion toward them, rarely enforcing consequences for work missed because of court dates or imprisonment. Substance abuse difficulties were often addressed by supervisors, but rarely did they acknowledge troubles related to DV with the abusers.

Consequences for Co-Workers

The significance of workplace victimization to co-workers of the victim and perpetrator is largely unknown. A third of DV victims have disclosed the abuse to a co-worker, and 44% of respondents to a national survey reported that their workplace was impacted because of domestic abuse to a co-worker. Little research has investigated the consequences of working with a DV victim or perpetrator on co-workers, but the potential for decreased work productivity, affects on the work environment, witnessing of harassment, stalking, and even physical assault are high. Nearly 65% of respondents also reported that they were aware of an intimate partner harassing a co-worker while at work. Co-workers are also at risk in the most extreme acts of violence, such as the potential for involvement when a perpetrator attempts to murder a victim while at work.

However, interactions with co-workers can be critical for victims. Victims of DV have reported that support given by co-workers and others at work has helped them keep their job, and 80% have said it helped them cope with the violence. With the high proportion of DV victims engaged in the workforce, the positive interactions with co-workers indicate that the workplace can play a critical role in interventions.

Costs to Businesses

Business executives and managers are increasingly knowledgeable about the effects of DV on their corporate operations. In 2002, more than 50% of employers were aware of employees who had experienced DV, a 16% increase since 1994. Whether this represents increasing workplace DV or increased awareness is unknown, but these findings are likely a combination of both. Although employers are more aware, only 5% of companies have policies specific to DV.

A study supported by Liz Claiborne reported that almost all (91%) senior executives and managers of Fortune 1000 companies believed that DV affects both the private and working lives of their employees. More than half (60%) reported concerns that DV impacted their employees' psychological well-being, physical safety (52%), productivity (48%), and attendance (42%). A series of focus groups with 25 health benefit managers throughout the country have corroborated these findings. The managers stated that DV victims have increased absenteeism, an inability to focus, poor self-esteem, low productivity, and low morale.

The direct financial costs, including medical expenses and lost productivity, of DV on businesses is astounding. Half of the respondents to a Liz Claiborne survey recognized that DV had a negative effect on their company's insurance and medical costs. A single DV victim can incur greater than \$2,000 more per year in medical expenses than a nonvictim with a staggering total of almost \$24 million per year in medical costs to businesses. In addition to medical costs, an estimated \$100 million is spent on lost wages, paid sick leave, and absenteeism to DV victims. Executives and managers recognize how these additional costs affect their company's bottom line and that DV deserves more of their attention.

Legal liability has a price tag, too. Employers can face a range of liabilities for failing to address DV threats, including failure to secure the workplace from known threats and indirect liability for not intervening on known dangers. Although these liabilities have not been tried extensively in courts, findings increasingly favor victims. Employers can also be liable under torts for negligent hiring, retention, supervision, and termination should an employer fail to screen or remove dangerous employees or situations.

Legal Rights and Employment Protections for Domestic Violence Victims

As the scope and toll of DV are better understood, legal protections for victims are increasing, and many of these include work protections. Many new policies that protect DV victims against employment discrimination are being implemented, such as policies in many states that prohibit any employment discrimination against DV victims.

Many states are also implementing policies that prohibit employers from penalizing employees for taking time off to seek protection orders, seek medical care, or other activities related to being a victim of DV.

Other policies require employers to protect workers from the potential effects of DV. The OSHA General Duty clause states that employers have an obligation to maintain a safe workplace. Some states have identified violence as a general hazard, and some have identified DV in the workplace as an aspect of the violence hazard.

How Domestic Violence Is Being Addressed in the Workplace

Especially in large workplaces, many different departments are important in the identification of and response to domestic violence. Workplace leadership needs to recognize the problem and to implement policies and procedures that support the identification and active response for both victims and perpetrators. Supervisors need to be trained in the existing policies and procedures, as well as taught appropriate skills to engage in a successful response. Human resource personnel are critical in developing and implementing protocols and procedures once domestic violence has been identified. Risk management and security need to protect the physical environment from domestic violence hazards, such as maintaining secure buildings and circulating information about potential perpetrators who should not have access to the workplace. Occupational medicine and other health care providers to the workforce can be helpful by screening for abuse. It is much more difficult in smaller businesses to identify appropriate resources and responsibilities to respond to domestic violence. However, general workplace acknowledgment and communication about the potential influence of domestic violence is critical for all types of workplaces.

There has been little systematic research to identify how many employers are addressing the issue of DV in their workplaces, what these employers are doing, and how successful they have been. Bonnie Fisher and Corinne Peek-Asa conducted a content analysis of publicly available documents and found that few programs provided comprehensive strategies for addressing the problem, and no program

had been adequately evaluated. Three resources were found to be particularly helpful for employers:

- Information about “best practices” addressing workplace partner violence is available through the Corporate Alliance to End Partner Violence (CAEPV), a national nonprofit organization whose mission is “reducing the costs and consequences of partner violence at work—and eliminating it altogether” through a variety of means, including education, policies and programs, legal issues, and legislation.
- A Sample Policy of Domestic Violence, developed by the National Center on Domestic and Sexual Violence, which provides information for developing a comprehensive DV workplace policy.
- A resource guide for employers, unions, and advocates, developed by the Family Violence Prevention Fund.

A range of topics are included in these guides, including guidelines for supervising victims of DV, pointers on how to talk with an employee who is a perpetrator of abuse, designing personal and workplace safety plans, securing the work area, as well as identifying and treating DV, legal issues, and union responses to DV.

Despite these and numerous other guidelines, employers have few resources for proven programs to address DV in their workplaces. They have even fewer resources about how these programs can be implemented in various work settings. A growing interest in this topic, which will be fueled by growing awareness and recognition of its toll and consequences, will hopefully lead to more informative state-of-the-art models.

The Future

The workplace provides an ideal setting for efforts to prevent DV and support its victims. Workplaces are relatively controlled environments in which protection strategies can be tested and implemented. Employers should be motivated to test these programs because they will likely positively impact worker morale and productivity, and they could prevent potential events for which they could be held liable. As this field of work moves forward, it is hoped that employers become increasingly

proactive in assisting victims and in creating an intolerant atmosphere for DV perpetrators.

Corinne Peek-Asa and Karisa K. Harland

See also Domestic Violence; Domestic Violence and Arrest Policy; Family Violence; Intimate Partner Violence, Theories of; Workplace Violence, Prevention and Security

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Web Sites

Corporate Alliance to End Partner Violence: <http://www.caepv.org>

WORKPLACE BULLYING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION

Research on workplace bullying and psychological aggression has grown considerably during the past decade, and it now cuts across several academic disciplines. Joel Neuman and Robert Baron note that workplace aggression is a comprehensive term that refers to any acts that are intended to harm workers in settings or situations related to their work, which can be physical or nonphysical in nature. In the literature, workplace aggression is considered an umbrella term for a variety of more specific types of behavior, including bullying, mobbing, incivility, emotional abuse, petty tyranny, abusive supervision, and generalized or status-blind harassment. Psychological aggression at work typically refers only to those acts or behaviors that are nonphysical in form and are intended to cause psychological distress or harm to the target. Workplace bullying, on the other hand, incorporates both physical and psychological forms of aggression and has been defined more specifically with regard to persistence, frequency, and duration of negative work behaviors directed at one or more individuals in the workplace. A pattern of behaviors is considered bullying only if it is persistent, occurring repeatedly during a given period of time rather than as isolated incidents that happen only occasionally.

Types of Behaviors

Generally speaking, workplace bullying and psychological aggression involve a wide range of behaviors that threaten, intimidate, humiliate, or

undermine an individual's work reputation or performance. The types of behaviors include harassing, offending, social exclusion, derogatory remarks, insults, sabotage, withholding information, noninclusion, and physical acts that are perceived as intimidating or threatening. Acts of workplace psychological aggression and bullying most commonly involve nonphysical forms of aggression (either verbal or nonverbal) and are more likely to be passive in nature rather than active. These behaviors may be directed at one or more individuals in the workplace by one or more co-workers, supervisors, or customers/clients/patients.

Prevalence

Estimates of the prevalence of workplace bullying and psychological aggression vary depending on the sample used, how the terms are defined, how the time frame is used, and how the researcher asks the questions about the experiences and behaviors. Studies indicate that roughly 10% to 14% of workers report being victims of bullying, and this figure increases to 40% to 50% if those who are witnesses to bullying are included. Estimates of psychological aggression range from 27% and upward of 59% and even higher, depending on the study. Both men and women in the workplace may be targets of psychological aggression and bullying, as well as aggressors, and bullying and psychological aggression may be experienced at all levels of the organization, including management. Workplace bullying and psychological aggression tend to be more prevalent in the health care and service delivery sectors.

Risk Factors

Several workplace factors have been shown to be related to workplace bullying and psychological aggression. Job characteristics such as increased workload and lack of job control and organizational features, including structure, politics, role ambiguity, and role conflict, have all been associated with workplace bullying and psychological aggression, as well as issues surrounding organizational change such as job insecurity and social change. Leadership style, interpersonal conflicts, poor organizational climate and culture, low levels

of organizational justice, and lack of social support from co-workers and supervisors also correlate with workplace bullying and psychological aggression. Lastly, some research indicates that individual or personality characteristics of the actors may also be related to engaging in aggressive behaviors in the workplace.

Consequences

Workplace bullying and psychological aggression have been found to be harmful to both the individual and the organization. Experiencing these negative behaviors has been related to decreased psychological well-being, including symptoms of depression, anxiety, feelings of helplessness, post-traumatic stress disorder, alcohol and substance abuse, and anger as well as to decreased cognitive functioning (attention, concentration). Psychosomatic complaints such as headaches, sleep disturbances, and gastrointestinal disorders have also been reported. Bullying and aggression also cost the organization in terms of poor job performance, reduced productivity, lowered job satisfaction, reduced organizational commitment, withdrawal from social and professional activities, and increased absenteeism and turnover. Experiencing these adverse behaviors at work may also spill over into family and home life. Furthermore, workplace bullying negatively impacts not only those targeted for the behaviors but bystanders or witnesses on the job as well.

Prevention and Intervention

Several suggestions have been made for preventing workplace bullying and psychological aggression, although few studies of intervention effectiveness have been conducted. It has been recommended that on an organizational level, goals, roles and responsibilities, policies, guidelines for acceptable behavior, and ethics should be clearly stated and infused throughout the organization. Successfully preventing workplace bullying also involves creating an organizational climate that fosters openness, respect, and tolerance of diversity. Some researchers have suggested that emphasis should also be put on management and supervisory styles or practices that promote fair treatment and respect for all employees.

Training has also been advocated for preventing workplace bullying and psychological aggression. It has been put forth that employees and managers should receive training in basic communication skills, conflict management, and de-escalation techniques, as well as specific training in workplace aggression.

In terms of intervening, both formal and informal systems have been proposed for dealing with incidents of workplace bullying and psychological aggression. These systems might include involvement of personnel or human resource professionals, use of employee assistance programs, formal complaint or grievance procedures, or using informal response teams and coaches.

It is important to keep in mind that few systematic evaluation studies are available regarding the effectiveness of interventions for workplace bullying and aggression. The need for such research continues to be a significant gap in the literature.

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Note: The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

See also Bullying; Incivilities/Social Disorder; Psychological/Emotional Abuse

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WORKPLACE VIOLENCE, INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The main concern of environmental criminology is to focus on crime patterns. Recurring events have certain patterns that give clues to develop preventive measures. Crime prevention efforts usually have been directed to street crimes to prevent subsequent victimizations. However, recent research indicates that workplace violence is a major problem that needs to be considered along with traditional crimes. Today, workplace violence has been accepted as an emerging problem in many countries. In the United States, for instance, almost 1,000 workers are murdered at work each year. When considering the 2005 homicide rate (5.6/100,000) of the United States, nearly 1 out of 16.6 homicides is because of workplace violence. That makes workplace homicide the second leading cause of death in the United States.

Even though workplace violence is so prevalent in the world, it is difficult to predict its magnitude for several reasons. They are as follows:

- Most studies in the literature are just a decade old; therefore, limited research is available to predict the prevalence of workplace violence.
- The interest of international organization for workplace violence is new. As an example, the International Labor Office (ILO) published its first report regarding workplace violence in 1998.
- Most countries do not have organizations that specifically focus on workplace violence.
- The form of workplace violence can range from basic psychological pressure to murder. Although it is possible to record serious incidents (i.e., injuries and murders), other forms of workplace violence (i.e., bullying and psychological threats) usually remain unreported. For instance, it was found that official records of workplace violence in Turkey are 1,300 times less than the ILO's predictions.

Definition and Types of Workplace Violence

The U.S. Department of Transportation defines workplace violence as "assaults, other violent acts or threats which occur in or are related to the workplace and entail a substantial risk of physical

or emotional harm to individuals, or damage to government resources or capabilities."

In general, three types of workplace violence are based on the assailant-victim relationship.

- (1) *Outsiders*: The perpetrator has no legitimate business relationship with the targeted workplace and workers. A typical example for this category is robbery (unknown perpetrator vs. worker).
- (2) *Customers*: The perpetrator is a customer or client that receives service from the service provider. A nurse victimized by a patient well illustrates this type of workplace violence.
- (3) *Employee*: The perpetrator is a current or former co-worker or manager. For instance, a manager can victimize his or her victim by using physical abuse or psychological threats.

The definition from the U.S. Department of Transportation includes all three types of workplace violence. In this respect, this definition seems highly inclusive.

Forms of Workplace Violence

The forms of workplace violence are broad. It can be physical, psychological, sexual harassment, or bullying/mobbing. Studies indicate that women disproportionately experience workplace violence, especially for sexual harassment. One of the underlying reasons is that women generally work in high-risk occupations such as hospitals.

Regardless of the seriousness of the form of workplace violence, even the consequences of psychological threats on workers and third parties (i.e., close friends and family members) are tragic. Many workers experience mental health problems as a result of workplace violence.

International Perspective to Workplace Violence

The 1996 International Crime (Victim) Survey conducted by the United Nations Inter-Regional Crime and Justice Research Institute is one of the rich sources of information regarding the prevalence of workplace violence in the world. It was conducted in 32 different countries. The survey measured

workplace violence by incident type (assault and sexual assault) and gender. The survey suggests that France, Argentina, Romania, Canada, and England reported the highest rates of workplace violence incidents among 32 countries. According to this survey, developed countries experience more workplace violence than countries in transition. One limitation can be thought of in terms that people in developed countries might be more likely to report their traumatic experiences at the workplace. For this reason, the survey may be misleading in terms of prevalence of workplace violence in the world.

Apart from this big picture, individual studies in some countries may also help see the magnitude of workplace violence. For instance, in Germany, a 1991 National Survey, conducted by the Federal Institute of Occupational Health and Safety, indicated that 93% of women experienced sexual harassment at work during some point in their lives. In the United States, a 1999 Pinkerton Survey indicates that security executives believe workplace violence is the most important security threat. As noted, each year, 1,000 workers lose their life as a result of workplace violence in the United States. In addition, statistics report that 18,000 workers are assaulted at the workplace each year.

In the United Kingdom, a survey found that more than 11,000 retail staff were exposed to physical violence and that more than 350,000 staff were either threatened or verbally abused. In Japan, a newly established bullying hotline by the Tokyo Managers' Union received 1,700 claims within two short time periods. Claims were generally related to sexual harassment, stress, and bullying. In Finland, a telephone survey conducted by the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health indicated that 4.1% of workers (nearly 80,000) were subjected to either workplace violence or threats. The study also indicated that certain occupational groups, such as social service and transportation and traffic workers, are among the high-risk groups (10.5% and 6.8%, respectively).

In Australia, a self-reported survey indicated that 50% of aged care sector nurses experience workplace violence. In Hong Kong, a study that specifically measured workplace violence against nurses revealed that 73% had been subjected to verbal abuse, 45% to bullying, 18% to physical

abuse, and 12% to sexual harassment. Similarly, in South Taiwan, 62% of nurses experienced some form of workplace violence.

In Turkey, a study conducted by Forensic Medical found that most of the nonfatal injuries occurred in the workplace. In South Africa, workplace hostilities are unusually high. Some surveys showed that four out of five workers experience workplace violence during their work life. In the European Union, the Third European Survey on Working Conditions indicated that 2% of workers (3 million) had been the victims of sexual harassment and that 9% of workers (13 million) had been the victims of intimidation and bullying.

In general, studies suggest that people in certain occupations, such as taxi drivers, teachers, social workers, and health care workers, have a higher risk of workplace victimization. According to the 1998 ILO report, health care, social services groups, retail trade, banking, and transport are the occupations where workplace violence generally concentrate. It can be said that occupations that inherently require much public interaction (i.e., exchange of money, delivery services, or goods) experience a higher risk of victimization.

Workplace Violence Prevention

The above statistics indicate that the prevalence of international workplace violence is high in many countries. Workplace violence can be perceived as a leading cause of violence in some situations (i.e., homicide). In addition, today, workplace violence is one of the major health and safety issues in most countries. It causes critical health issues for workers that increase medical costs. Loss of work days and litigation costs can be considered in this context as well.

Given the prevalence of workplace violence in the world, it can be said that offices, schools, courts, and hospitals are no longer safe places as previously assumed. Workplace violent events increase day by day in most countries. In this context, workplace violence takes its place in crime prevention as an important emerging issue in the world. However, research on workplace violence is still young. In addition, current studies in the literature rarely separate types of workplace violence when they report their findings. This in turn may hinder the development of crime

prevention policy because one can hardly know whether prevention should be directed toward customers, outsiders, or co-workers. Putting it differently, a policy implication for taxi drivers who are repetitively victimized by outsiders should be different than for workers who are victimized by their co-workers.

Nonetheless, workplace violence is nonrandom and concentrates in certain occupations. Preventive strategies can be developed by identifying patterns of workplace violence. Concentrating only on health care and social services groups may address 50% of the workplace violence in most countries.

M. Murat Ozer

See also Business Community Crime Prevention; Occupational Violence; Small Businesses, Victimization Against and Within; Workplace Violence, United States

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WORKPLACE VIOLENCE, PREVENTION AND SECURITY

According to data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, between 1992 and 1996, more than 2 million incidents of workplace violence were reported per year. This includes 1.5 million simple assaults, 396,000 aggravated assaults, 51,000 rapes and sexual assaults, 84,000 robberies, and 1,000 homicides. Because of the extent of workplace violence, efforts have been made to try to reduce violence in the workplace. This entry outlines some measures that have been recommended and implemented in an effort to reduce workplace violence. It begins with a review of the risk factors for workplace violence.

Risk Factors

Research has identified several risk factors for workplace violence. These factors include exchange of money; guarding valuable property; delivery of passengers, goods, or services; contact with the public; working alone or in small numbers; working late at night or during early morning hours; and working in high-crime areas. Research has also identified risky occupations for fatal and nonfatal workplace violence. Risky occupations for fatal workplace violence include taxicab drivers, sales clerks, and work in security, liquor stores, gas stations/convenience stores, and bars. Risky occupations for nonfatal workplace violence incidents include retail sales, law enforcement, private security, health care, transportation, and teaching. Because research has identified specific factors and occupations that have been linked to higher risks of workplace violence, many prevention efforts have focused on these specific factors and occupations.

Environmental Approaches

One approach to trying to prevent violence in the workplace is through environmental modifications. Examples of environmental approaches for workplace violence prevention include the installation of metal detectors, bulletproof shields between workers and customers, and alarm systems; the modification of structures to reduce the ease of access by unauthorized individuals (e.g., fired

workers and violent partners); the reduction of isolation in work spaces; and ensuring that workers have an escape route in the event that an incident of workplace violence does occur. In addition, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration recommends that retail establishments improve visibility, maintain adequate lighting, install video surveillance equipment and closed-circuit television, put height markers on exit doors, use door detectors to notify employees when individuals enter the store, and control access to the store with door buzzers. Other examples of environmental approaches include using locked drop safes, limiting amounts of cash, and posting signs that limited cash is available.

Some evidence suggests that environmental approaches may lead to reductions in workplace violence. For instance, Ronald D. Hunter and C. Ray Jeffrey reviewed several studies on the effectiveness of environmental factors in reducing the potential for robbery in convenience stores. They found numerous types of environmental approaches associated with reductions in robberies at convenience stores, including good cash handling (e.g., limiting the amount of cash available and posting signs indicating limited cash), enhanced exterior visibility, and the use of security devices (e.g., robbery alarms, camera or video systems, controlled access safes, and mirrors).

Behavioral Approaches

Behavioral approaches to reducing workplace violence focus on training. For instance, employees can be trained to identify potentially violent customers or clients, to be cognizant of the warning signs of co-worker violence, and to use self-protective measures in the event that they do encounter a violent customer or client. Efforts to prevent workplace violence may also include training employees in listening and conflict-resolution skills.

Another behavioral approach to reducing workplace violence focuses on employee screening and effective hiring practices. Researchers recommend the use of thorough background checks on potential employees (e.g., reviewing applicants' criminal records, credit reports, driving records, military discharges, and education and employment backgrounds). In addition, it is recommended that employers verify applicants' references. Reference

verification may reveal important information such as the reasons that applicants left previous jobs. Finally, the interview process can be used to clarify discrepancies in the applicant's background and to see how the applicant deals with conflict, frustration, anger, and disappointment.

Administrative and Work Practice Controls

Another way to try to reduce workplace violence is through the use of administrative and work practice controls. Examples of administrative controls include prohibiting working alone and increasing staffing during late night or early morning hours (or even closing entirely during those hours).

As with environmental approaches, some evidence suggests that administrative and work practice controls may be effective in preventing workplace violence. For instance, Hunter and Jeffrey, in their review of studies on convenience stores, found that having two or more clerks on duty, especially at night, reduced the potential for robbery. In addition, their review of prior research indicated that closing stores from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. reduced the potential for robbery.

Legislative Efforts

Some legislative efforts also have been designed to prevent workplace violence. These legislative efforts have occurred at the local, state, and federal levels. For instance, at the local level, some U.S. cities have passed ordinances that require bullet-resistant barriers between taxicab drivers and their customers. John Stone and Daniel Stevens examined whether these shields reduced assaults on taxi drivers in Baltimore, Maryland. They found a significant reduction in assaults against taxi drivers after the ordinance took effect. Thus, some evidence suggests that legislative efforts may be helpful in preventing incidents of workplace violence.

Future Research

Several security and prevention practices have been recommended and implemented in workplaces across the United States. Research suggests that some of these measures may be effective in reducing workplace violence. Future research

should continue to examine the effectiveness of these measures in an effort to decrease incidents of workplace violence across the United States.

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See also Workplace, Domestic Violence in the;
Workplace Violence, International Perspective;
Workplace Violence, Training and Education;
Workplace Violence, United States

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WORKPLACE VIOLENCE, TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Workplace violence is any physical assault, threatening behavior, or verbal abuse occurring in the work setting or to an employee while on duty at another location. Threatening behavior can be defined as whatever makes someone feel threatened. It includes a statement or expression of intention to hurt, destroy, or punish.

Most workplace violence is not random and does not result in severe physical harm to the victim. Workplace violence originates from interpersonal conflict perpetrated by customers, patients, or clients of a business. It can also be conflict between co-workers or between a worker and his or her spouse manifesting as threats, attacks, stalking, intimidation, bullying, and harassment, including that of a sexual nature. Workplace violence results in injury to the targeted employee as well as in decreased morale of the entire workforce. Without proper intervention, these threats can escalate into more severe behavior causing serious injury or even death.

Duty to Act

Preventing violence in the workplace is the ethical and legal obligation of all employers. According to federal law, all employers are required to provide a work environment that is free of recognized hazards. If an instance of violence occurs, an employer can face civil liability if the employer failed to show due diligence when it hired or retained an employee who was dangerous or if it failed to provide proper physical safety measures, as well as adequate supervision and/or training.

Workplace Violence Training

Corporate Culture

The potential for workplace violence can be reduced if the leadership team of a business can create a culture of trust and mutual respect among workers of all levels. This is accomplished in part by drafting a strong written violence prevention policy that affirms the company's commitment to a safe workplace and clearly defines appropriate employee conduct. The policy should emphasize the employer's zero tolerance and willingness to take action on any employee's complaint.

Managers and supervisors play a critical role in preventing workplace violence because of their responsibility for the hiring, training, and the day-to-day supervision of all employees. Therefore, the training program should be deeply rooted at this level and should include lessons in effective management styles, pre-employment screening, training

of employees, and recognizing the warning signs of a problematic situation, as well as the evaluation and resolution of the same.

Effective Management

Managers must be trained to demonstrate a management style that is fair, empathetic, and consistently applied. Employees who believe they are treated fairly are less likely to be involved in instances of violence even during stressful periods such as disciplinary action, termination, workforce layoff, or business reorganization.

Screening Job Applicants

Preventing violence requires that managers perform proper background screening of job applicants to uncover any history of drug or alcohol abuse, past conflicts with co-workers, and convictions for violent crimes. Managers should be taught the significance of an applicant's hostile attitude, a history of frequent job changes, or a tendency to blame others for problems.

Recognizing Warning Signs

Unfortunately, despite all efforts to be diligent, problematic employees still slip through. Therefore, managers must be advised of the following warning signs of high-risk behavior:

1. Having an obsession with weapons or bringing a weapon to work
2. Making a direct or veiled threat
3. Intimidating or instilling fear in others
4. Displaying unwanted romantic interest in a co-worker
5. Paranoia
6. Unwillingness to accept criticism
7. Experiencing recent family, legal, or other personal problems

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence can spill over into the workplace. Therefore, managers must know the warning signs of domestic violence, including unexplained

absences, frequent use of leave time, anxiety, lack of concentration, and change in performance. Managers should be trained to encourage associates to report all troubling behavior or matters concerning their own lives or the private life of a co-worker without reprisal. These matters include disruptive phone calls, unexplained bruises or injuries, disruptive visits from family, and vandalism or threats.

Evaluating Threats

The manner in which managers assess and resolve threats and/or threatening behavior plays a critical role in the prevention of workplace violence. Managers should be trained to evaluate the credibility and viability of an expression of intent to do harm. Specific things to analyze include the nature of the threat and the context in which it was made. Care should be taken to analyze the subject's motivation as well as his or her ability to carry out that threat. Such analysis would include researching their work history, criminal record, military service, and past behavior on the job. Managers should know to seek advice and assistance from threat-assessment experts and law enforcement when in doubt.

Educating Employees

Managers can prevent violence by properly communicating the workplace violence policy to their subordinates along with the standards of conduct outlined therein. Managers can also educate employees on indicators of potential violence, how to report them, and how to respond to someone who seems troubled or potentially dangerous. Employees who work within individual retail establishments or remote offices or who travel and otherwise perform their duties away from the corporate office must be made aware of the risk factors associated with their jobs, and know how to mitigate those risks by strictly obeying the safety and security policies governing their workplace activities.

Prevention of Workplace Violence

Violence in the workplace can be reduced when a business creates an environment of mutual respect and trust among its employees. This environment

requires the adoption of a zero-tolerance policy and a well-communicated employee code of conduct. To prevent violence, a business must sustain high levels of awareness to potential threats at all times by providing thorough training for all levels of the workforce on a recurring basis.

Patricia Morgan

See also Workplace, Domestic Violence in the;
Workplace Violence, Prevention and Security;
Workplace Violence and Bullying, Interventions for

Further Readings

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WORKPLACE VIOLENCE, UNITED STATES

Workplace violence has always existed in the United States—indeed, during some periods of our history, fear, intimidation, and physical violence were commonplace in work settings. Contemporary expectations in industrialized democracies, however, are that all workers are entitled to a workplace free from recognized hazards. Until approximately the last 15 years, however, those hazards were defined almost exclusively as developing from exposure to chemical, thermal, or mechanical energy. Although some occupational groups recognized the risk of violence during the course of doing their jobs (law enforcement, corrections, and to a limited extent, health care—particularly psychiatric care), it has only been in recent decades that violence directed toward persons while at work or on duty has been recognized as an important occupational safety and health issue across all industrial sectors. The growing field of workplace violence has focused on both

understanding the risk factors for victims and developing recommendations to reduce the incidence and severity of events in the future.

Definitions

The term *workplace violence* encompasses a variety of events along a continuum of severity from words or actions that disrupt the workplace by making workers uncomfortable or fearful to physical assaults and homicides. In addition to variation by severity, it is clear that the term *workplace violence* means different things to different people. This is not a single issue, but it encompasses incidents across a range of circumstances and relationships between victims and offenders. For example, it is recognized that the violence that may occur during the course of a robbery of a taxicab driver or a convenience store is distinctly different from that which might occur when a distraught patient lashes out at a health care provider or when a co-worker or a boyfriend assaults someone in a workplace. In an effort to facilitate improved discussion of research and prevention needs and strategies, a typology of workplace violence has been developed that classifies the range of workplace violence incidents into four categories that are useful in thinking about research as well as potential prevention strategies. Specifically, the types are as follows:

- Criminal intent incidents in which the perpetrator has no legitimate relationship to the business and is usually committing a crime in conjunction with the violence (Type I).
- Customer/client incidents in which the perpetrator has a legitimate relationship with the business and becomes violent while being served by the business (Type II).
- Worker-on-worker incidents in which the perpetrator is an employee or past employee of the business and attacks or threatens another employee (Type III).
- Personal relationship incidents in which the perpetrator does not have a relationship with the workplace but has a personal relationship with the intended victim (Type IV).

This typology, taken along with the continuum of severity, allows the description of risk factors and prevention strategies across a matrix of events

of differing levels of physical or psychological harm and victim–offender–workplace relationships.

Recognition of the Problem

Although the earliest apparent discussion of workplace violence appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in an article titled “Assaults Upon Medical Men” in 1892, quantitative data on workplace homicide were first reported in studies of workplace fatalities in specific states, including a study in Maryland during 1978, Texas for the period from 1975 to 1984, and California for 1979 to 1981. Analysis of workers’ compensation data for the state of Ohio for the years 1983 to 1985 generated publications focused on the incidence of sexual assault of women at work and on the incidence of nonfatal workplace assaults in that state.

In the criminology literature from the mid-1970s through the 1980s, researchers were examining criminal victimization by occupation, victim injuries during robberies in an urban area, and the relationships between job activities and victimization risk. As well, workplace violence risks were being analyzed during this period within particular occupation and industry groups. Some authors have focused on particular risks faced by workers in small retail establishments with an emphasis on robbery deterrence, whereas others have examined the specific dangers faced by police officers. Still others have looked at the risks of violence in health care settings such as in hospital emergency departments and psychiatric inpatient units.

Despite this growing body of literature on specific geographic areas and particular occupations and industries, no national data had been compiled or published for workplace homicide. The first national data on the incidence of workplace homicide were published by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) in 1989. These data demonstrated on a national basis that homicide was the third leading cause of occupational injury death—exceeded only by motor vehicle crashes and machine-related deaths—and identified that homicide was the leading cause of injury death for women in the workplace.

These data also indicated that although nearly half of workplace homicides occurred among workers aged 25 to 44 years, workers aged 65

years and older had the highest rates of workplace homicide by age group. Additionally, although the largest number of workplace homicides occurred among White workers, Black workers and workers of other races had the highest rates (or risk) of workplace homicide and retail trade, public administration (including law enforcement), and transport (including taxicab) industries had the highest rates of workplace homicide. These early data indicated, too, that homicide was the leading cause of occupational injury death in three of ten industry divisions, including retail trade, services, and finance/insurance/real estate. At that time, homicide was also the leading cause of occupational injury death in five states and the District of Columbia. Prior to this publication, homicide had not been seriously regarded as a significant occupational safety and health issue.

No discussion of workplace homicide would be complete without addressing the high-profile incidents and concerns about violence in the U.S. Postal Service in the 1990s. Indeed, the term *going postal* became synonymous with the image of an angry co-worker entering a workplace to kill current or former colleagues (Type III events). A careful scrutiny of data on occupational injury deaths in the Postal Service revealed that homicide was not the leading cause of occupational injury deaths in the U.S. Postal Service (that distinction was held by motor vehicle-related incidents) and the rate (or risk per 100,000 workers) of workplace homicide among Postal Service employees was essentially the same as the average workplace homicide rate for all U.S. industries combined. Moreover, only about half of the workplace homicides in the Postal Service were the high-profile incidents of disgruntled employees attacking co-workers and supervisors; the remainder included Postal Service employees murdered during robberies or other crimes while carrying out their duties.

In the early 1990s, data on the magnitude of nonfatal workplace violence also began to appear in the literature, with annual estimates ranging from 22,000 private-sector workers suffering assault-related injuries serious enough to require at least one day away from work to approximately one million workers reporting having been victims of crime while at work or on duty, representing 15% of the 6.5 million acts of violence experienced by Americans in the National Crime

Victimization Survey. During this same time period, other researchers began to focus on the psychological aggression and bullying aspects of workplace violence and to make links to organization of work issues such as work stress, hours of work, and the like.

Data Sources for Monitoring Workplace Violence

Data on workplace violence have been and can be gleaned from several sources, none of which has been specifically designed for the purpose of understanding workplace violence specifically and therefore are less than ideal. For homicides, the most comprehensive source of data is the Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries (CFOI), a data collection system maintained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). CFOI is based on data taken from death certificates, supplemented with information from newspaper clippings and other varied sources. These data are available from 1992 onward and include not only homicides but the entire range of work-related fatalities such as motor vehicle and machine-related deaths as well as falls and other types of injuries. Variables available for analysis include demographic (e.g., age, race, and gender) and employment (e.g., occupation, industry, and self-employed) variables as well as details about the incident, including the type of event (e.g., shooting, stabbing, and other), the nature of the injury, and the location (e.g., convenience store, restaurant, and employer parking lot). BLS typically releases data for the previous calendar year in August. Data are available through Web-based tables and queries as well as through special requests to BLS staff.

For nonfatal workplace assaults, two national-level data systems have the capacity to describe victims and circumstances. The first is another BLS system, the Survey of Occupational Injuries and Illnesses. This annual survey of private-sector establishments, again, is not specific to workplace assaults but collects information on a full range of occupational injuries and illnesses. The portion of the survey that allows description of workplace assaults includes only those injuries serious enough to require at least one day away from work. Variables available for analysis include basic worker demographics, employer information, and

basic information about the circumstances of the event. Data are available through Web-based tables and queries as well as through special requests to BLS staff.

The second system is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The NCVS is an ongoing household-based survey of persons 12 years and older conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The survey includes a question indicating whether a reported incident occurred while working or on duty. Variables available for analysis include occupation and industry, relationship of the victim to the offender, injuries sustained, and whether the incident was reported to the police. Periodic analyses of workplace victimizations have been completed and are available from the BJS Web site.

Impact and Trends

Workplace violence exacts a tremendous burden on workers, workplaces, and society at large. Using only data on the most extreme form of workplace violence—homicides—during the 11-year period from 1997 to 2007, BLS's CFOI system documented a total of 7,062 workplace homicides, which is an average of 642 homicides each year or nearly two workers murdered each day. Using a model that calculates direct and indirect costs of workplace fatalities, including medical expenses and lost earnings, researchers from NIOSH estimated the average mean cost of a workplace homicide incident (using data from 1992 to 2001) to be \$800,000. The total cost of workplace homicides during this time period totaled nearly \$6.5 billion. As staggering as these numbers are, they only capture one, albeit the most severe, form of workplace violence. The magnitude and cost of nonfatal workplace violence has yet to be fully measured.

On a more positive note, a 2007 trend analysis by Scott A. Hendricks, E. Lynn Jenkins, and Kristi R. Anderson pointed out that both the number and rate of workplace homicides in the United States declined during the decade from 1993 to 2002. The decline in workplace homicide rates was slightly greater than the decline in total U.S. homicide rates. Analysis of the circumstances of work-related homicides indicates that the overall decline was primarily driven by substantial reductions in

Type I workplace homicides (those that occurred during the course of a robbery or another crime) and that this reduction mirrored the decline in robbery-related homicides in the general U.S. population. Detailed analysis of the trends in workplace homicides by occupation, industry, worker activity, and location also support the notion that the overall decline in workplace homicides during this period was primarily driven by substantial reductions in robbery-related homicides.

Risk Factors and Prevention Strategies

Findings from the occupational safety and health and criminal justice literature can be brought together to identify several potential risk factors for workplace violence, including the following:

- Interacting with the public
- Exchange of money
- Working alone or in small numbers
- Working late night or early morning hours
- Guarding valuable property and/or possessions
- Delivery of passengers, goods, and services
- Having a mobile workplace (e.g., police cruiser or taxicab)
- Working in community-based settings
- Working with unstable or volatile persons in health care, social service, or criminal justice settings
- Working in high-crime areas

Although many of these risk factors are inherent in particular industries and occupations, the number and impact of incidents can be reduced through the implementation of appropriate prevention strategies. Such strategies can be grouped into three overarching categories—environmental designs, administrative controls, and behavioral strategies.

Environmental Designs

Environmental design approaches to workplace violence prevention are consistent with more general principles of crime prevention through environmental design and include strategies such as interior and exterior lighting and making high-risk areas more visible to more people. This increased visibility may be referred to by

criminologists or security experts as natural surveillance, and it may be accomplished by removing signage from the windows of convenience stores or by using the glass-walled interview areas in banks, emergency departments, and other settings where privacy is needed for the exchange of personal information, but the interaction can reasonably be observed by other workers as well as clients and patients.

Other environmental design strategies focus on physical separation of workers from customers, clients, and the general public. The use of bullet-resistant barriers or enclosures has been suggested for retail settings such as gas stations or convenience stores, banks, hospital emergency departments or pharmacies, and social service claims areas. Increasing the height and depth of counters—with or without bullet-resistant barriers—is also a possible consideration to protect workers by introducing physical distance between workers and potential attackers. Thought must be given, however, to the continued ease of conducting business because a safety device that increases frustration for workers or for customers, clients, or patients may be self-defeating. Cash-control strategies are another important component of environmental design considerations. Using cash-control devices such as drop safes to minimize cash accessible to workers and posting signs stating that limited cash is on hand are considered prudent strategies for many retail settings.

Access to and egress from the workplace are also important environmental design concerns to address. The number of entrances and exits, the ease with which nonemployees can gain access to work areas because doors are unlocked, and the number of areas where potential attackers can hide are important considerations. This has implications for the design of buildings and parking areas, landscaping, and the placement of garbage areas, outdoor or stand-alone refrigeration units, and other storage facilities that workers must access during a work shift.

The installation of numerous security devices may reduce the risk for assaults against workers and/or facilitate the apprehension of perpetrators. These devices include closed-circuit cameras, alarms, two-way mirrors, card-key or other biotechnological access systems, panic-bar doors locked from the outside only, or personal alarm

devices in fixed workplaces. For mobile workers, trouble lights, cell phones, geographic positioning systems, or other tracking or help-summoning technologies may be appropriate. In addition, personal protective equipment such as body armor is appropriate in law enforcement and other public safety or security occupations.

Administrative Controls

Staffing plans and work practices (such as escorting patients and prohibiting unsupervised movement within and between clinic areas) are included in the 1993 California Occupational Safety and Health Administration *Guidelines for the Security and Safety of Health Care and Community Service Workers*. Increasing the number of staff on duty may also be appropriate in any number of service and retail settings. The use of security guards or receptionists to screen persons entering the workplace and controlling access to actual work areas has also been suggested by security experts.

Work practices and staffing patterns during the opening and closing of establishments and during money drops and pickups should be carefully reviewed for the increased risk of assault they pose to workers. In addition to the transportation or depositing of money, these practices may include having workers take out garbage, dispose of grease, and/or store food or other items in external storage areas.

Policies and procedures for assessing and reporting threats allow employers to track and assess threats and violent incidents in the workplace. Such policies clearly indicate that workplace violence is unacceptable and provide mechanisms by which incidents can be reported and handled. In addition, such information allows employers to assess whether prevention strategies are appropriate and effective. These policies should also include guidance on recognizing the potential for violence, methods for defusing or de-escalating potentially violent situations, and instruction about the use of security devices and protective equipment. Procedures for obtaining medical care and psychological support following violent incidents should also be addressed. Training and education efforts are clearly needed to accompany such policies.

Behavioral Strategies

Training employees in nonviolent response and conflict resolution has been suggested to reduce the risk that volatile situations will escalate to physical violence. Also critical is training that addresses hazards associated with specific tasks or worksites and relevant prevention strategies. Training should not be regarded as the sole prevention strategy but as a component in a comprehensive approach to reducing workplace violence. To increase vigilance and compliance with stated violence prevention policies, training should emphasize the appropriate use and maintenance of protective equipment, adherence to administrative controls, and increased knowledge and awareness of the risk of workplace violence.

The first priority in developing a workplace violence prevention policy is to establish a system for documenting violent incidents in the workplace. Such data are essential for assessing the nature and magnitude of workplace violence in a given workplace and for quantifying risk. These data can be used to assess the need for action to reduce or mitigate the risks for workplace violence and implement a reasonable intervention strategy. An existing intervention strategy may be identified within an industry or in similar industries, or new and unique strategies may be needed to address the risks in a given workplace or setting. Implementation of the reporting system, a workplace violence prevention policy, and specific prevention strategies should be publicized across the workplace and appropriate training sessions should be scheduled. The demonstrated commitment of management is crucial to the success of the program. The success and appropriateness of intervention strategies can be monitored and adjusted with continued data collection.

A written workplace violence policy should clearly indicate that violence, whether it originates inside or outside the workplace, or is committed by line or supervisory staff, will not be tolerated. Just as workplaces have developed mechanisms for reporting and dealing with sexual harassment, they must also develop threat assessment teams to which threats and violent incidents can be reported. These teams should include representatives from human resources, security, employee assistance, unions, workers, management, and perhaps legal and public relations departments. The charge to

this team is to assess threats of violence (e.g., to determine how specific a threat is, whether the person threatening the worker has the means for carrying out the threat, etc.) and to determine what steps are necessary to prevent the threat from being carried out. This team should also be charged with periodic reviews of violent incidents to identify ways in which similar incidents can be prevented in the future.

Note that when violence or the threat of violence occurs among co-workers, firing the perpetrator may or may not be the most appropriate way to reduce the risk for additional or future violence. The employer may want to retain some control over the perpetrator and require or provide counseling or other care, if appropriate. The violence prevention policy should explicitly state the consequences of making threats or committing acts of violence in the workplace; typically, this is some sort of progressive discipline (e.g., a verbal or a written warning, followed by disciplinary action up to and including removal) depending on the seriousness of the incident. If someone poses a danger to himself or others, appropriate authorities should be notified and action should be taken immediately.

A comprehensive workplace violence prevention policy and program should also include procedures and responsibilities to be taken in the event of a violent incident in the workplace. This policy should explicitly state how the response team is to be assembled and who is responsible for immediate care of the victim(s), re-establishing work areas and processes, and organizing and carrying out stress debriefing sessions with victims, their co-workers, and perhaps the families of victims and co-workers. Employee assistance programs, human resource professionals, and local mental health and emergency service personnel can offer assistance in developing these strategies.

Dealing With the Consequences of Workplace Violence

Since the late 1980s, much discussion has centered on the role of stress in workplace violence. Of note, stress can be both a cause and an effect of workplace violence. That is, high levels of stress may lead to violence in the workplace, but a violent incident in the workplace will most certainly

lead to stress, perhaps even to posttraumatic stress disorder. Employers and others who provide training or services to workplaces should therefore be sensitive to the effects of workplace violence and provide an environment that promotes open communication; they should also have in place an established procedure for reporting and responding to violence. Appropriate referrals to employee assistance programs or other local mental health services may be appropriate for stress debriefing sessions after critical incidents.

Conclusion

Currently, no national regulatory requirements specific to the prevention of workplace violence are in place. In the United States, occupational safety and health legislative responsibility is delegated to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in the U.S. Department of Labor. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is the designated federal research agency. Both agencies have addressed the importance of preventing workplace violence. Other federal agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of Personnel Management have also developed materials and recommendations for workplace violence prevention. Employers, workers and labor representatives, academic researchers, and numerous professional associations have also been engaged in research and advocacy efforts. Given the complexity of the problem, there may never be a single legislative or preventive approach to workplace violence but a collection of efforts to address the component parts of the overall issue.

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See also Workplace, Domestic Violence in the; Workplace Bullying and Psychological Aggression; Workplace Violence, Prevention and Security; Workplace Violence, Training and Education

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WORKPLACE VIOLENCE AND BULLYING, INTERVENTIONS FOR

Workplace violence encompasses a broad array of physical and nonphysical behaviors intended to harm individuals while they are on the job. The workplace is considered any location where an employee performs a work-related task or duty. Acts of violence such as physical assaults or threatening behaviors represent a significant health and safety risk to workers. The Bureau of Justice Statistics indicates that around 1.7 million workers in the United States are the victims of workplace assaults, and that homicide is now the fourth leading cause of death while on the job.

Workplace bullying refers to situations where employees are subjected to frequent, persistent mistreatment that includes overtly aggressive or hostile behaviors (e.g., being pushed or being yelled at) as well as more covert or passive acts such as being ignored, being undermined, being lied to, belittling, exclusion or social isolation, withholding information, and sabotage.

Several factors have been shown to be associated with workplace violence, including contact with the public, exchanging money, working at night, transporting passengers, delivering goods or services, working alone or in small numbers, and working with potentially violent or unstable individuals. Workplace bullying has been shown to be associated with poor organizational climate, lack of organizational justice, role conflict, high workload, interpersonal conflicts, lack of social support, and leadership style. Workers in health care, law enforcement, retail trades, and social and other service professions are particularly at risk for workplace violence and bullying.

Interventions for Workplace Violence

General workplace violence prevention programs may include written company policies, multidisciplinary teams to develop prevention strategies, and training explicitly on workplace violence. Specific prevention strategies for workplace violence can be categorized as environmental, administrative, and behavioral interventions.

Environmental designs geared at preventing workplace violence include cash-control and

cash-handling policies (locked drop safes, maintaining small amounts of cash, and posting signs saying that there is limited cash); physically separating the worker from customers/clients (barriers, bullet-resistant partitions or enclosures, and increasing the height and depth of counters or workspace between worker and customer); increasing visibility and lighting; entry and exit control; surveillance cameras; alarms; keycard access systems; trouble lights; personal protective equipment; and geographic locating devices for mobile workers such as law enforcement officers and taxi drivers.

Administrative controls include adequate staffing, work practices (escorting visitors or clients/customers/patients), utilization of security personnel and screening, opening and closing procedures, money drop or pickup procedures, restricting hours of operation, and implementing policies and procedures for threat assessment and reporting.

Behavioral interventions include training employees on risk awareness, conflict resolution, de-escalation techniques, interpersonal skills and communication, dealing with potentially aggressive persons, use of protective measures or equipment, and proper restraint and takedown methods for law enforcement personnel.

Secondary and tertiary interventions for the aftermath of a violent incident may include psychological first aid, employee assistance programs (EAPs) or community mental health resources, training on coping strategies and stress management, as well as the use of human resources (HR) or occupational health and wellness services.

Interventions for Workplace Bullying

Similar to the above approaches for workplace violence, it has been suggested that both supervisors and employees receive training in conflict management, de-escalation techniques, and specific awareness training for workplace bullying. On an organizational level, it has been recommended that organizational policies, roles and responsibilities, and guidelines for appropriate and acceptable behavior be clearly stated and communicated throughout all levels of the organization. Some researchers have suggested that workplace bullying can be prevented by creating a climate that fosters and encourages openness, respect, and tolerance of diversity, and

that management practices should promote fair treatment and respect for all employees.

Secondary and tertiary interventions that might mitigate the adverse effects of workplace bullying include training on coping strategies, stress management, EAPs or outside mental health resources, utilizing the formal complaint or grievance system, use of HR professionals, occupational health and wellness programs, or using informal response teams.

Evaluative Research

Although there has been a great deal of surveillance research on workplace violence and bullying, it is important to note that there are still relatively few evaluative studies of intervention effectiveness, and the work that has been done has concentrated on specific occupations and industries. Moreover, general prevention strategies developed in one context may or may not transfer to different occupational settings or environments. Systematic intervention evaluation remains a significant research need.

Paula L. Grubb

Note: The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

See also Bullying; Psychological/Emotional Abuse; Workplace Violence, Training and Education; Workplace Violence, United States

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Web Sites

International Labour Organization (ILO): <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/safework/violence>

National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH): <http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/topics/violence>

Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA): <http://www.osha.gov/SLTC/workplaceviolence>

Y

YOUTH CENTERS

Youth centers are social and recreational centers that provide specialized services geared toward children ranging in age from around 6 to 18 years. Some youth centers offer programs for children as young as 3 years. These services often include, but are not limited to, counseling, mental health, substance abuse, education, creativity, leadership, and physical health programs. Often the programs at youth centers are offered for free or at a low cost to encourage participation by the community. Many youth centers are located in inner cities and focus on youth that are disadvantaged and considered to be at risk for delinquency or socially undesirable behaviors. Youth centers frequently host after-school programs and early childhood programs as a way to try to redirect at-risk youths. If youths are involved in programs in the center, they are off the streets and away from potentially dangerous environments.

Overview of Programs

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Counseling Programs

Substance abuse and mental health counseling services are provided at some youth centers. A wide range of services may be offered, including individualized assessment, treatment, family counseling, behavioral therapy, and small group therapy. Some youth centers may specialize in substance abuse treatment while offering other programs in

conjunction, such as educational and recreational programs. These programs are intended to provide therapy for youths while also supplementing other areas of the youth's life under a supervised environment.

Mental health programs may be provided along with substance abuse programs or by themselves. These programs can focus on several mental health issues such as aggression, depression, anxiety, and other mental health disorders. Counseling services, both one-on-one and in a group setting, are common when mental health programs are offered. Mental health programs may contain cognitive and behavior activities geared toward treating the problem and building skills for use outside the youth center environment.

Educational Programs

At the core of many youth centers are their educational programs. These programs are intended to give academic enrichment to youths through activities such as mentoring, role modeling, and one-on-one tutoring. Educational programs strive to build the character, strengths, talents, and skills of youths struggling to keep up in school through positive learning environments. Youth centers that provide educational programs regularly may have specific rooms for homework, tutoring classes, and computer use.

Early educational programs may also be offered under the umbrella of educational programs. The purpose of these programs is to provide a head start for children who may have developmental problems in school or who may have learning

deficits. Early education programs may start with children as young as 3 years of age to supplement learning early.

Leadership Programs

Programs that teach leadership skills are commonly offered for older children in their teens at youth centers. Teens are taught through leadership activities problem solving, communication, and self-esteem. These activities could include wilderness retreats where youths are challenged to use their leadership skills to navigate and build confidence. These leadership skills are taught with the hope that they will translate into use in future experiences.

Physical and Nutritional Health Programs

Physical and nutritional programs are administered to help with the growing problem of childhood obesity. Programs that encourage exercise through sports are at the cornerstone of many youth centers. Soccer, basketball, tennis, baseball, football, and swimming, to name a few, are offered for all age ranges and are highly promoted. Physical education through sports is also used to get at-risk youth off the streets and into conventional activities. Programs focused on nutritional health are frequently provided under the range of health services available at the center. Classes are held that provide information to youths and their parents about diet and nutritional information.

Creativity Programs

Creativity programs offered at most youth centers attempt to give youth a way to explore their creative and artistic sides through activities such as drawing, painting, writing, music, theatre, and dance. These programs can also help with self-esteem and encourage free thinking and expression of ideas. Specialized rooms for artistic activities are common, and youth centers typically are filled with paintings, drawings, and writings of those who attend.

After-School Programs

Youth centers that provide after-school programs strive to keep youth engaged in conventional activities through creative and physical outlets. These types of programs take place directly after school ends

and provide youths with a place to go instead of home alone or on the streets. After-school programs can include many of the programs discussed above and usually last until around 6 p.m.

Empirical Support

Few studies have been conducted to examine the effectiveness of youth centers in providing at-risk children with a place to escape from the dangers often encountered in their everyday lives. Of the studies that have been conducted the results are promising. Children who regularly attend programs provided by youth centers scored higher on achievement, emotional regulation, and attitudes toward school. These children were also less likely to engage in delinquent activities such as graffiti, shoplifting, or vandalism. Over time, the impact of the youth center increased with those who attended the youth center the longest and most frequently the least likely to engage in socially undesirable behaviors.

Jamie A. Snyder

See also Early Education Programming; Peer Networks and Victimization; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, International; Youth Crime Prevention Initiatives, United States; Youth Violence, Interventions for

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- National Criminal Justice Reference Service. (1995). Violence prevention through informal socialization: An evaluation of the South Baltimore Youth Center. *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention*, 4, 61–85.

Web Sites

- National AfterSchool Association (NAA): <http://naaweb.yourmembership.com>
- National Association for the Education of Young Children: <http://www.naeyc.org>

YOUTH CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVES, INTERNATIONAL

Youth crime and violence prevention has been well studied and evaluated for many years in developed regions of the world such as North America and Europe. In other regions, however, the size of the problem of youth violence, its seriousness, as well as the capacity of criminal justice systems or governments to deal with it are very different. What has been taking place in recent years is a recognition that a more public health approach to youth violence, and social and economic understanding of its causes, are required to reduce its incidence.

The World Health Organization estimates that 199,000 youth murders took place in 2000, with around 565 children and young people aged 10 to 29 years dying each day of the year. Most perpetrators of this violence are young men aged 15 to 25 years of age, and they are also the majority of the victims of that violence. In some regions of the world, notably in Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, violence associated with young people has reached extraordinary levels. In Brazil, for example, the rate of homicides among young people in one *favela* in São Paulo is 438 per 100,000, compared with 27 for Brazil as a whole, or 5.9 per 100,000 for the United States and 2.03 for the United Kingdom. Such violence occurs disproportionately in low- and middle-income countries. Although developed countries have experienced some decline in youth violence in the past 10 years, this has not been the case in developing countries or those in transition to development.

The risk factors for violence and crime are similar across regions and countries: poverty and inequality of income, poor environment, harsh or erratic parenting, early aggressive behavior, parental conflict and family violence, dropping out of school, and lack of jobs and employment opportunities. Facilitating factors include access to drugs and guns. But what is unequal is the extent of exposure to those risk factors among children and young people in different regions. Rapid urbanization, the growth of megacities and slums without the necessary infrastructure to support their residents, and an increase in the

proportion of children and young people, especially among the urban poor, have all contributed fertile ground for the recruitment of young people into groups and gangs associated with local crime and violence.

Transnational organized crime, trafficking in small arms, drugs and persons, as well as war and conflict have all facilitated the recruitment of children and young people into groups and gangs (and in some cases militia), and they have exacerbated the associated violence. Studies of youth gangs in South Africa, Nigeria, Brazil, and Central America, among other places, have demonstrated the existence of *organized armed violence*, which has become institutionalized, with strong social and economic ties to local communities. In such cases, taking a hard repressive approach, using tougher laws and policing, more punitive sentencing, and longer incarceration may provide short-term solutions, but it does not “work” to prevent future problems, and it is enormously expensive. Too many other children are growing up in similar circumstances.

What is clear is that the complexity of youth violence in terms of its causes, and the wide variety of forms it takes in different countries and regions, means that no simple or single approach is going to provide lasting and sustainable solutions. Internationally, there is now an emerging consensus, supported by the UN *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime* adopted in 2002 (ECOSOC Resolution 2002/13), that the best, most effective, and lasting response to youth violence is to develop *a balanced and strategic prevention approach*. This approach includes strengthening local communities, changing attitudes toward violence and gun use, offering education and training and employment alternatives to young people growing up, and working with those young people who are already immersed in a violent gun culture to help them return to a safer and healthier way of life. It requires a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach, with a *broad and comprehensive coalition of partners*, especially at the local level, and it is grounded in a broad *public health and community safety* perspective.

Thus, the emphasis is on *how* to work, as much as on *what* to do, using inclusive and participatory approaches that reduce youth marginalization; integrated multisectoral strategies; balanced strategies

that include early intervention, social and educational programs, restorative approaches, and crime control; targeted and tailored strategies and programs to meet the needs of specific at-risk groups; and approaches that respect the rights of children and young people. Such approaches have also been shown to be more cost-effective and cost-beneficial than suppression or deterrent approaches. Examples of effective projects that have reduced youth violence include *Fica Vivo*, in the State of Minas Gerais, which was inspired by the Boston gun project but was adapted to local needs and capacities. The work of the *AffroReggae Cultural Group* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, has worked to change the attitudes of both the police and young people to each other. Khulisa, an organization in South Africa, runs a range of programs aimed at youth violence prevention in custodial institutions and the community, and the *Proudly Manenburg Initiative* in Cape Flats, South Africa, is a project that involves the community working closely with the police and local authority as well as with the young people themselves in a township with very high levels of youth gang membership and violence. What is important is that these projects have been built and adapted to the local context and capacities, using a good knowledge-based approach.

Overall, therefore, many initiatives now recognize the complex nature of youth violence and victimization, especially among the most vulnerable groups in cities. They are focusing on building the skills and resilience of these young people and on building local programs that provide support, provide the skills and education for sustainable livelihoods, and include many projects and programs initiated and led by young people as full participants.

Margaret Shaw

See also Crime Prevention Initiatives, International;
Crime Prevention Partnerships, International; Youth
Crime Prevention Initiatives, United States

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- UNODC. (2007). *Crime and development in Central America. Caught in the crossfire*. Vienna, Austria: Author.
- UNODC. (2007). *Crime violence and development in the Caribbean. Trends costs and policy options*. Vienna, Austria: Author.

Web Sites

International Centre for the Prevention of Crime: <http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org>

YOUTH CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVES, UNITED STATES

Protecting youth from crime is one of our society's most critical priorities. Many communities have experienced an increase in youth drug use, the active involvement of youth in street gangs, and an increase in youth engagement in and exposure to criminal activity. Today, many youth are allowed to control their daily activities without supervision. These youth are more at risk for involvement in delinquent behavior or victimization than youth who are supervised by adults. Recent technology developments have benefited our society, but they have also made access to youth easier for predators and other criminals. Several initiatives have been used to provide opportunities for youth to avoid involvement in delinquent behavior and victimization.

Gang Resistance Education and Training Program

The Gang Resistance Education and Training Program (G.R.E.A.T.) Program is a school-based, law enforcement officer-led classroom curriculum, intended to help youth avoid delinquency, violent activity, and gang membership. The primary objective of the program is prevention, and lessons focus on providing life skills to students so they can avoid delinquent behavior and the use of violence to solve problems. The G.R.E.A.T. Program is administered by the Office of Justice Programs, as part of the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

Gang Reduction Program

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) designed its Gang Reduction Program to reduce gang activity in targeted neighborhoods. The program incorporates a variety of interventions to address personal, family, and community factors that contribute to delinquency and gang activity. The program integrates federal, state, and local resources with prevention, intervention, and suppression. The program was piloted in Los Angeles, California; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; North Miami Beach, Florida; and Richmond, Virginia. These communities were selected because they had significant existing program investment, strong indicators of citizen involvement, and high rates of crime and gang activity.

Juvenile Accountability Block Grants Program

The Juvenile Accountability Block Grants Program (JABGP) provides funds to state governments for programs promoting greater youth offender accountability in the juvenile justice system. Funds may only be used in support of the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant program purpose areas, including supporting juvenile drug and gun courts; enhancing school safety; instituting graduated sanctions for offenders; training programs for preventing and controlling crime; implementing early identification, control, supervision, and treatment efforts; and establishing and maintaining restorative justice programs. The JABGP is also administered by the OJJDP.

National Crime Prevention Council

The National Crime Prevention Council's Teens, Crime, and the Community (TCC) initiative was designed to create safer schools and neighborhoods. The TCC's Community Works program helps youth understand how crime affects them and their families, friends, and communities, and it involves them in crime prevention projects to help make their communities safer. Community Works educates youth about the costs and consequences of crime, their rights and responsibilities as citizens, and the ability to bring about meaningful change through advocacy and service. The core lessons of Community Works teach youth how to examine violence and law-related issues in the context of their schools and communities and apply what they learn to real-life circumstances. Additional lessons tackle important youth-related issues, including underage drinking, handguns and violence, substance abuse and drug trafficking, gangs, dating violence, conflict management, and police-youth relations. The TCC's Youth Safety Corps provides youth interested in public safety and crime prevention an opportunity to engage in ongoing, active participation in crime prevention. Youth in the program can partner with school resource officers, school personnel, and community volunteers to assess and analyze safety and security issues within their schools and communities that contribute to youth violence and victimization.

Online Crime Prevention Efforts Involving Youth

For many youth, creating a profile on a social networking Web site like Facebook or MySpace is a right of passage. These pages often contain personal and intimate details, photographs, hobbies and interests, and even phone numbers, email addresses, and where they go to school. Many parents do not understand how to monitor the use of these sites and often cannot view the content because the sites are protected by a password. These sites may increase the exposure of youth to delinquency and victimization. Even if a physical address, email address, or phone number is not listed, youth often provide enough information for a pedophile to use to start a relationship over the Internet, and many freely connect with people with whom they have no

established face-to-face connection. The power of the connections on these social networking sites is being examined by the United States government. The U.S. State Department is exploring a program to enlist online youth groups to fight crime, political oppression, and terrorism. Joining with Facebook, Google, MTV, Howcast, and others, the State Department is hoping to enlist more eyes and ears in these endeavors.

Project Safe Neighborhoods

The Department of Justice Project Safe Neighborhoods initiative was designed to combat gang violence. The strategy prioritizes prevention programs to provide youth and offenders returning to the community with opportunities that help them resist gang involvement and ensures robust enforcement policies when gang-related violence occurs.

Youth at Risk

The American Bar Association (ABA) Commission on Youth at Risk program was designed to find ways for the legal community to identify and support America's at-risk youth. To lead this initiative, the ABA Commission identified the challenges facing youth and began working to enhance laws, judicial intervention strategies, policies, practices, and programs to help prevent them from becoming delinquent or engaging in criminal acts. The ABA focused on the following:

- Finding better ways to serve youth "status offenders"
- Meeting the needs of youth who become ineligible for needed services
- Ensuring more meaningful participation by youth in court proceedings
- Enhancing youth access to services in their community, especially youth with emotional, behavioral, or other mental health issues
- Better supporting youth living in chaotic and violent homes, and those experiencing high-conflict family breakup
- Improving how legal and court interventions affect youth who progress from one at-risk status to another

Carter F. Smith

See also Community Antidrug Programs; Cyber and Internet Offenses; Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); Gangs and Victimization; Homicide, Children and Youth; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Project Safe Neighborhoods; School-Based Violence Programs, United States; School Crimes, Elementary Through High School; Teen Dating Violence Prevention

Further Readings

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- Roche, J., Tucker, S., Flynn, R., & Thomson, R. (2004). *Youth in society: Contemporary theory, policy and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Web Sites

- Department of Justice's Youth Gang Prevention Initiative: <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov/programs/antigang>
- Law Enforcement and Youth Partnerships for Crime Prevention Initiative: <http://www.cpinitiatives.org>
- National Crime Prevention Council: <http://www.ncpc.org>
- Youth Crime Watch of America: <http://www.ycwa.org>

YOUTH VIOLENCE, INTERVENTIONS FOR

Although not as high as crime rates in the early to mid-1990s, a recent increase in violent crimes committed by juveniles has prompted researchers, criminal justice personnel, and communities to develop and implement *interventions* designed to modify the behaviors of young people as a means of crime and violence prevention. For example, according to recent figures, juvenile arrests for violent index crimes (i.e., murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) have increased with nearly 30% of the violent index crimes attributable to youth offenders. This entry highlights some of the major concepts, practices, and programs that have either already demonstrated their effectiveness or show potential for curbing youth violence.

Conceptually, researchers have concentrated on the factors that place youth at jeopardy for violence (i.e., risk factors), and those factors that can insulate youth from violence (i.e., protective factors). For example, children with parents who are effective at monitoring and disciplining problem behaviors are less likely to engage in delinquency. The converse of this is also evident. Children whose parents were not effective at monitoring and discipline have an increased likelihood of engaging in problem behaviors. Under the risk and protective factors framework, the manner by which factors are experienced by youth is contingent on the context in which they operate and interact across ecological levels (i.e., individual, family, school, and community). Some of the major risk factors found to affect violent offending significantly are ineffective parenting, lack of mutual attachments and nurturing, failure in school, poor social coping skills, affiliations with deviant peers, abuse, and disorganized neighborhoods. Protective factors include success in school, strong and positive bonds with family, clear rules of conduct consistently enforced at home and school, strong attachments to prosocial institutions such as schools and religious organizations, and low residential mobility in neighborhoods. Various interventions have been developed to target these factors in order to reduce crimes of violence committed by juveniles.

The list of interventions used to address youth violence is long. Evaluation studies of many of these programs have revealed that certain practices are more effective than others. In general, success has been found for programs that employ individual counseling, interpersonal skills training, as well as cognitive and behavioral strategies, and for those that offer multiple types of services. Tactics that have demonstrated little effect on juvenile violent offending include deterrence-based, vocational, and wilderness or challenge programs. Since risk and protective factors operate at all ecological levels, interventions that yield the most benefit are those that target as many of the risk and protective factors across as many of these contexts as possible. Furthermore, strategies that teach juveniles how to resolve conflict nonviolently, mobilize the community, and provide positive adult role models have been shown to have a significant impact on the reduction of youth violence.

Several interventions have stood out as being effective in the reduction of violence: functional family therapy (FFT), multisystemic therapy (MST), children at risk (CAR), and communities that care (CTC). Although space precludes a detailed examination, several key components of these programs illustrate why they have established their efficacy in the reduction of violent behaviors. In general, these programs provide counseling or interaction with youths' families in some shape or form. FFT, for example, makes use of behavioral modification approaches and encourages families to work together to affect positive change in high-risk children who are angry and hopeless and often are difficult to treat using traditional approaches. MST assists parents by helping them identify their weaknesses in parenting such as substance use and/or mental health issues. The MST program also provides treatment in the home, community, and school, thereby addressing such risk factors as negative peer associations, problems at school, and ineffective parenting.

The CAR program also focuses treatment at several ecological levels, recognizing that individuals are embedded in several contexts and influenced by any number of factors that interact with one another to influence behavior. As such, CAR tailors its strategies to address the primary needs of youth by providing such practices as peer tutoring, mentoring, family skills training, and after-school activities at the community level. Based predominantly on the risk-protective factors paradigm is the CTC, which is also tailored to each community it serves. Assessments of schools, neighborhoods, and available social service agencies are conducted to determine what strategies need to be in place to strengthen protective factors and weaken risk factors, thereby reducing violence and delinquency. Components that have been included in CTC to address negative behaviors have included job and life skills training, family therapy, organizational change in schools, and after-school recreation programs.

The items detailed above are by no means exhaustive of the interventions used to deal with youth violence. Indeed, many efforts seek to reduce and prevent juvenile violence. Many localities have developed programs and are finding success by using many of the strategies established by research to be effective. Some communities have also

received grant support from the federal government in this regard.

Melissa W. Burek

See also Crime Prevention: Micro, Meso, and Macro Levels; Developmental and Social Crime Prevention; Early Education Programming; Family Group Conferencing; Family Nurturing Programs; Family Therapy; Juvenile Offending and Victimization; Multisystemic Therapy

Further Readings

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Appendix: Resources

The resources listed below have been divided into five categories: crime prevention, government agencies and organizations, electronic research resources and materials, victimization, and victims of crime. Within each of these categories, readers will find the resources further subdivided by specific topics for ease of use. Where appropriate, each resource's full contact information is listed, including street address, phone numbers, fax number, email address, and Web site address. The purpose of each resource is described, as well as the types of materials and/or services that it offers. The reader is encouraged to directly contact a respective resource or visit its Web site to obtain further relevant information.

Crime Prevention

General Information Resources

Center for Problem-Oriented Policing

The Center for Problem-Oriented Policing was created to advance the idea and practice of problem-oriented policing. It seeks to fulfill this mission by making available information and tools that police can use to effectively address specific crime problems. The "popcenter" is composed of police practitioners, researchers, and academics committed to the development and improvement of problem-oriented policing.

Web site: <http://www.popcenter.org>

Community Capacity Development Office, Department of Justice

The Community Capacity Development Office (CCDO) is housed in the Office of Justice Programs at the United States Department of Justice. CCDO works toward revitalizing communities and reducing crime by promoting ways for communities to increase quality of life and reduce drug problems.

810 Seventh Street NW
Washington, DC 20531
Phone: (202) 616-1152

Fax: (202) 616-1159

Web site: www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ccdo/welcome_flash.html

International Center for the Prevention of Crime

The International Center for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) is an international body in which a diverse group of parties comes together to work, exchange ideas, and improve policies and programs in crime prevention and community safety. The group comprises public agencies, local authorities, national governments, and nongovernment organizations. The ICPC staff provides direct assistance to its members and monitors and contributes to the current state of knowledge.

465 St-Jean Street, Suite 803
Montreal, QC H2Y 2R6, Canada
Phone: (514) 288-6731
Fax: (514) 288-8763
Email: cipc@crime-prevention-intl.org
Web site: <http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org>

National Crime Prevention Council

The National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) is a national organization designed to provide information and tools to citizens and communities in the fight against crime. The NCPC teaches crime prevention strategies designed to bring communities together and coordinate their crime prevention efforts with those of local agencies. Among the services offered by NCPC are publications and

other teaching materials oriented toward a variety of crime prevention topics; crime prevention trainings; public service announcements; a variety of programs designed to prevent crime in community and school settings, including McGruff the Crime Dog programs; and a venue for a national coalition of crime prevention practitioners.

2345 Crystal Drive, Suite 500
Arlington, VA 22202
Phone: (202) 466-6272
Fax: (202) 296-1356
Web site: <http://www.ncpc.org>

Professional Organizations

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

The Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) is an international organization of professionals and scholars in the field of criminal justice. ACJS provides a forum for researchers, educators, field practitioners, and other professionals to exchange ideas and information about the important issues affecting crime and criminal justice.

P.O. Box 960
Greenbelt, MD 20768-0960
Phone: (301) 446-6300
Toll free: (800) 757-2257
Fax: (301) 446-2819
Email: info@acjs.org
Web site: <http://www.acjs.org>

American Society of Criminology

The American Society of Criminology (ASC) is an international organization designed to facilitate information exchange among professionals, academics, and scientists concerned with aspects of crime and criminal justice. The society conducts annual meetings devoted to various crime-related topics, including crime prevention, control, measurement, etiology, and treatment of crime.

1314 Kinnear Road, Suite 212
Columbus, OH 43212-1156
Phone: (614) 292-9207
Fax: (614) 292-6767
Email: asc@asc41.com
Web site: <http://www.asc41.com>

International Symposium on Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis

The International Symposium on Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis (ECCA) has no office, staff, or president. It has no official membership list. It is a social network of interested parties who meet at an annual conference. Volunteers run conferences, and the next conference is determined by who volunteers. To get invited to a conference, you had to have attended one of the last two conferences or know someone who did. Meetings roam the globe and are never in the same country twice. ECCA has

no permanent Web site or permanent anything, although Ron Clarke at Rutgers University can be reached for more information.

Ronald Clarke
School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University
123 Washington Street
Newark, NJ 07102
Email: rclarke@newark.rutgers.edu
Web site: <http://www.istanbulconference.info/ECCA/Pages/default.aspx>

Research Institutes

United States

Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence

The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence (CSPV) takes a multidisciplinary approach to the subject of violence and facilitates cooperation between policy makers, community, and practitioners. CSPV's goal is to impact policies by providing information related to the prevention of violence.

Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado at Boulder
1877 Broadway, Suite 601
Boulder, CO 80302
Phone: (303) 492-1032
Fax: (303) 443-3297
Email: cspv@colorado.edu
Web site: <http://www.colorado.edu/cspv>

Institute on Violence, Abuse and Trauma

Affiliated with Alliant International University, the Institute on Violence, Abuse and Trauma (IVAT) is an international training and resource center organized to improve the quality of life for those affected by abuse, trauma, and violence at the local, national, and international levels.

10065 Old Grove Road
San Diego, CA 92131
Phone: (858) 527-1860 ext. 4160
Fax: (858) 527-1743
Web site: <http://www.ivatcenters.org>

National Center for Juvenile Justice

The National Center for Juvenile Justice (NCJJ) seeks to provide effective justice for children and families through research and technical assistance. NCJJ is a private, nonprofit, national research organization devoted to understanding juvenile justice issues, including control and prevention of juvenile crime and delinquency.

3700 South Water Street, Suite 200
Pittsburgh, PA 15203

Phone: (412) 227-6950
 Fax: (412) 227-6955
 Email: ncjj@ncjj.org
 Web site: <http://www.ncjservehttp.org/NCJJWebsite/main.html>

International

The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control with the United Nations

The primary objective of the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, which is affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI), is to promote the international exchange of information on crime control and prevention among European countries. HEUNI is concerned with research, promotion of international exchange of crime prevention information, technical assistance, and organizing meetings for training courses and seminars related to recent developments in crime, criminal policy, and criminal justice throughout Europe.

HEUNI POB 444
 (Pitkäsillanranta 3 A)
 00531 Helsinki, Finland
 Phone: +358 (0)10 366 5280
 Fax: +358 (0)10 366 5290
 Email: heuni@om.fi
 Web site: <http://www.heuni.fi>

The International Victimology Institute Tilburg

The International Victimology Institute Tilburg (INTERVICT) contributes to the state of international victimological knowledge through interdisciplinary research programs. Among the goals of INTERVICT are preventing and reducing criminal victimization across the globe and minimizing the detrimental consequences of victimization for victims and their families, such as economic costs.

Tilburg University
 Room M925
 P.O. Box 90153
 5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands
 Phone: +31 13 466 3526
 Fax: +31 13 466 3546
 Email: intervict@uvt.nl
 Web site: www.tilburguniversity.nl/intervict

UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science

The UCL Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science is the first of its kind, with a specific emphasis upon crime reduction and prevention. The institute seeks to change the way crime and the practice of responding to crime are approached by highlighting evidence-based research and analysis. To this end, the institute examines patterns in crime and seeks out practical tactics and methods to

change these patterns by bringing together criminal justice professionals, designers, scientists, and politicians.

University College London
 Second Floor, Brook House
 2-16 Torrington Place
 London, WC1E 7HN, UK
 Phone: +44 (0)20 3108 3206
 Fax: +44 (0)20 3108 3088
 Email: jdi@ucl.ac.uk
 Web site: <http://www.jdi.ucl.ac.uk>

University of Ottawa Institute for the Prevention of Crime

The Institute for the Prevention of Crime at the University of the Ottawa is designed to offer evidence on effective crime prevention for interested practitioners as well as the general public. The institute provides information on victimization and crime prevention strategies, publications, news, crime trends, and more.

30 Stewart Street
 Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, Canada
 Phone: (613) 562-5798
 Fax: (613) 562-5188
 Email: IPC@uOttawa.ca
 Web site: <http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/ipc/eng>

Government Agencies and Organizations

United States

Bureau of Justice Statistics

The Bureau of Justice Statistics is part of the Office of Justice Programs in the U.S. Department of Justice and is tasked with collecting, analyzing, and reporting information on crime, crime victims, offenders, and the operation of the criminal justice system in the United States.

Web site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/welcome.html>

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) is part of the Department of Health and Human Services and promotes health and provides information on healthy living. The CDC also provides information on a variety of violence prevention topics, including child maltreatment, intimate partner violence, school violence, sexual violence, suicide, youth violence, and global violence.

1600 Clifton Road
 Atlanta, GA 30333
 Phone: (800) CDC-INFO (232-4636)
 TTY: (888) 232-6348
 Email: cdcinfo@cdc.gov
 Web site: <http://www.cdc.gov>

National Institute of Justice

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is the research, development, and evaluation agency of the U.S. Department of Justice and is charged with researching crime and justice-related issues in the United States. NIJ's Web site offers information on a variety of criminal justice topics (e.g., courts, corrections), publications, and funding and training information.

Web site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij>

National Institute of Mental Health

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) is devoted to preventing and curing mental illnesses. NIMH conducts and disseminates research on issues surrounding mental health, including mental health issues as they relate to crime and delinquency.

Science Writing, Press, and Dissemination Branch
6001 Executive Boulevard, Room 8184, MSC 9663
Bethesda, MD 20892-9663
Phone: (301) 443-4513
Toll free: (866) 615-6464
TTY: (301) 443-8431
TTY toll free: (866) 415-8051
Fax: (301) 443-4279
Email: nimhinfo@nih.gov
Web site: <http://www.nimh.nih.gov/index.shtml>

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism

The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) provides recovery information, resources, publications, and other information related to the health consequences of alcohol abuse and dependence.

5635 Fishers Lane, MSC 9304
Bethesda, MD 20892-9304
Phone: (301) 443-3860
Email: niaaaweb-r@exchange.nih.gov
Web site: <http://www.niaaa.nih.gov>

National Institutes of Health

The National Institutes of Health is part of the Department of Health and Human Services and is primarily concerned with medical issues and research. NIH is composed of 27 research centers and provides financial support to every state and throughout the world. NIH provides information on a variety of health-related issues.

9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
Phone: (301) 496-4000
TTY: (301) 402-9612

Email: NIHinfo@od.nih.gov
Web site: <http://www.nih.gov>

International**Home Office**

The Home Office is the primary governmental agency dealing with issues of immigration, drug policy, policing, and counterterrorism in Britain. The Home Office conducts research on a wide range of topics to better inform governmental policy. The Home Office also provides information on crime prevention and victimization and is the department responsible for administering the British Crime Survey.

Direct Communications Unit
2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 4DF, UK
Phone: 020 7035 4848
Fax: 020 7035 4745
Minicom: 020 7035 4742
Email: public.enquiries@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk
Web site: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk>
Web site for Home Office Research Development
Statistics: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds>

United Nations

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization devoted to humanitarian affairs, international law, human rights, and peace and security the world over. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) assists member states in the fight against crime, drugs, and terrorism. UNODC offers information on a variety of topics (e.g., money laundering) and resources (e.g., data and statistics, legal tools, campaigns).

Main Web site: <http://www.un.org/en>
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Web site: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/commissions/CCPCJ/index.html>

World Health Organization

The World Health Organization (WHO) is the arm of the United Nations responsible for health-related issues. WHO provides leadership on global health matters, promotes evidence-based policy, and helps to shape the world's health research agenda. WHO also provides information on violence and injury prevention and disability (VIP).

Avenue Appia 20
1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland
Phone: + 41 22 791 21 11
Fax: + 41 22 791 31 11

Email: info@who.int
 Web site: <http://www.who.int/en>

Electronic Research Resources and Materials

Clearinghouse on Abuse and Neglect of the Elderly

Located at the University of Delaware Center for Community Research and Service, the Clearinghouse on Abuse and Neglect of the Elderly (CANE), is the nation's largest computerized catalog of elder abuse literature. CANE's searchable database includes more than 6,000 entries and allows users to obtain references related to aspects of elder abuse and neglect. Such materials include books, agency reports, videos, scholarly journal articles, and other online resources addressing elder abuse and neglect.

University of Delaware
 Department of Consumer Studies
 Alison Hall West, Room 211
 Newark, DE 19716
 Phone: (302) 831-3525
 Fax: (302) 831-6081
 Email: cane-ud@udel.edu
 Web site: <http://www.cane.udel.edu>

National Archive of Criminal Justice Data

Nested within the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) is the world's largest digital archive of social science research data. In addition to collecting and preserving data, ICPSR distributes research data and provides data analysis training. ICPSR seeks to preserve data for future generations as new technologies warrant by migrating existing data to new storage media.

University of Michigan
 Institute for Social Research
 P.O. Box 1248
 Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1248
 Phone: (734) 647-5000
 Fax: (734) 647-8200
 Email: netmail@icpsr.umich.edu
 Web site: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/ICPSR>

National Criminal Justice Reference Service

The National Criminal Justice Reference Service offers a large resource library that is easily accessible using the Internet. The resources include a variety of information including government reports and peer-reviewed journal articles supporting research, policy, and program development around the world.

P.O. Box 6000
 Rockville, MD 20849-6000

Phone: (800) 851-3420; (301) 519-5500
 (international callers)
 Fax: (301) 519-5212
 Web site: <http://www.ncjrs.gov>

National Electronic Network on Violence Against Women

National Electronic Network on Violence Against Women (VAWnet) is a national online resource offering a variety of resources (e.g., domestic violence, sexual assault, research, grants, and funding) for education and prevention of domestic violence, sexual assault, and other related issues.

6400 Flank Drive, Suite 1300
 Harrisburg, PA 17112-2778
 Phone: (800) 537-2238
 TTY: (800) 553-2508
 Fax: (717) 545-9456
 Web site: <http://www.vawnet.org>

National Sexual Violence Resource Center

The National Sexual Violence Resource Center is a national information and resource center focused on all aspects of sexual violence. In addition to providing information on sexual violence, NSVRC works toward developing intervention and prevention strategies for sexual violence by disseminating information and research and providing trainings.

123 North Enola Drive
 Enola, PA 17025
 Phone: (717) 909-0710
 Toll free: (877) 739-3895
 Fax: (717) 909-0714
 Email: resources@nsvrc.org
 Web site: <http://www.nsvrc.org>

World Criminal Justice Library Network

The World Criminal Justice Library Network (WCJLN) is an organization of criminal justice information specialists and librarians that is based at Rutgers University. It was specifically created to share services and criminal justice information on a global scale. The WCJLN offers criminal justice links, statistical resources, bibliographies, periodicals, and databases.

Don M. Gottfredson Library of Criminal Justice
 Center for Law and Justice
 123 Washington Street, Suite 350
 Newark, NJ 07102
 Phone: (973) 353-5522
 Fax: (973) 353-1275
 Web site: <http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~wcjlen/WCJ/index.htm>

Victimization

Crime and Victimization Statistics

United States

National Crime Victimization Survey

Administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is a national-level survey in the United States designed to measure the extent of certain types of victimization that residents age 12 and older and their households experience each year. The NCVS reports on sexual assaults, rapes, assaults, robberies, household burglaries, thefts, and motor vehicle theft victimizations. Topical supplements to the NCVS have been conducted and cover a variety of topics (e.g., victimization in schools).

Web site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/cvict.htm>

National Incident-Based Reporting System

An effort to redesign the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program to make it more comprehensive was undertaken by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the FBI in 1982. The redesign resulted in more comprehensive and detailed crime statistics, with data being collected on each reported crime incident. This new and expanded crime reporting system is the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and includes information on 46 specific offenses (including Part I crimes) and 11 lesser offenses.

Web site: <http://www.ojp.gov/bjs/nibrs.htm>

See also National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (p. 1099)

Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics

The Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics provides information about several aspects of criminal justice in the United States, including criminal justice characteristics (e.g., corrections, courts), public opinion, crime and victims, arrests, sentencing, parole, jails, the death penalty, and more. Data in the sourcebook come from more than 100 sources and are presented in more than 1,000 tables.

Hindelang Criminal Justice Research Center
University at Albany
135 Western Avenue
Draper 241
Albany, NY 12222
Phone: (518) 442-5608
Fax: (518) 442-5716
Email: asksb@albany.edu
Web site: <http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook>

Uniform Crime Reports

The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, which today is run by the FBI, is carried out with the purpose of

collecting, publishing, and archiving crime statistics in the United States. The program publishes statistics annually that are produced from data provided by nearly 17,000 law enforcement agencies across the United States. The UCR Program has been ongoing since 1929.

Web site: <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm>

International—Multiple Countries

International Crime Victims Survey

Conducted since 1989, the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) is a victimization survey designed to assess victimization and other crime-related topics across the world. The ICVS measures a variety of types of victimization, such as motor vehicle theft, burglary, hate crimes, consumer fraud, and many others. A number of countries have participated in the ICVS since 1989, including Australia, Finland, Japan, and Mexico.

Web site: <http://rechten.uvt.nl/icvs>

International Violence Against Women Survey

Modeled after the International Crime Victims Survey and relying on the network, infrastructure, and methodology employed in the ICVS, the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) is an international survey designed to measure the extent of men's violence against women, especially domestic violence and sexual assault.

See also The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control with the United Nations (p. 1097)

International—Country Specific

Australian Institute of Criminology

The Australian Institute of Criminology is Australia's national agency on research related to crime and justice. The institute seeks to reduce crime and uphold justice by conducting and disseminating evidence-based research to inform policy and practice.

Web site: <http://www.aic.gov.au>

British Crime Survey

The British Crime Survey (BCS) is a survey that measures the amount of crime in England and Wales by asking residents about their crime-related experiences in the previous year. The BCS provides information on a variety of crime-related topics such as public attitudes regarding crime, fear of crime, and measures undertaken to avoid crime. The BCS provides an alternative to official records because it includes crimes that were not reported to the police.

Web site: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/index.html>

Statistics Canada

Statistics Canada is a resource that provides statistics and information on a variety of topics (e.g., environment, culture, agriculture, aboriginal peoples) in Canada, including the administration of civil and criminal justice and the nature and extent of crime.

Web site: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>

Professional Organizations**American Society of Victimology**

The American Society of Victimology (ASV) seeks to further the study of victimization and advancement of the field of victimology by focusing on research and education.

c/o Division of Continuing Education
Washburn University
1700 SW College Avenue
Topeka, KS 66621
Web site: <http://www.american-society-victimology.us>

International Victimology Web Site

The International Victimology Web site provides a forum for those working in the fields of victimology, victim support, or other related disciplines to bring together international research and exchange ideas in an effort to ensure that victimological issues are heard. The Web site provides news, links to other Web sites, and a library of relevant literature.

P.O. Box 90153
5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands
Phone: +31 13 466 3526
Fax: + 31 13 466 3546 Web site: <http://www.victimology.nl>

World Society of Victimology

The World Society of Victimology (WSV) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization with membership comprised of social scientists, victim assistance practitioners, social workers, lawyers, physicians, and others. WSV's purpose is to advance victimology research and practice and encourage interdisciplinary work in the field.

Web site: <http://www.worldsocietyofvictimology.org>

Types of Victimization***Domestic Violence*****Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse**

The Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse is a national organization dedicated to providing information on domestic and family violence and practice

issues as well as preventing such violence. The clearinghouse publishes papers and newsletters on related issues, maintains a research and resource library, and provides an online database of good practice programs.

University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052, Australia
Phone: (02) 9385 2990
Toll free (in Australia): 800 75 33 82
Fax: (02) 9385 2993
Web site: <http://www.austdvclearinghouse.unsw.edu.au>

Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Data Resource Center

The Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Data Resource Center provides information about domestic violence and sexual assault in the United States. The center offers information from each state, reports, a data collection form library, a list of contacts, links to publicly available data, current projects, and national summaries.

777 N. Capitol Street NE, Suite 801
Washington, DC 20002
Phone: (202) 842-9330
Fax: (202) 842-9329
Web site: <http://www.jrsa.org/dvsa-drc/index.html>

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence

The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) is an organization dedicated to eliminating domestic violence, educating the public about domestic and other forms of violence, promoting unity, and forming partnerships to attain these goals. NCADV offers programs (e.g., cosmetic and reconstructive support), news, and resources related to domestic violence.

Main Office:
1120 Lincoln Street, Suite 1603
Denver, CO 80203
Phone: (303) 839-1852
TTY: (303) 839-8459
Fax: (303) 831-9251
Email: mainoffice@ncadv.org
Web site: <http://www.ncadv.org/aboutus.php>

See also National Organization for Victim Assistance (p. 1104)

Hate Crimes**Hate Crimes Research Network**

The Hate Crimes Research Network (HCRN) is based at the Department of Sociology at Portland State University and brings together work by sociologists, criminologists, psychologists, and others on the subject of bias-motivated

crime. HCRN offers publications, presentations, research, and archives.

Department of Sociology
Portland State University
P.O. Box 751
Portland, OR 97207
Phone: (503) 725-3926
Fax: (503) 725-3957
Web site: <http://www.hatecrime.net>

Homicide

Justice for Homicide Victims

Justice for Homicide Victims (JHV) provides information on victims' rights to survivors of homicide victims. In addition, JHV has a forum for survivors to memorialize victims, grieve, and remember; it also furnishes resources (e.g., contact information for similar groups).

P.O. Box 2845
Malibu, CA 90265
Phone: (310) 457-0030
Web site: <http://www.justiceforhomicidevictims.net/index.html>

National Organization of Parents of Murdered Children, Inc.

The National Organization of Parents of Murdered Children (POMC) is a group designed to provide emotional support to parents and other survivors of those who have died by violence. POMC provides support and advocacy, assists survivors in dealing with their grief, and offers training to professionals.

100 East Eighth Street, Suite 202
Cincinnati, OH 45202
Phone: (513) 721-5683
Fax: (513) 345-4489
Toll free: (888) 818-POMC (7662)
Email: natlpomc@aol.com
Web site: <http://www.pomc.com>

Human Trafficking

Coalition Against Trafficking in Women

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) is an international organization with resources across the globe that works against all forms of sexual exploitation, including sex tourism, mail-order bride services, and prostitution. CATW places particular emphasis on women's and children's rights issues, especially for girls. CATW's resource library includes articles, international agreements, links, legislation, reports, and other relevant information.

Email: info@catwinternational.org
Web site: <http://www.catwinternational.org>

Humantrafficking.org

Humantrafficking.org is a Web site dedicated to combating human trafficking. It is designed to bring together governments and nongovernmental organizations to learn from each other and cooperate in the fight against human trafficking. The site provides information on country-specific laws and action plans, as well as contact information for governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations.

Phone: (202) 884-8916
Email: director@humantrafficking.org
Web site: <http://www.humantrafficking.org>

Identity Theft

Federal Trade Commission's Fighting Back Against Identity Theft

The Federal Trade Commission's Fighting Back Against Identity Theft Web site was designed to be a national resource for the crime of identity theft. The site provides information to help Internet users detect, respond to, and defend themselves against identity theft. Businesses can learn how to prevent identity theft and help their customers deal with the problem. The site also provides resources for law enforcement on how to help victims of identity theft.

Web site: <http://www.ftc.gov/bcp/edu/microsites/idtheft>

Internet

CyberAngels

CyberAngels is one of the world's oldest online safety programs, offering a wealth of information on cyber security. The CyberAngels learning center includes general information on computer usage and security and safety tips. Resources for victims, kids, teens, schools, and parents are also available on the topic of cyber security.

P.O. Box 3171
Allentown, PA 18106
Phone: (610) 351-8250
Fax: (610) 482-9101
Web site: <http://www.cyberangels.org>

National Cyber Security Alliance

The National Cyber Security Alliance (NCSA) is working toward educating the Internet-using public on safe Internet practices. The NCSA works in partnership with the Department of Homeland Security as well as corporate sponsors (e.g., Microsoft) and the public in its quest for cyber security and safety.

1101 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20004
Email: info@staysafeonline.org
Web site: <http://www.staysafeonline.org>

Kidnapping

National Center for Missing & Exploited Children

The primary goal of the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children (NCMEC) is to help find missing children, assist victims of child abduction and sexual exploitation, and prevent child abduction. The NCMEC has a national 24-hour hotline, serves as an information clearinghouse for missing and exploited children, operates a CyberTipLine where people can report Internet-based child exploitation, provides technical assistance and training in locating and recovering missing children, and many other services.

Charles B. Wang International Children's Building
699 Prince Street
Alexandria, VA 22314-3175
24-hour hotline: (800) THE-LOST (843-5678)
Fax: (703) 274-2200
Web site: <http://www.missingkids.com>

Rape and Sexual Victimization

Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network

The Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) is the nation's largest antisexual assault organization. RAINN operates the National Sexual Assault Hotline, provides information on preventing sexual assault, provides resources for policy makers and the media, and offers information on other aspects of sexual violence prevention.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 406
Washington, DC 20036
National Sexual Assault Hotline: (800) 656-HOPE (4673)
Phone: (202) 544-1034
Fax: (202) 544-3556
Email: info@rainn.org
Web site: <http://www.rainn.org>

Sexual Violence Research Initiative

The Sexual Violence Research Initiative (SVRI) suggests that sexual violence be treated as a public health problem. As such, it supports research and generates empirical data to inform evidence-based policies. SVRI is a worldwide organization dedicated to improving knowledge and preventing sexual violence.

Gender and Health Research Unit
Medical Research Council, South Africa
Private Bag x385, 0001 Pretoria, South Africa

1 Soutpansberg Road, Pretoria
Phone: +27 12 339-8527
Fax: +27 12 339-8525
Email: svri@mrc.ac.za
Web site: <http://www.svri.org>

Stalking

Stalking Resource Center

The Stalking Resource Center is part of the National Center for Victims of Crime. The center offers information on help for victims, stalking laws, stalking court cases, and statistics.

2000 M Street NW, Suite 480
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 467-8700
Victim Assistance: (800) FYI-CALL (394-2255)
Email: gethelp@ncvc.org
Web site: http://www.ncvc.org/src/main.aspx?dbID=dash_Home

See also National Center for Victims of Crime (p. 1104)

Stalkingvictims.com

Stalkingvictims.com is an online resource for stalking victims with information on identifying stalking, survival, support (e.g., an online community, discussion board), and other resources (e.g., pamphlets).

P.O. Box 400
Angels Camp, CA 95222
Email: stalkingolutions@yahoo.com
Web site: <http://www.stalkingvictims.com/home.htm>

White Collar Crimes

National White Collar Crime Center

The National White Collar Crime Center (NW3C) is a nonprofit organization supporting investigation, prevention, and law enforcement in the pursuit and prosecution of technological and economic crime. NW3C offers investigative support, training, research, and other resources related to these types of white collar crime.

10900 Nuckols Road, Suite 325
Glen Allen, VA 23060
Web site: <http://www.nw3c.org>

Victims of Crime

General Information

Families & Friends of Violent Crime Victims

Families & Friends of Violent Crime Victims is a victim assistance program offering free victim services from

trained victim advocates. Among its services is a 24-hour crisis line with trained victim advocates answering all calls. This organization also provides information related to emergency aid, advocacy, investigation, prosecution, sentencing, post disposition, and missing persons.

P.O. Box 1949
Everett, WA 98206
Phone: (425) 252-6081
Fax: (425) 259-1730
24-Hour Crisis Line: (800) 346-7555
Email: contactus@fnfvcv.org
Web site: <http://www.fnfvcv.org>

National Center for Victims of Crime

The National Center for Victims of Crime is a national organization offering resources and advocacy for crime victims. The center offers victim assistance, information on litigation, and a variety of resources related to victimization (e.g., statistics, reports and studies, links to relevant sites).

2000 M Street NW, Suite 480
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 467-8700
Fax: (202) 467-8701
Email: webmaster@ncvc.org
Web site: <http://www.ncvc.org>

National Council on Crime and Delinquency

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) is the nation's oldest nonprofit criminal justice resource organization. NCCD works toward solutions to justice problems by conducting research, promoting reform, and working with individuals, organizations, and the media to reduce crime and delinquency.

1970 Broadway, Suite 500
Oakland, CA 94612
Phone: (510) 208-0506
Fax: (510) 208-0511
Web site: http://www.nccd-crc.org/nccd/n_index_main.html

National Organization for Victim Assistance

The National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA) is a private nonprofit organization dedicated to victim's rights and services. The organization is composed of practitioners, criminal justice professionals, criminal justice agencies, mental health professionals, researchers, former victims, and survivors. NOVA offers help for victims, families, and friends; crisis responder training; national advocate credentialing; and other victim services.

510 King Street, Suite 424
Alexandria, VA 22314

Phone: (703) 535-NOVA
Toll free: (800) TRY-NOVA (879-6682)
Fax: (703) 535-5500
Web site: <http://www.trynova.org>

Office of Victims of Crime

The Office of Victims of Crime (OVC) oversees a variety of programs that benefit victims of crime. OVC provides funding to state victim assistance and compensation programs, and supports trainings designed to educate criminal justice professionals concerning the rights and needs of victims of crime.

National Criminal Justice Reference Service
P.O. Box 6000
Rockville, MD 20849-6000
Phone: (800) 851-3420
Email: <http://ovc.ncjrs.gov/askovc>
Web site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc>

Rights and Benefits

Benefits

National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards

The National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards (NACVCB) facilitates cooperation among a network of nationwide victim compensation programs. NACVCB works toward improving services for victims of crime by helping its members establish best practices, attain fiscal responsibility, and improve training.

P.O. Box 16003
Alexandria, VA 22302
Phone: (703) 780-3200
Email: nacvcb@aol.com
Web site: <http://www.nacvcb.org>

Legal

American Bar Association

The American Bar Association (ABA) is the world's largest voluntary professional association, with more than 400,000 members. The ABA provides programs to assist lawyers and judges in their work, initiatives to improve the legal system for the public, law school accreditation, and continuing legal education. Resources available to the public include assistance finding legal help, education, and information about the law.

321 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60654-7598
Phone: (800) 285-2221
Web site: <http://www.abanet.org>

American Prosecutors Research Institute

The American Prosecutors Research Institute (APRI) is a nonprofit program development and research resource for prosecutors in the United States. In 2006, APRI merged with the National District Attorneys Association (NDAA) to become the research, development, and assistance division of NDAA.

44 Canal Center Plaza, Suite 110
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: (703) 549-9222
Fax: (703) 836-3195
Web site: <http://www.ndaa.org/apri/index.html>

Legal Momentum

Legal Momentum is dedicated to advancing the rights of women and girls. Legal Momentum has established itself as a national leader through litigation, education, and public policy advocacy and is currently focusing attention on issues of equal pay, violence against women, the health of women and girls, and others. It provides a help center for women and advocates and a legal knowledge center for attorneys, advocates, and professionals.

Headquarters:
395 Hudson Street
New York, NY 10014
Phone: (212) 925-6635
Fax: (212) 226-1066
Policy Office:
1101 14th Street NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: (202) 326-0040
Fax: (202) 589-0511
Email: policy@legalmomentum.org
Web site: <http://www.legalmomentum.org>

Specific Populations

Children

Child Welfare Information Gateway

Child Welfare Information Gateway is a service of the Children's Bureau, Administration for Children and Families, and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and promotes cooperation and connection of adoption, child welfare, and other professionals and citizens. Child Welfare Information Gateway provides information on topics ranging from prevention to permanency related to child abuse and neglect, child welfare, search and reunion, and adoption through access to Web sites, publications, print materials, and online databases.

Children's Bureau/ACYF
1250 Maryland Avenue SW, Eighth Floor
Washington, DC 20024

Phone: (703) 385-7565
Toll free: (800) 394-3366
Email: info@childwelfare.gov
Web site: <http://www.childwelfare.gov>

Crimes Against Children, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Crimes Against Children (CAC) program is designed to respond to crimes against children, decrease the vulnerability of children to sexual exploitation, and improve the capabilities of local and state law enforcement in combating crimes against children. The Web site offers information on the program, suggestions for protecting children, and resources (e.g., federal statutes).

Web site: <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/cac/crimesmain.htm>

National Center for Education Statistics

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) is housed within the U.S. Department of Education and the Institute of Education Services. NCES collects and analyzes data related to education in the United States and other nations, and offers information on a variety of education-related topics (e.g., school safety, crime and violence in schools).

1990 K Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: (202) 502-7300
Web site: <http://nces.ed.gov>

National Children's Advocacy Center

The National Children's Advocacy Center (NCAC) is a nonprofit organization that provides prevention, training, intervention, and treatment services to combat child neglect and abuse. NCAC delivers child abuse prevention and response through education, leadership, and service.

210 Pratt Avenue
Huntsville, AL 35801
Phone: (256) 533-KIDS (256-533-5437)
Fax: (256) 534-6883
National Child Abuse Hotline: (800) 4ACHILD
(422-4453)
Web site: <http://www.nationalcac.org>

National Council on Child Abuse & Family Violence

The National Council on Child Abuse & Family Violence (NCCAFV) works toward preventing child abuse and neglect, family violence, elder abuse, and spouse/partner abuse by bringing together professionals and volunteers within the community as well as nationwide.

1025 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 1000
 Washington, DC 20036
 Phone: (202) 429-6695
 Fax: (202) 521-3479
 Email: info@nccafv.org
 Web site: <http://www.nccafv.org>

Deaf Individuals

Advocacy Services for Abused Deaf Victims

Advocacy Services for Abused Deaf Victims (ASADV) provides support for those who have been victims of sexual assault and/or domestic violence. ASADV offers victims' rights information, safety plans, and other types of help (e.g., lawyers, hospitals) for deaf and hearing-impaired children and adults.

P.O. Box 20023
 Rochester, NY 14602-0023
 TTY/Fax: (585) 232-2852
 National Domestic Violence Hotline:
 TTY (800) 787-3224
 Videophone: (866) 936-8976
 Email: ASADVhope@mail.com
 Web site: <http://www.asadv.org>

Disabled Individuals

See also Office of Victims of Crime (p. 1104)
See also National Organization for Victim Assistance (p. 1104)

Elderly

American Society of Adult Abuse Professionals and Survivors

The American Society of Adult Abuse Professionals and Survivors (ASAAPS) is an organization devoted to addressing and preventing elder and disabled adult abuse. This resource offers information on elder abuse, reporting abuse, prevention, fraud alerts, and other topics.

6990 N. Rockledge Avenue
 Glendale, WI 53209
 Phone: (414) 540-6456
 Web site: <http://www.asaaps.org>

National Center on Elder Abuse

The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) is a component of the U.S. Administration on Aging and works toward preventing elder abuse and neglect and ensuring that older Americans live with independence and dignity. NCEA provides resources for researchers, advocates, families, policy makers, and practitioners.

c/o Center for Community Research and Services
 University of Delaware
 297 Graham Hall
 Newark, DE 19716
 Phone: (302) 831-3525
 Help Hotline: (800) 677-1116
 Fax: (302) 831-4225
 Email: ncea-info@aoa.hhs.gov
 Web site: <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov>

National Committee for the Prevention of Elder Abuse

The National Committee for the Prevention of Elder Abuse (NCPEA) is a nonprofit organization composed of educators, researchers, advocates, and practitioners interested in protecting the elderly and adults with disabilities. It is one of three groups comprising the National Center on Elder Abuse. NCPEA provides information on a variety of types of elder abuse (e.g., neglect, physical abuse), publications, and other resources related to preventing elder abuse.

1612 K Street NW
 Washington, DC 20006
 Phone: (202) 682-4140
 Fax: (202) 223-2099
 Email: ncpea@verizon.net
 Web site: <http://www.preventelderabuse.org>

Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, and Transgender Individuals

LAMBDA

LAMBDA is a nonprofit organization dedicated to reducing hate crimes, discrimination, inequality, and homophobia. LAMBDA offers the latest news and information on gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender victimization.

LAMBDA GLBT Community Services
 216 South Ochoa Street
 El Paso, TX 79901
 To Report a Hate Crime: (206) 350-HATE (4283)
 Phone/Fax: (206) 600-4297
 Web site: <http://www.lambda.org>

See also Hate Crimes Research Network (p. 1101)

Juveniles/Youth

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) provides resources and leadership to respond to and prevent juvenile delinquency and victimization. OJJDP offers information on a variety of related

topics (e.g., corrections, courts, law enforcement), funding opportunities, programs (i.e., training), contacts, publications, statistics, and more in its efforts to improve the juvenile justice system.

810 Seventh Street NW
Washington, DC 20531
Phone: (202) 307-5911
Web site: <http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/index.html>

Military

U.S. Department of Defense

The U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) works in collaboration with the U.S. Department of Justice Office for Victims of Crime to provide technical assistance and training in an effort to improve services to victims as well as victims' rights when military personnel are involved in crimes. The Victim and Witness Assistance Council offers training materials, DoD programs, DoD guidance and policy, and victim/witness assistance links.

1400 Defense Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301-1400
Phone: (703) 428-0711
Web site: <http://www.defenselink.mil>
Victim and Witness Assistance Council Web site:
<http://www.defenselink.mil/vwac>

Students

National School Safety Center

The goal of the National School Safety Center (NSSC) is the prevention of school crime and violence worldwide. Working toward safe and secure schools, NSSC provides communities and schools with information, consultation, resources, school crime and violence statistics, and training services.

141 Duesenberg Drive, Suite 11
Westlake Village, CA 91362
Phone: (805) 373-9977
Fax (805) 373-9277
Web site: <http://www.schoolsafety.us>

Security On Campus

Security On Campus, Inc. (SOC) is a national nonprofit organization dedicated to the prevention of violence on college and university campuses through policy initiatives, education, and awareness. SOC provides news, statistics,

outreach, and other resources (e.g., grant and funding information) related to campus security.

133 Ivy Lane, Suite 200
King of Prussia, PA 19406-2101
Phone: (610) 768-9330
Toll free: (888) 251-7959
Fax: (610) 768-0646
Email: soc@securityoncampus.org
Web site: <http://www.securityoncampus.org>

Women

National Center for the Prosecution of Violence Against Women

The National Center for the Prosecution of Violence Against Women, part of the American Prosecutors Research Institute, strives for justice in violence against women prosecutions. This mission is carried out through identifying best practices, providing research and reference resources, providing training and technical assistance, and increasing victimization awareness for prosecutors and law enforcement professionals.

44 Canal Center Plaza, Suite 110
Alexandria, VA 22314
Telephone: (703) 549-9222
Fax: (703) 836-3195
Email: ncpvaw@ndaa.org
Web site: http://www.ndaa.org/apri/programs/vawa/vaw_home.html

Office on Violence Against Women

The mission of the Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) is to reduce violence against women and strengthen services for all victims of stalking, sexual assault, domestic violence, and dating violence. OVW also provides funding opportunities, community resources, news, and information on a variety of related issues (e.g., federal legislation, international issues).

800 K Street NW, Suite 920
Washington, DC 20530
Phone: (202) 307-6026
TTY: (202) 307-2277
Fax: (202) 305-2589
Web site: <http://www.ovw.usdoj.gov>

Chronology

Circa 2000 BCE	Ancient Babylonian Code of Hammurabi outlines responsibilities of individuals to take action against offenders when victimized— <i>lex talionis</i> (an eye for an eye).
1066 CE	After the Norman Conquest, policing becomes obligatory for all men in England.
1285	Statutes of Winchester codify ideas of “watch and ward” and “hue and cry” that mandate male participation in responding to crime.
1829	Metropolitan Police Act establishes police force in London with primary goal of crime prevention.
1899	Juvenile Court in Cook County, Illinois, which includes Chicago, is established as a means of preventing problems that lead youth to become offenders.
1930	FBI and International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) begin national data collection efforts for the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program in the United States.
1931	Chicago Area Project is established and works to improve communities so that they no longer attract criminal activity.
1948	<i>The Criminal and His Victim</i> by Hans von Hentag is published, which turns attention from offenders to victims and suggests that characteristics of victims may contribute to their victimization.
1955	First United Nations Crime Conference is convened (and a conference is held every 5 years thereafter).
1956	Benjamin Mendelsohn, considered the father of victimology, develops typology of victims.
1958	<i>Patterns in Criminal Homicide</i> by Marvin E. Wolfgang argues that victims often precipitate their victimization.
Mid-to-late 1960s	Women’s movement arises and helps champion victim issues.
	Children’s movement arises to address childhood victimization and rights.
	First victimization surveys are developed.
1961	Jane Jacob’s <i>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</i> , which discusses urban design as a contributor to criminal activity, is published.
1962	C. Henry Kempe and his colleagues introduce the term <i>battered-child syndrome</i> .
1963	New Zealand passes first victim compensation legislation.
1964	Great Britain passes victim compensation legislation.

1965	First U.S. crime victim compensation program is established in California.
1967	President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice publishes its reports.
	National Opinion Research Center reports on early victimization survey showing roughly twice as much crime as found in police data.
1968	<i>The Victim and His Criminal</i> by Stephen Schafer is published, introducing the concept of functional responsibility of victims.
1970s	Dispute resolution reemerges as an alternative to court.
	Beginnings of modern restorative justice emerge.
	Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) is developed.
	Neighborhood Watch—a community-based crime reduction program—is introduced.
1971	Menachen Amir writes <i>Patterns of Forcible Rape</i> , which examines victim precipitation in the acts.
	C. Ray Jeffery's <i>Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design</i> is published, introducing the idea that the social and physical environments are sources for preventing crime.
	United Nations Committee on Crime Prevention and Control is formed.
1972	First three victim assistance programs are created.
	National Crime Survey (NCS) is launched.
	Oscar Newman's <i>Defensible Space</i> outlining design methods to prevent crime is published.
1974	Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds the first Victim/Witness Programs in the Brooklyn and Milwaukee District Attorneys' offices.
1975	National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA) is formed.
1976	James Rowland creates the first victim impact statement.
	Thomas Reppetto introduces the idea of <i>crime displacement</i> .
	Crime Stoppers—a partnership of the community, law enforcement, and media—is established for identifying and capturing offenders.
1977	The National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards is formed.
	Oregon becomes the first state to enact mandatory arrest in domestic violence cases.
1978	The National Coalition Against Sexual Assault (NCASA) is formed.
	The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) is organized.
	Michael Hindelang, Michael Gottfredson, and James Garofalo publish <i>Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization</i> , which introduces the idea that an individual's lifestyle contributes to victimization.
1979	Redesign of the National Crime Survey is launched.
	Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson introduce <i>routine activity theory</i> , which offers insight into the time and place of offending.

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1980	Wisconsin passes the first Crime Victims Bill of Rights.
	Take A Bite Out Of Crime campaign with McGruff the Crime Dog is initiated.
1981	First Victims' Rights Week occurs.
1982	President's Task Force on Victims of Crime makes recommendations to assist victims of crime and their relationship with the legal system.
	Federal Omnibus Victim and Witness Protection Act, which outlines victims' rights in the federal court system, is passed.
	Missing Children's Act, mandating that identifying information about missing children is entered into the FBI's computer system, is passed.
	James Q. Wilson and George Kelling introduce the idea of "broken windows," arguing that the physical and social appearance of an area contributes to crime.
	National Crime Prevention Council is founded.
	First British Crime Survey (BCS) is conducted.
1983	The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) is created.
	First Victim Risk Supplement is conducted as part of the National Crime Survey.
	Ronald Clarke and British Home Office introduce <i>situational crime prevention</i> , which argues for attacking specific problems at specific times and places.
	Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), a school-based drug prevention program, is initiated.
	First electronic monitoring device is used to track an offender's location.
1984	The passage of the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) establishes the Federal Crime Victims Fund.
	Report on the Minneapolis Domestic Violence experiment leads to mandatory arrests in many states.
	U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Domestic Violence issues report.
1985	The United Nations General Assembly adopts the International Declaration on the Rights of Victims of Crime and the Abuse of Power.
1986	States receive VOCA funds for the first time.
	<i>The Reasoning Criminal</i> by Derek Cornish and Ronald Clarke, which introduces the idea of <i>rational choice theory</i> , is published.
1987	National Victims' Constitutional Amendment Network is created.
1988	The National Aging Resource Center on Elder Abuse (NARCEA) is established.
	State constitutional amendments addressing victims' rights are passed in Florida and Michigan.
	<i>Crime Prevention: Approaches, Practices and Evaluation</i> by Steven Lab, the first book devoted to the academic discussion of crime prevention, is published.
	Kirkholt Project successfully reduces crime in the U.K. by targeting repeat victimization.

1989	School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Survey is conducted.
	First European and North American Conference on Urban Safety and Crime Prevention is held.
	First International Crime Victimization Survey is conducted (subsequently conducted in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004/2005, 2009).
1990s	Compulsory HIV/AIDS testing in sexual assault cases passes in most states.
1990	Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act, requiring colleges and universities to make crime statistics publicly available, is passed.
	Victims of Child Abuse Act, which introduces reforms to the federal system to make it less traumatic for child victims and witnesses, is passed.
	Victims' Rights and Restitution Act, creating a federal Bill of Rights for crime victims, is passed.
	Crime Control Act creates a federal Crime Victims' Bill of Rights.
	California is the first state to adopt legislation defining stalking as a criminal offense.
1991	Attorney General Guidelines for Victim and Witness Assistance establishes procedures for the federal criminal justice system to respond to the needs of crime victims.
	U.S. Supreme Court in <i>Payne v. Tennessee</i> allows victim impact statements in all cases.
	United Nations forms the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice.
	Weed and Seed program, a community gang, drug, and crime prevention program, is initiated.
	Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms institutes Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) program in schools.
1992	Hate Crime Statistics Act is passed, requiring the collection of data on hate-based crimes.
	Situational crime prevention typology expands to 12 categories.
1993	Congress passes the Child Sexual Abuse Registry Act, which establishes a national database on child sex offenders.
	National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the redesigned National Crime Survey, is fully implemented.
	Patricia Brantingham and Paul Brantingham introduce <i>crime pattern theory</i> , which argues that crime follows identifiable patterns that can lead to prevention actions.
	Chicago Alternative Police Strategy (CAPS), a program to implement community policing, begins.
	Crime Prevention Studies book series begins.
1994	Violence Against Women Act is passed, authorizing more than \$1 billion in funding to address domestic violence.
	Child Sexual Abuse Registry is implemented.
	International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) is established.
	Comprehensive Communities Program, a crime prevention partnership, is initiated.

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	Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act, requiring states to create a registry of child sex offenders, is passed.
1996	Community Notification Act, known as Megan's Law, is passed, requiring states to notify the community when a sex offender is released into the community.
	Second School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey is conducted.
	National College Women Sexual Victimization Survey is conducted.
	National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) is conducted.
	Federal Anti-Stalker Act, which makes stalking a federal offense, is passed.
	Lautenberg Amendment to the Gun Control Act of 1968 bans abusers from possessing guns.
1997	Victims' Rights Clarification Act is passed, allowing victims to attend trials and provide victim impact statements.
	HEUNI and other agencies start developing the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS), which is finalized in 2002.
1998	The Child Protection and Sexual Predator Punishment Act, enhancing punishments for sex crimes against children and protecting children from sexual predators via the Internet, is passed.
	Crime Victims with Disabilities Act is passed, improving prevention efforts and provided services to victims with disabilities.
	Identity Theft and Deterrence Act is passed, criminalizing identity theft and allowing individuals whose identity is stolen to be classified as victims.
	U.S. Department of Justice publishes <i>New Directions From the Field: Victims' Rights and Services for the 21st Century</i> , calling for improved treatment of crime victims.
	Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) is started to combat violent crime.
	Crime and Disorder Act is passed, mandating new partnership initiatives aimed at reducing crime in the United Kingdom.
1999	<i>Crime Prevention and Community Safety: An International Journal</i> begins publication.
2000	Violence Against Women Act is reauthorized.
	Internet Fraud Complaint Center Web site (www.ifccfbi.gov) is created to assist in investigating and reducing Internet fraud.
	Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which provides assistance to victims of human trafficking and seeks to combat trafficking in people, is passed.
	Project Safe Neighborhoods, a program to reduce firearm-related violence, is initiated.
2001	Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act includes victim compensation for victims of the September 11, 2001, attacks.
	International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) hosts the First Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention.
2002	All 50 states, the District of Columbia, U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam have established crime victim compensation programs.

	United Nations publishes <i>Guidelines for Crime Prevention</i> .
	IVAWS first administered in Australia.
2003	PROTECT Act, also called the AMBER Alert law, is passed to increase the public's participation in resolving child abductions.
	Fair and Accurate Credit Transactions Act, which helps combat identity theft, is passed.
	Office on Violence Against Women is established in the Department of Justice.
	Situational crime prevention typology expands to current 25 categories.
	Prison Rape Elimination Act is passed, to assist provide resources for the prevention, treatment, victim services, and prosecution of in-prison rape.
	Keeping Children and Families Safe Act, which helps states combat child abuse and neglect, is passed.
2004	Justice for All Act, protecting the rights of crime victims, is passed.
	Laci & Conner's Law/Unborn Victims of Violence Act is passed, establishing that a fetus is a victim if harmed during the commission of a crime against a pregnant woman.
2005	National online sex offender registry is commissioned.
	IVAWS is carried out or under way in 11 countries.
	Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act is passed.
2006	Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, which deals with supervision of sex offenders and procedures in child sex assault cases, is passed.
2008	Protect Our Children Act, which improves law enforcement's ability to prosecute child predators, is passed.
2009	Federal Trade Commission undertakes study of experiences of identify theft victims.
2010	<i>Encyclopedia of Victimology and Crime Prevention</i> is published.

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